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NEW SERIES.

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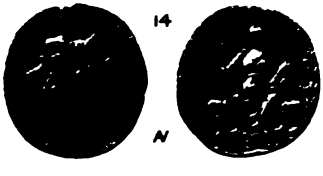
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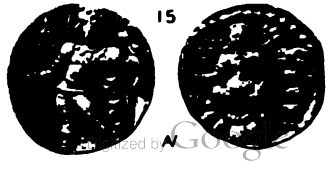
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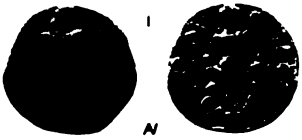
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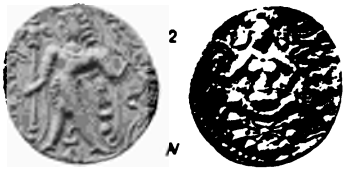
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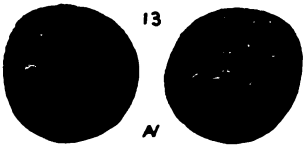
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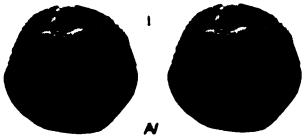
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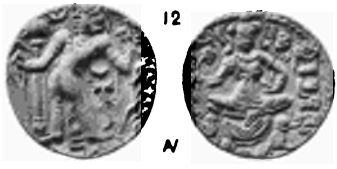
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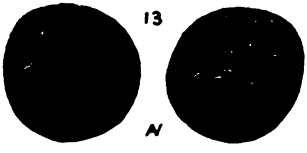
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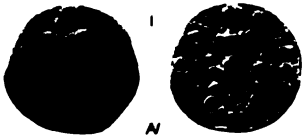
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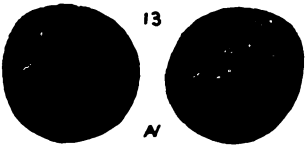
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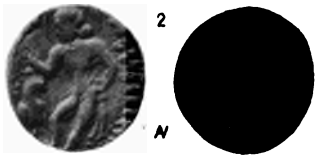
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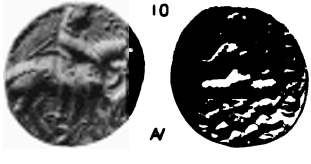
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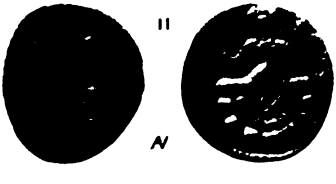
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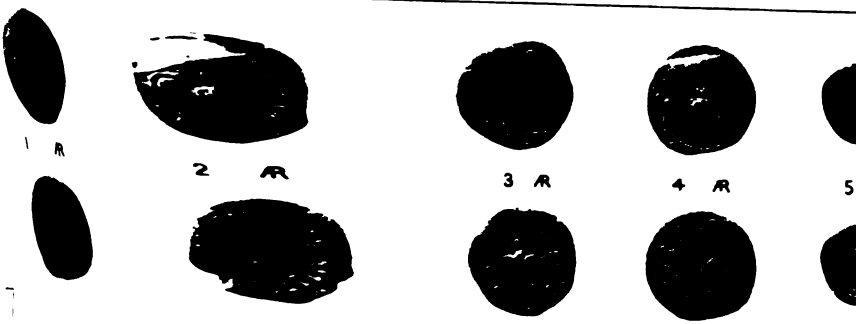

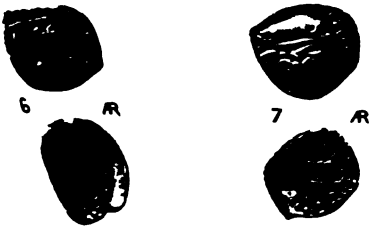

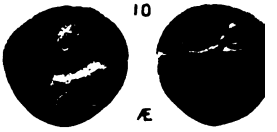

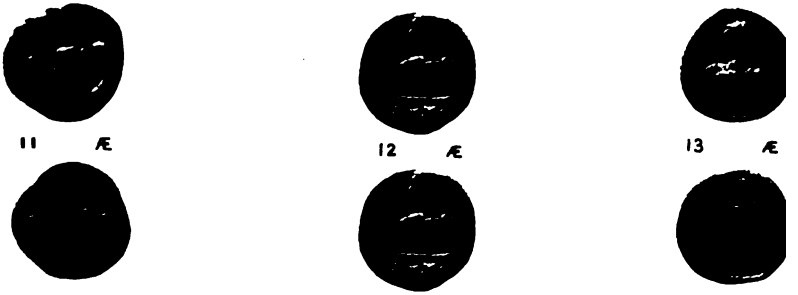

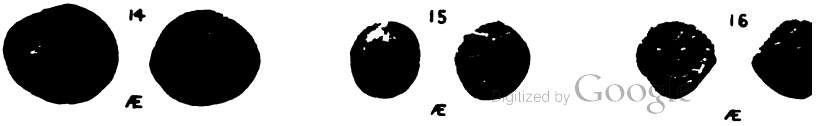

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MONOGRAMMATIC EMBLEMS.

Class I. *4 Prongs or dots above line.*

1. 2. a ; b 3. a or ;

4. a ; b ; c ; d ; e 5.

6 a ; b 7. a ; b

Class II. *3 Prongs or dots above line.*

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10. a ; b ; c. 11. 12. 13.

14. 15. 16. 17. a ; b ; c ;

18 19. a or ; b ; c ; d

Class III. *No Prongs or dots above line.*

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23 24. 25.

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V. A. Smith del. W. Griggs, Photo-lith. Pe

MONOGRAMMATIC EMBLEMS ON GUPTA GOLD COINS.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India.* By VINCENT ARTHUR SMITH, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service. With five Plates.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.A.	H. H. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua.
A.C.	Cabinet of Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., etc.
Æ.	Copper.

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A.G.	Cabinet of Alexander Grant, C.I.E.[1]
Æ.	Silver.
Arch. Rep.	Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, volumes i.-xxiii., written or edited by Sir A. Cunningham.
A.S.B.	Cabinet of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Æ.	Gold.
B.	Cabinet of Bodleian Library, Oxford.
B.M.	British Museum.
Boys.	Cabinet of H. S. Boys, B.C.S.
C.	Cabinet of H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., B.C.S.
Diam.	Diameter in decimals of an inch.
E.C.B.	Cabinet of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I.
H.	Cabinet of J. Hooper, B.C.S.
Ind.Ant.	Indian Antiquary (Bombay).
I.O.	Cabinet of India Office (now in B.M.).
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.Bo.Br.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
l.	Left of reader, when used to denote position on coin; proper left, when used to denote parts of the body.
M.	Marsden's Numismata Orientalia.
Mon.	Monogram, or monogrammatic emblem.
Obv.	Obverse.
P.E.	Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, ed. Thomas (London, 1858).
Proc.A.S.B.	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
r.	Right of reader, when used to denote position on coin; proper right, when used to denote parts of the body.
Records.	Records of the Gupta Dynasty, by E. Thomas (London, Trübner & Co., 1876).
Rev.	Reverse.
S.	Cabinet of J. Sykes, Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.
Wt.	Weight in English grains.
W.T.	Cabinet of W. Theobald.

[1] Mr. A. Grant's gold Gupta coins are now in the Ermitage Impérial at St. Petersburg.

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Prefatory Note.

My paper entitled 'A Classified and Detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, with an Introductory Essay,' written in 1883, and published in 1884 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, gave a full account of the Gupta gold coinage, so far as it was then known. At that time it was not in my power to extend my investigations to the silver and copper coinage, and subsequent criticism and study showed that my discussion of the gold coins was in some respects defective and erroneous. An interval of rest from official work has now given me an opportunity of resuming my numismatic studies, and of completing and bringing up to date my examination of the Gupta coinage.

Numismatic science is fortunately progressive, and in course of time fresh discoveries and researches necessarily superannuate every treatise. In the following pages I have endeavoured to include all information concerning the Gupta coinage in gold, silver, and copper, which is at present available, but I cannot profess to have exhausted my subject, limited though it is, and have no doubt that the publication of this monograph will, like that of its predecessor, elicit new facts, and necessitate correction in some of the views now expressed.

I have re-examined all the gold Gupta coins in the British Museum, and have studied the fine Bodleian collection, respecting which the information previously supplied to me was very defective. The additional knowledge thus obtained, and much other detailed information derived from various sources, have enabled me to make many additions to, and corrections in, the account of the gold coinage, which has been re-written throughout.

The copper coinage is now discussed in detail for the first time. It is, of course, much less interesting than the gold coinage, so remarkable for variety of type, but appears to me not unworthy of attention.

The silver coins have been described at considerable length

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by previous writers, and I have not very much that is new to say about them, but I hope that the orderly arrangement of all available information on the subject will be welcome and useful.

My obligations to the gentlemen who helped me in preparing the catalogue of the gold coins are on record, and my acknowledgments to them need not now be repeated. On the present occasion I have much pleasure in tendering my special thanks for assistance rendered by Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E.; Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.I E.; Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernlé; Mr. E. Nicholson, Bodley Librarian; Messrs. Grueber and Rapson of the Coin Room in the British Museum; and Mr. W. Theobald. Sir A. Cunningham, with his usual liberality, placed his unrivalled cabinet and knowledge at my disposal, and, so far as I could venture to trespass on his kindness, I have made use of both. Mr. Fleet favoured me with proofs of his great work on the Gupta inscriptions, which determines the date of the coins discussed in the following pages, and the remaining gentlemen named have given me much valuable help in various ways. My minor obligations to other gentlemen are duly acknowledged in the text or footnotes.

The favourable reception accorded to my previous imperfect essay encourages me to hope that its more complete successor may prove of interest to the limited class of readers whom it concerns, and that it may stimulate further research in that section of the Indian numismatic field, which seems to me to offer a harvest more varied and abundant than that produced by any other. Coins interest me only as being documents illustrative of history—artistic, linguistic, social, religious, and political—and, when closely interrogated, they can be forced to answer questions in every department of history. The minute description and discussion of uncurrent pieces of old metal appears to many to be no better than elaborate trifling, and is best justified by the aphorism of Saint-Hilaire: "La Numismatique est patiente, et elle amasse les faits spéciaux qui la concernent, jusqu'à ce que l'histoire vienne plus tard en donner la véritable clef, si

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jamais elle le peut." In India history often fails to answer the call of her numismatic sister, but the study of the Gupta coinage derives a special interest from the fact that it rests throughout on independent historical documents, which it amplifies and illustrates.

Chapter I.—Historical Introduction.

The Indo-Scythian dynasties which governed Northern India during the first three centuries of the Christian era were displaced in the fourth century throughout their dominions, except the Panjâb, where they continued to rule, by a dynasty known by the name of its progenitor Gupta,[1] whose personal appellation was adopted as a family name by all his successors, save one.

This dynasty is called by Mr. Fleet that of the Early Guptas, in order to distinguish it from other reigning houses with the same family name which held sway in Magadha and elsewhere in times subsequent to its fall.

In my previous publication on the subject I called it the Imperial Gupta dynasty in order to emphasize the fact that it is distinguished from its provincial successors by the imperial rule which it exercised over all Northern India, from Nepâl to the Narbadâ River, and from Western Bengal to the Gulf of Kachchh. The term Imperial still seems to me preferable to the purely relative term Early.

When I formerly described the Gupta gold coins, the difficult problem of the Gupta chronology was still unsolved, and I followed high authority in provisionally accepting an erroneous solution. Mr. J. F. Fleet's recent researches have demonstrated that the kings of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty dated their inscriptions and coins in an era, com-

[1] I formerly followed other writers in calling this prince by the name of S'rî Gupta, that is to say, in treating the honorific prefix S'rî as an integral part of the name. But I now admit the validity of the arguments adduced by Mr. Fleet to show that his name was simply Gupta (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv. p. 94; *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 8, note 3). I take this opportunity of correcting the mistake I made in supposing that Sir A. Cunningham agreed with Mr. Thomas in erroneously assigning a certain silver coin to (S'rî) Gupta. Sir A. Cunningham assures me that he never did so. I misinterpreted a passage in one of his letters.

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monly called the Gupta Era, of which the year A.D. 320-21 was the year 1. This fact has been proved beyond all reasonable doubt, and the proof of it has reduced the history of Northern India during the early centuries of the Christian era from chaos to order.[1]

The numerous inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas, confirmed by the numismatic evidence, prove that their dynasty consisted of seven princes, lineally connected as father and son; namely,

(1)	*Mahârâjâ* Gupta	Acc. *circa* A.D. 300.
(2)	,, Ghaṭotkacha [2]	,, ,, ,, 315.
(3)	*Mahârâjâdhirâjâ* Chandra Gupta I.	Acc. *circa* A.D. 340. Married Kumâra Devî of the Lichchhavi or Lichchhivi family of Nepâl.[3]
(4)	,, Samudra Gupta.	Acc. *circa* A.D. 365. Married Dattadevî. Probably identical with Kâcha.
(5)	,, Chandra Gupta II.	Acc. *circa* A.D. 390. Married Dhruvadevî.
(6)	,, Kumâra Gupta.	Acc. *circa* A.D. 414.
(7)	,, Skanda Gupta.	,, ,, ,, 452. Died *circa* A.D. 480.

The first two princes, who bore only the inferior title of Mahârâjâ, were evidently local chiefs, and probably ruled

[1] The detailed proof will be found in the Introduction to volume iii. of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, and in a less complete form in Ind. Ant. vol. xv. p. 279, etc.

[2] The name Ghaṭotkacha is in form a compound of *ghaṭa* and *utkacha*, with the nonsensical meaning of 'a jar with hair on end.' It is probably a foreign name Sanskritised. The name is of rare occurrence, but is given in the Mahâbhârata to the son of Bhîma by Hiḍimbâ (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv. June, 1885), and also designates a small group of caves near Ajanṭâ, dating from A.D. 500 or 600. (*Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples of India*, pp. 186, 346; *Arch. Survey W.I.* vol. iv. p. 60). The name of the king Ghaṭotkacha does not occur in the Tusâm inscription, as was formerly supposed (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 269, No. 67).

[3] Recent research has shown that two contemporary dynasties ruled in Nepâl. The Lichchhavi or Sûryavansî family had its capital at Mânagriha, and seems to have ruled Eastern Nepâl. The rival Ṭhakurî family had its capital at Kailâsâkûṭabhavana, and apparently governed Western Nepâl. The Lichchhavi family used the era which was adopted by the Guptas, perhaps in the reign of Chandra Gupta I., while the Ṭhakurî dynasty employed the era of Harsha Vardhana (A.D. 606). Our earliest Nepâl inscriptions belong to the seventh century A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv. p. 349, and *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. *Introduction*).

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in Magadha or Bihâr, subject to the suzerainty of an Indo-Scythian over-lord.

The third prince, Chandra Gupta I., who married into the Lichchhavi family, then ruling in Nepâl, assumed the higher title of Mahârâjâdhirâja, or sovereign of Mahârâjâs, and appears to have been the real founder of the greatness of his house. But we have no specific knowledge of the events of his reign, nor of those of the reigns of his predecessors.

Samudra Gupta, son and successor of Chandra Gupta I., was undoubtedly a very powerful sovereign, whose authority extended over the greater part of Northern India. The extent of his dominions is described with considerable detail in the celebrated inscription on the pillar of Aśoka in the Fort at Allâhâbâd, which was recorded early in the reign of his successor.

This successor bore, according to Hindu custom, the same name as his grandfather, and is known to us as Chandra Gupta II. With him begins the series of contemporary epigraphical records.[1] Inscriptions of his reign are dated in 82, 88, and 93 G.E., equivalent to the years A.D. 401-2, 407-8, and 412-13, and we cannot be far wrong if we assume that his reign began in or about the year A.D. 390. By making the usual allowance of twenty-five years for each generation, we obtain the dates 365 and 340 A.D. respectively for the accession of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta I., as above stated.

The limiting dates of the reign of Kumâra Gupta are known with certainty, subject to a possible error of a year or two. Kumâra Gupta enjoyed a very long reign, which began in or about the year A.D. 414, and lasted probably till A.D. 452, when Skanda Gupta ascended the throne, of which

[1] The Gayâ copper-plate inscription, dated in the year 9, purports to have been executed at Ayodhyâ by order of Samudra Gupta; but Mr. Fleet shows that the document is an ancient forgery, probably executed about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The seal, however, "is in all probability a genuine one of Samudra Gupta, detached from another plate." But it is too much worn to be of value as a contemporary record (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 254, No. 60). The era in which the grant purports to be dated is not specified, but if the forger meant to use the so-called Gupta era, he must have believed that Samudra Gupta was reigning in A.D. 328-29, and it is hardly possible that the belief was correct. The forger may have meant the regnal year.

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he retained possession, certainly, till A.D. 467, and, probably, till A.D. 480.

We know that the dominions of Skanda Gupta extended from the borders of Eastern Nepâl to the shores of the Gulf of Kachchh, and that his peace was disturbed by the inroads of a tribe of foreigners named Hûṇas. Their attacks ultimately broke up the great Gupta empire, and Skanda Gupta was the last of his house who enjoyed imperial dignity and power. In a portion of his western dominions he was succeeded by Budha Gupta, very probably his son, whose inscription dated 165 G.E.,=A.D. 484-85, is at Eraṇ in the Sâgar District of the Central Provinces. Coins prove that Budha Gupta was still ruling his diminished territory in A.D. 500, or a year or two later.

Budha Gupta appears to have been succeeded in the west by the Hûṇa chiefs Toramâṇa and Mihirakula, who have left both inscriptions and coins as memorials of their reigns.

In Eastern Magadha, at the eastern extremity of his dominions, Skanda Gupta was immediately succeeded (*circa* A.D. 480) by Krishṇa Gupta, who was doubtless a son or other near relative of the deceased Emperor. Krishṇa Gupta was followed by ten princes of his line, the last of whom was Jîvita Gupta II., who came to the provincial throne about A.D. 720. This dynasty is known as that of the Later Guptas of Magadha, and appears to have possessed only a very local authority. During the period of its rule Western Magadha was governed by the rival, and often hostile, dynasty of the Maukharî, or Mukhara, kings, whose names generally ended with the word Varman or Varmâ. During the reign of the great king Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-7 to A.D. 648) all Northern India, including Magadha with its local chiefs, was subject to his suzerainty.[1]

Besides the Later Guptas of Eastern Magadha we find traces of other minor Gupta dynasties in Orissa and elsewhere, all perhaps connected with that imperial race which had

[1] The foregoing historical summary is based on Mr. Fleet's work on the Gupta Inscriptions, vol. iii. of the Corpus Inscr. Ind.

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exercised sovereign power for about a century and a half.[1]

I propose to confine my detailed discussion and description of the Gupta coinage to that of the Imperial Dynasty and of Budha Gupta. An exhaustive examination of the coinages of Toramâṇa, Mihirakula, the Later Guptas of Magadha, the Nâgas of Narwâr, and the other mintages more or less closely connected with the coinage of the Imperial Guptas, would, even if I were prepared to undertake it, expand my work beyond all reasonable limits, and I have preferred to confine myself to a compact, well-defined subject, which is sufficiently limited to admit of treatment, which may make some claim to completeness, until fresh discoveries render additions or corrections necessary.

But, while thus limiting myself, I have not thought it necessary to remain absolutely silent about all the subsidiary coinages, and have permitted myself to make brief excursions into some adjacent fields, which are not included within the boundary of my plan.

The Mahârâjâs Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, who occupy the first and second places in the dynastic list, seem not to have attained sufficiently high rank to warrant them in exercising the prerogative of coinage, and we need not expect ever to discover coins bearing their names. Certain gold coins were formerly attributed to Ghaṭotkacha, but erroneously.[2]

The numismatic record of the Imperial Gupta dynasty begins with the first 'sovereign of Mahârâjâs,' Chandra Gupta I., whose coinage is represented only by a few gold pieces of a single type. The scarcity of his coinage perhaps indicates a short reign.

His son and successor, Samudra Gupta, likewise, struck coins, so far as is known, in gold only, but his mint-masters issued them in at least six well-defined and distinct types.

The western extension of the Empire to Guzerât and Kâthiâwâr appears to have been the work of Chandra

[1] Guptas of Mahâ Kosala, or Central Provinces (*Arch. Rep.* vol. vii. p. vi; vol. xvii. pp. 17, 85, 87); of Orissa (*ibid.* vol. xvii. pp. 17, 85, 87); of Western Gauḍa, in Central Provinces (*ibid.* vol. ix. p. 156).

[2] See *post*, coins of Kâcha in Catalogue of Gold Coins, p. 74.

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Gupta II., who issued a silver coinage based on that struck by the Satraps of Saurâshṭra in imitation of Græco-Bactrian hemidrachms. The extreme rarity of the silver coins of Chandra Gupta II., when contrasted with the abundant finds of the silver coinage of his successors, indicates that his silver mintage was small in amount and late in his reign. He also struck copper coins in his northern dominions of four types, three of which are very rare, while one is tolerably common. The gold coinage of Chandra Gupta II. occurs in at least eight different types. Most of these are scarce, and some are known only from unique specimens, but examples of the Archer type are sufficiently numerous to show that the issue of it must have been a very large one. The inscriptions, unfortunately, do not determine the initial date of the reign of Chandra Gupta II., and consequently we do not know its exact duration, but the number and variety of his extant coins warrant the inference that it was long.

The stone inscriptions and dated silver coins of Kumâra Gupta enable us to fix almost exactly the limits of his reign, which we know to have lasted about thirty-eight years. Several types of his silver coins have been discovered, and specimens of one type have been found in very large numbers. His copper coins are exceedingly rare, and only one or two specimens have yet been recognized. His gold coinage equals in variety of type that of his father, and examples of some forms of it are fairly abundant, though none can be called common.

The date of the conclusion of the reign of Skanda Gupta is not known with certainty, but he probably reigned for a period of twenty-five or nearly thirty years. His rude silver coins, which were struck in his western dominions, are numerous, but the better-executed coins in the same metal, which issued from his northern mints, appear to be rather scarce. One variety of his gold coinage has been found in considerable numbers, but the other forms are rare. His gold coinage is much less varied than that of his father and grandfather.

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The coinage of Budha Gupta is known only from six specimens of a single type in silver. Of Toramâṇa we possess only two silver coins, but the copper coinage of his son Mihirakula is tolerably abundant. The silver coinage of Bhîma Sena and Krishṇa Râjâ is known from a few rare coins.[1]

The Later Guptas of Magadha seem to have coined only in gold, or base metal purporting to be gold, but their coinage has not been investigated with sufficient detail to enable me to indicate the rarity of their several issues. All, however, seem to be rather scarce.

Three examples are known of the silver coinage of Îśâna Varman, a member of the Maukhari dynasty of Western Magadha, but I do not know of any specimen of the gold coinage of this family.[2]

With this explanation of the limits which I have imposed on myself, I now proceed to the discussion of the coinage which I have undertaken to describe.

Chapter II.—Types and Devices.

The Gupta gold coinage is remarkable for its great variety of type. The obverse devices are much more characteristic than the reverse ones, and necessarily form the primary basis for classification.

The gold coins, arranged according to their obverse devices, may be conveniently classified as follows:

Types of Gold Coins.

Reign.	*Type.*
Chandra Gupta I.	1. King and Queen. (Pl. I. 1.)
Samudra Gupta.	1. Tiger. (Pl. I. 2.)

[1] Brief notices of the coins of Bhîma Sena, Krishṇa Râjâ and Toramâṇa will be found *post* in the Supplement to my Catalogue of Silver Coins, pp. 135-138. No thorough account of the coins of Mihirakula has been published. The B.M. possesses a good many specimens. See Ind. Ant. vol. xv. pp. 245-252, and 345-348.

[2] The coins of Îśâna Varmâ are noticed *post* in the Supplement to my Catalogue of Siver Coins, p. 136.

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	2. Aśwamedha. (Pl. I. 4.)
	3. Lyrist. (Pl. I. 5, 6.)
	4. Javelin. (Pl. I. 7—9.)
	5. Archer. (Pl. I. 10.)
	6. Battle-axe. (Pl. I. 11, 12.)[1]
Kâcha (?=Samudra Gupta)	1. Standard. (Pl. I. 3.)[2]
Chandra Gupta II.	1. Couch. (Pl. I. 13.)
	2. Javelin. (Not figured.)
	3. Archer. (Pl. I. 14—16; Pl. II. 1, 2.)
	4. Horseman to Right. (Pl. II. 3.)[3]
	5. Horseman to Left. (Not figured.)
	6. Lion-Trampler. (Pl. II. 4.)
	7. Combatant Lion. (Pl. II. 5.)
	8. Retreating Lion. (Pl. II. 6.)
	9. Umbrella. (Pl. II. 7, 8.)[4]
Kumâra Gupta	1. Swordsman. (Pl. II. 9.)
	2. Archer. (Pl. II. 10—12.)
	3. Horseman to Right. (Pl. II. 13.)
	4. Horseman to Left. (Pl. II. 14.)
	5. Peacock. (Pl. III. 1, 2.)
	6. Lion Trampler. (Not figured.)
	7. Combatant Lion. (Pl. III. 3.)
	8. Two Queens. (Pl. III. 4.)
	9. Aśwamedha. (Pl. III. 5.)
Skanda Gupta.	1. King and Queen. (Pl. III. 6.)
	2. Archer. (Pl. III. 7, 8.)
Nara Bâlâditya.	Archer. (Pl. III. 11.)
Prakâśâditya.	Lion and Horseman. (Pl. III. 9, 10.)
Kramâditya.	Bull. (Pl. III. 12.)

The silver coins, unlike the gold, are all substantially identical in their obverse device, which consists of a conventional king's head, and their classification must rest, partly on the reverse devices, and partly on the legends. So classified, they fall into order as follows:

[1] Formerly called by me Boy and Battle-axe.
[2] Formerly named Solar Standard.
[3] Formerly named Lancer.
[4] Formerly called Swordsman and Umbrella.

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Types of Silver Coins.

Reign.	*Type.*
Chandra Gupta II.	1. Vikramânka.
	2. Vikramâditya.
Kumâra Gupta.	1. Winged Peacock.
	2. Fantail Peacock.
	3. Trident.
Skanda Gupta.	1. Winged Peacock.
	2. Fantail Peacock.
	3. Bull.

The copper coins, like the gold, are readily distinguished by their obverse devices, and are classified as follows:

Types of Copper Coins.

Reign.	*Type.*
Chandra Gupta II.	1. Umbrella.
	2. Standing King.
	3. Vikramâditya Bust.
	4. Chandra Head.
Kumâra Gupta.	1. Standing King.
	? 2. Umbrella.

The reverse devices of the gold coins all agree in presenting as their main element the figure of a female, associated with emblems which prove that she is always intended to represent a divine personage, except perhaps in the case of the Aśwamedha medals of Samudra Gupta. The only exception to this statement is afforded by the newly-discovered Javelin type of Chandra Gupta II., the reverse device of which consists of the King and Queen seated on a couch, a design better suited for the obverse than for the reverse.

The reverse devices of the gold coins may be grouped as follows:

Class I.—Standing Goddess.

Device.	*Reign.*	*Type.*
1. Goddess holding lotus-flower in r., and cornucopiæ in l. hand.	Kâcha (?=Samudra Gupta).	Standard.

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Device.	*Reign.*	*Type.*
2. Goddess holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand (or fillet in r. hand only?)	Chandra Gupta II.	Umbrella.
3. Goddess holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l., and standing on a dragon.	Samudra Gupta.	Tiger.
	Chandra Gupta II.	? Umbrella.
4. ? Goddess, with fly-whisk.	Samudra Gupta.	Aśwamedha.
,, ,,	Kumâra Gupta.	,,
5. Goddess feeding peacock.	,, ,,	Combatant Lion.

Class II.—Seated Goddess.

1. Goddess seated on four-legged throne.	Samudra Gupta.	Javelin.
	,, ,,	Archer.
	Chandra Gupta II.	Couch.
	,, ,,	Archer, Class I.
2. Goddess seated cross-legged on open lotus-flower.	Chandra Gupta II.	Archer, Class II.
	Kumâra Gupta	Swordsman.
	,, ,,	Archer.
	,, ,,	Two Queens.
	Skanda Gupta	Archer.
	,, ,,	King and Queen.
	Nara Bâlâditya	Archer.
	Prakâśâditya	Lion and Horseman.
	Kramâditya	Bull.

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Device.	*Reign.*	*Type.*
3. Goddess seated on wicker stool to l.		
α. Holding fillet and cornucopiæ.	Samudra Gupta.	Lyrist.
β. Holding fillet and lotus.	Chandra Gupta II.	Horseman to r.
	,, ,,	Horseman to l.
	Kumâra Gupta.	Horseman to r.
γ. Feeding peacock and holding lotus.	Kumâra Gupta.	Horseman to r.
	,, ,,	Horseman to l.
4. Goddess riding peacock.	Kumâra Gupta.	Peacock.
5. Goddess seated on back of couchant lion.		
α. Holding fillet and cornucopiæ.	Chandra Gupta I.	King and Queen.
β. Holding fillet and lotus, or fillet only, or lotus only.	Chandra Gupta II.	Lion-Trampler.
	,, ,,	Combatant Lion.
	,, ,,	Retreating Lion.
	Kumâra Gupta.	Lion-Trampler.

Class III.

King and Queen on couch.	Chandra Gupta II.	Javelin.

The reverse devices of the silver coins comprise :

Device.	*Reign.*	*Type.*
1. Winged peacock.	Chandra Gupta II.	Vikramânka.
	,, ,,	Vikramâditya.
	Kumâra Gupta.	Winged Peacock
	Skanda Gupta.	,, ,,

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Device.	*Reign.*	*Type.*
2. Fantail Peacock.	Kumâra Gupta.	Fantail Peacock.
	Skanda Gupta.	,, ,,
	Budha Gupta.	,, ,,
	Toramâṇa, Bhîma Sena, and Îśâna Varmâ.	,, ,,
3. Trident.	Kumâra Gupta.	Trident.
4. Bull.	Skanda Gupta.	Bull.
,,	Krishṇa Râjâ.	,,

The copper coins all exhibit the same reverse device, namely, a rude bird-like figure, with expanded wings, facing front, which appears to be intended for the mythical Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu.[1]

The reverse devices of all the Gupta coins, gold, silver, and copper, were in every case (except the Javelin type of Chandra Gupta II.) undoubtedly selected as being mythological symbols. The obverse devices are all, with the exception of those of the Aśwamedha medals, primarily representations, more or less conventional, of the several kings from whose mints the coins issued, but in some cases the die-artists evidently intended the obverse designs to have a mythological significance as well as those of the reverse.

I shall now proceed to discuss, as far as my limited knowledge permits, the meaning and origin of the great variety of devices enumerated above, dealing first with the gold coins.

The legends of the King and Queen coins of Chandra Gupta I. leave no doubt that the effigies on the obverse are primarily intended for the sovereign and his consort Kumâra Devî, a member of the Lichchhavi family. The queen's name is known from the stone inscriptions, as well as the coins. The king is figured leaning on a spear, and this device may be intended secondarily to symbolize Kumâra Deva, the god of war, and husband of Kumârî Devî. The reverse goddess seated on a lion is probably Durgâ, another form of Kumârî Devî, but the cornucopiæ in her left arm indicates that the deity is presented under her beneficent,

[1] Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 93.

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as well as her terrible aspect, and connects her with the image of Lakshmî, which is the commonest reverse device.

The device of the king and queen standing facing one another reappears in the coinage of Skanda Gupta, but in a modified form, and executed with inferior skill. The unique coin of Kumâra Gupta, which I have classed as the Two Queens type, presents the figure of the king standing between two females, and I can only suppose that the female figures are intended for his queens. It is quite certain that the central figure is the king, because he is labelled Kumâra Gupta, and it is therefore impossible to suppose that it is intended primarily for a god. It is, of course, possible that the device may have a secondary mythological signification. The attitude of the king on this coin suggested to Dr. Hoernlé a recollection of the conventional figure of Buddha,[1] but there is no reason whatever to suppose that any of the Gupta kings were Buddhists. Both inscriptions and coins, on the contrary, show clearly that they were Brahmanists. It is curious that the king of the Two Queens coin is smaller than either of the female figures. The male and female figures seated together on a couch on the reverse of the unique Javelin coin of Chandra Gupta II. appear intended for the king and his consort.

The obverse device of the Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta is obviously borrowed directly from that of the Indo-Scythian gold coins. It also bears a strong resemblance to the obverse of certain Macedonian coins. The figure on these latter coins has generally been described as that of a Roman emperor, but Professor Gardner prefers to regard it as an effigy of the god Ares (Mars).[2] I think that the design of the Gupta coins was influenced by that of the Macedonian. The device reappears on the unique Javelin coin of Chandra Gupta II.

In his Archer type Samudra Gupta substitutes for the javelin in the king's hand a bow, and the device thus

[1] Proc. A.S.B. Nov. 1883, p. 144.

[2] "Ares as a Sun-god, and Solar Symbols on the Coins of Macedon and Thrace," by Percy Gardner (*Num. Chron.* vol. xx. N.S. p. 56, pl. iv. fig. 4).

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introduced long remained the favourite obverse pattern. It is found on the coins of Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Gupta, and is the standard device of the barbarous gold coins of the obscure successors of the Imperial dynasty in the eastern provinces.

The device of the Archer coins may have been suggested by the Persian darics,[1] but this is not probable. If it had any symbolic meaning, it most likely was intended to suggest an analogy between the king who rules the earth and the sun that rules the heavens. The conception of the sun as an archer is familiar to poetry and mythology.

The unique Couch coin of Chandra Gupta II., which exhibits the king seated alone on a couch, with one leg tucked up under him, is copied from a common type of Indo-Scythian coins, and figures in the same attitude may be observed in the sculptures at Amarâvatî, dating from the close of the second century A.D.

The king of the rare Lyrist type of Samudra Gupta is seated in nearly the same attitude, but is engaged playing an Indian lyre (*vîṇâ*). This device is clearly intended to commemorate the special accomplishments of Samudra Gupta, "who put to shame (Kâsyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu, and Nârada, and others, by (his) sharp and polished intellect, and choral skill and musical accomplishments; who established his title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people." Nârada, with whom Samudra Gupta is compared, was the reputed inventor of the lyre.[2]

The Lyrist coins (Pl. I. 5), with the exception of the India Office specimen (Pl. I. 6), are broad, thin, medal-like pieces,

[1] I take this opportunity of remarking that an incidental reference of mine to Persian darics (J.A.S.B. part i. vol. liii. p. 149) exaggerated the rarity of these coins. Sir A. Cunningham informs me that 300 were found in Xerxes' canal at Mount Athos, and that there is no reason to suppose that Warren Hastings was mistaken in describing as darics the 172 gold pieces found near Benares, which he sent home to the Court of Directors, and which speedily disappeared.

[2] Line 27 of the Allahabad Pillar inscription in *Corpus Inscr. Indic.* vol. iii. p. 14, notes 1 and 2. Lines 6 and 16 of the same inscription also refer to the mental gifts of Samudra Gupta.

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well-struck, and superior in execution to most of the Gupta coins.

The coins of the Aśwamedha type differ from all the other types by having on the obverse the figure of a horse instead of that of the king. The legend does not give the name of the king who struck them, but records that he had power to effect the Aśwamedha sacrifice. These coins can only be ascribed to Samudra Gupta, "who was the restorer of the Aśwamedha sacrifice, which had been long in abeyance."[1] The fact, known from the inscriptions, that Samudra Gupta actually did perform the sacrifice of the horse, which was incumbent on a claimant to the universal sovereignty of India, would alone suffice to justify the ascription to him of the Aśwamedha pieces; and the attribution is fully confirmed by the evidence yielded by the coins themselves, the legends of which are connected with those of the Javelin, Archer, and Lyrist types of Samudra Gupta. The syllable सि, 'Si,' which occurs on the exergue of both the Lyrist and Aśwamedha coins, has not yet been explained.[2]

I have no doubt that the Aśwamedha pieces were struck as medals to commemorate the successful performance of the horse sacrifice, and were distributed to the officiating Brahmans. The Bilsaṛ inscription expressly refers to Samudra Gupta as "the giver of millions of gold, performer of the Aśwamedha."[3] A coin of similar type, which seems to have been struck by Kumâra Gupta, is in the cabinet of Sir A. Cunningham (Pl. III. 5).

I do not know the meaning of the standard in front of the horse. Possibly it may be intended for the standard of Indra.[4]

The Tiger type of Samudra Gupta's coinage is known from a single coin only, which possesses considerable artistic merit. The king is shown armed with a bow, and trampling

[1] *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. pp. 3, 4.

[2] Not 'Se,' as formerly read. It also occurs on a late Indo-Scythian coin from the Panjab in A. C. cabinet (*Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv. p. 94).

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 44, and 27, 28. I erroneously supposed formerly that the passage in the Bilsaṛ inscription referred to Kumâra Gupta.

[4] According to Mr. J. F. Hewitt, Indra "appears to be the special god of the warrior tribes, as opposed to the Brahmans" (J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. N.S. p. 335).

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on a tiger which he is shooting in the mouth. The Combatant Lion and Lion Trampler types of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta are very similar in design. The unique Retreating Lion coin of Chandra Gupta II. presents another variation of the same conception, and is the most artistic piece in the Gupta coinage. It is possible that these lion and tiger obverses may have been suggested by Greek representations of Herakles contending with the Nemean lion, but I am not able to show any clear connection between the Greek and Indian designs. The Retreating Lion coin certainly has a Greek look, and I am persuaded that its spirited design was inspired by Western models.

The late coins of Prakâśâditya show a horseman attacking a lion or tiger, but the execution is degraded.

The goddess on the reverse of Samudra Gupta's Tiger type stands on a monster with an elephant's head and fish's tail. In mythology the fish-like dragon or *makara* is the vehicle of Varuṇa, the god of the waters. The king's name Samudra means the ocean, and I think it almost certain that the obverse device idealizes Samudra Gupta as Varuṇa, while the reverse represents the sea-god's consort.[1] The Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription compares Samudra Gupta with Dhanada or Kuvera, the god of wealth, Varuṇa, the god of the waters, Indra, the god of the sky, and Antaka or Yama, the god of death.

The Battle-axe coins, which present Samudra Gupta as a warrior grasping a battle-axe and describe him as "armed with the axe of Kṛitânta" or Yama, obviously are intended to express visibly the comparison with the god of death, which the inscription makes in words. The epithet "armed with the axe of Kṛitânta" is also applied in the inscriptions to Samudra Gupta.

The king of the Standard type of Kâcha appears to be unarmed. The standard which he supports bears a rayed emblem, which may symbolize the sun, and reappears on the Wheel variety of the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II. The

[1] *Cf.* the introduction of Demeter in the coins of Demetrius of Syria. Monsters like that on which the coin goddess stands are not uncommon in early Indian sculpture.

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style of the Standard coins closely approximates to that of the undoubted coins of Samudra, and I agree with Mr. Fleet in thinking it probable that Kâcha was a title or second name of Samudra Gupta. These coins were formerly attributed erroneously to Ghaṭotkacha, the second Mahârâjâ of the Gupta Dynasty.

The Horseman types are confined to the reigns of Chandra Gupta II. and his son Kumâra Gupta of the Imperial Dynasty, and the coins of both princes show the royal horseman turned both to left and right. He is sometimes armed with a bow. The Bactrian coinage offers many examples of equestrian portraits, which were probably the patterns imitated by the mint-masters of the Gupta Kings. The figure of a horseman also appears on the coins of the king who took the title of Prakâśâditya.

Chandra Gupta II., as depicted on his Umbrella gold coins, is armed with a sword, and shaded by an umbrella, carried by an attendant. The device of the Umbrella copper coins of the same reign is similar, but the execution is much ruder than that of the gold coins. The legend of the latter and the king's weapon connect them with the Swordsman coins of Kumâra Gupta.

The peacock is the special emblem of the war-god Kumâra (or Kârttikeya) and his consort Kumârî Devî, and is naturally prominent on the coins of Kumâra Gupta.[1] It is not, however, peculiar to his coinage. His gold coins of the Peacock type on the obverse depict the king offering fruit to a peacock, and on the reverse show the goddess Kumârî Devî riding on her sacred bird. The execution of some of these coins is very delicate, and the plate does not do them full justice. The goddess on the reverse of Kumâra Gupta's Combatant Lion gold coins is standing feeding a peacock, and on the reverse of his Horseman coins is seated on a wicker stool, performing the same act. I presume that in

[1] *Cf.* the mention of the later Kumâra Gupta in l. 5 of the Aphsaṛ inscription of Âditya Sena—"That king begat one son, by name the illustrious Kumâra Gupta, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son (Kârttikeya), who rides upon the peacock."—*Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 206.

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all cases the goddess associated with the peacock is intended for Kumârî Devî.

The Fantail Peacock types of the silver coinage of Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and Budha Gupta exhibit a peacock with expanded tail in the same attitude as on the variety β coins of Kumâra's gold Peacock type. An exact prototype of this design may be seen on the reverse of a coin of Julia Augusta, a daughter of Titus, who died between A.D. 81 and 90.[1] Kumâra Gupta flourished between the years A.D. 414 and 452, and the interval of time between him and Julia Augusta is very considerable. But the resemblance between his coins and hers is so great that I do not think it can be accidental. We know that Roman coins were familiar objects in India during the early centuries of the Christian era. A coin of Paulina (A.D. 217-228) is also very similar in its treatment of the peacock to the Gupta coins. Coins of Mariniana (*circa* A.D. 250) and of Manlia Scantilla Augusta (A.D. 193) may also be compared.[2] I have no doubt that the Gupta representations of Kumârî Devî and the peacock are Hinduized adaptations of some or other of the devices of the Roman coins which bear representations of the peacock in association with the goddess Juno, or a deified lady of the imperial house.

The silver coins of Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Gupta, which I have classed as the Winged Peacock types, have a very ill-executed, and sometimes very obscure, reverse device, which has been variously interpreted as a peacock standing to front, as a goddess, and as an altar. This device, as seen on many specimens, is certainly intended as a rough diagram of a bird, and the bird is presumably a peacock. As shown on many coins of Skanda Gupta, the device is not in the least like a bird. But the history of coins offers so many examples of degradations of design that I am willing to believe, till some better explanation is found, that in all cases the obscure device in question is intended for a bird, that is to say, a peacock. This is the opinion of

[1] Trésor de Numismatique, Iconographie des Empereurs Romains, pl. xxii. 11.
[2] *Ibid.* plates xlviii. 4, 5; lii. 3; xli. 1.

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Sir A. Cunningham, whose unrivalled knowledge of Hindu coins gives special weight to his judgment on a question of the sort. It is not, however, easy to understand why both correct and unrecognizable delineations of the same bird should be minted by one sovereign. The only available explanation is afforded by the fact that the coins with the well-drawn peacock appear to have been minted in Northern India, and that those with the unrecognizable device were the coinage of Guzerât and Kâṭhiâwâr.

On the Javelin gold coins of Samudra Gupta, the Swordsman coins of Kumâra Gupta, and the Archer types of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Gupta, the king's arm is extended across a standard surmounted by a bird facing front.

The bird on the standard is necessarily designed on a very small scale, and shows no details, but, so far as it can be seen, it has a general resemblance to the bird-like creature on the reverse of the copper coins of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra, and is not altogether unlike the object on the reverse of some of the Winged Peacock silver coins. The copper coins are rudely executed, and in the case of most of them it is hard to say what the creature on the reverse is intended for. The Hindu die-cutters were very ready to make use of foreign designs and adapt them to the use of their own mythology. It is, therefore, quite possible that, as suggested by Professor Gardner, the reverse device of the copper coins may have been suggested by the owl of Athênê as seen on the coins of Pergamon. One specimen of the Umbrella type in the possession of Sir A. Cunningham (Pl. IV. 9) plainly delineates, in addition to the expanded wings, appendages which seem to be intended for human arms, and a few other specimens afford less distinct indications of the same intention. I do not think that the bird on the copper coins can be intended for a peacock, which it does not in the least resemble. Its head is drawn nearly circular, and was probably intended to represent a human face. For these reasons I now agree with Mr. Fleet in regarding the bird on

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the copper coins as a representation of Garuḍa, the monster, half-man, half-bird, on which Vishṇu is believed to ride.[1] But the device may have been suggested by Greek coins, and given a Hindu signification.

It is impossible to be quite certain what was meant by the bird on the standard of the gold coins, but the fact that the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription mentions 'Garuḍa tokens' (*Garutmatanka*) or standards, renders it probable that the bird on the standard also was intended for Garuḍa.[2] I have no doubt that, whatever its meaning as a Hindu symbol, the form of the bird-standard was copied from the eagle of the Roman *aurei*, which were probably re-struck as Gupta *dînârs*.[3]

The goddess seated on a wicker stool and turned to the left is found, with variation in the accessories, on the Lyrist type of Samudra Gupta, and on the Horseman types, both Right and Left, of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta. Her attributes on the coins of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II. indicate that she is intended to represent a form of Lakshmî or Good Fortune; her association with the peacock on the coins of Kumâra Gupta suggests that she is there intended also as a representation of Kumârî Devî. The design itself is undoubtedly of foreign origin. The goddess of the Gupta coins seated on the wicker stool is almost an exact copy of Demeter as represented on a rare coin of the island of Paros in the British Museum, and the resemblance is so close that both designs must be referred to a common source.

The device of the Gupta coins may have been directly imitated from that of Apollo seated on the ὄμφαλος, with its cover of the ἄγρηνον net, as seen on the Seleucid coins of Syria.[4] Seleucid coins are sometimes found in India, and the devices of Apollo on the Syrian, and of Demeter on the Parian coins, are certainly connected with one another.

[1] Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 93.

[2] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 14, *note* 3.

[3] The word *dînâr* is used in Gupta inscriptions for a gold coin. The Gaṛhwâ (Gaḍhwâ) inscription from the Allahabad district is remarkable for expressing certain endowments both in *dînâras* and *suvarṇas* (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 266, No. 64).

[4] *Cf.* the coins of Antiochus I. (J.A.S.B. vol. l. part i. p. 178, pl. xviii. 14, 15).

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The standing king engaged in sacrificing at a small altar, who appears on the obverse of so many of the Gupta gold coins, is obviously an adaptation of the corresponding figure on many coins of Kanerki (Kanishka) and other Indo-Scythian princes. The altar is found on the Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta, the Archer type, variety β of the same prince, the coins of Kâcha, the Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II., and the Swordsman type of Kumâra Gupta. On later coins the king, instead of sacrificing at an altar, holds an arrow in his hand.

The reverse goddess of the gold coins, whether standing, or seated on a throne, or on an open lotus-flower, or on a lion, or on a wicker stool, is frequently represented as holding a cornucopiæ. Mr. Theobald has devoted much pains to an attempt to prove that the object which I call a cornucopiæ is really intended to represent a many-headed Nâga, or sacred snake.[1] It is true that on some coins the symbol does recall to mind the polycephalic Nâga which is familiar in the sculptures of Amarâvatî and elsewhere, and it is possible, or even probable, that the Hindus who cut the Gupta dies were conscious that the symbol they engraved suggested the sacred snake.

But I think it is perfectly plain that the symbol in question was primarily a horn of plenty, copied from the Indo-Scythian coins, and, indirectly, either from the Syrian or Roman coins. The cornucopiæ symbol appears for the last time on the rare coins forming Class I. of the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II., which were probably struck early in his reign, and must be dated about A.D. 400.[2]

The presence of the horn of plenty symbol shows that the goddess, whether sitting or standing, who holds it, is intended to be presented in a beneficent aspect. When she holds the cornucopiæ and is seated on a lion, as in the case of the coins of Chandra Gupta I., it is obvious that the symbolism is intended to suggest both the terrible and the beneficent

[1] J.A.S.B. vol. liv. part i. pp. 84–92.

[2] In illustration of the fact that the cornucopiæ was a foreign symbol I may mention that in M. Williams' English-Sanskrit Dictionary the word has to be rendered by a long periphrasis. No Sanskrit name for the symbol is adduced.

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aspects of the goddess, and it is immaterial whether we call her Pârvatî, or Durgâ, or Lakshmî, for she partakes of the special characteristics of each.

The goddess seated on a four-legged throne, who appears on the reverse of the Javelin and Archer types of Samudra Gupta, and the Couch and Class I. Archer types of the early part of the reign of Chandra Gupta II., is unmistakeably an adaptation of the goddess who is named APΔOXPO, 'Ardochro,' on the Indo-Scythian coins. The coins of Class II. Archer type of Chandra Gupta II. introduce the reverse device of a goddess seated on an open lotus-flower, which remained for some centuries the standard design for the reverse of gold and copper coins in Northern India. This device seems not to have differed substantially from that of the throne-seated goddess in symbolical meaning, and the devices of the goddess standing, or seated on a wicker stool, unless when differentiated by special symbols, appear to have had the same general signification. These goddesses commonly, though not always, carry a lotus-flower in one hand, and a noose or fillet (*pâśa*) in the other. They agree in the main with the description of the goddess Srî or Lakshmî, consort of Vishṇu. "She is the goddess of good luck and plenty. . . She is worshipped by filling the corn-measure with wheat or other grain, and thereon placing flowers. She is represented as a lovely and benign woman, clothed in yellow, holding a lotus in her hand, and seated on a lotus, or beside Vishṇu. Sometimes, as is likewise Vishṇu, she is painted all yellow, and has four arms, and she holds in one of her right arms a rosary, and the *pâśa* or cord in one of her left. This cord is seen also in the hands of Varuṇa and Śiva, and is emblematical of the sea, which girds the earth."[1] In Sanskrit poetry Lakshmî is described as *ambujâsinâ*, or seated on the lotus.[2] The following description of her attributes by Sir Monier Williams will further elucidate the symbolism of the coins. "Lakshmî—the goddess of fortune or prosperity, wife of the god Vishṇu. She is said also to preside over

[1] Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, vol. i. p. 58.
[2] I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Rapson for the quotation of this epithet.

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beauty, and, in this respect, as well as in the story of her birth, agrees in character with Venus. She was born, according to the usual accounts, from the ocean, when churned by the gods and Asuras, and emerged from the foam of the sea, seated on a full-blown lotus, and holding a lotus in her hand. Her countenance is represented as incomparably beautiful. As presiding over abundance she resembles Ceres. . . . . As seated on, or holding, the lotus, or as identified with this flower, which is the symbol of prosperity, पद्मा, कमला, पद्माक्षया, पद्मवासा, पद्महस्ता . . . As mother of Kâmadeva, माया . . . . As mother of the world, लोकमाता, माता." [1]

I have, therefore, no doubt that the goddess, who is seated on a throne in Samudra's coins, on a lotus-flower in the coins of Chandra Gupta II. and his successors, and also (in certain cases) the goddess seated on a wicker stool, or standing, are all intended to express substantially the same conception, that of the benign and kindly Good Fortune, the bestower of happiness and plenty, the consort of the wise ruler; the same who was named *Τύχη* and Demeter by the Greeks, Fortuna, Ceres, Abundantia, etc., by the Romans, and Ardochro by the Indo-Scythians.

Sir Alexander Cunningham is of opinion that the Indo-Scythian Ardochro "represents the Earth, the *Alma Venus* of Lucretius, and the mother of all things, *μήτηρ πάντων*, as Euripides calls her." [2] Dr. Von Sallet remarks that "the goddess Ardochro, who appears on the Turushka coins up to the latest times, is identical with Demeter. She is an exact repetition of the sitting Demeter with cornucopiæ and ears of corn on the coins of Azes—that is to say, of the sitting Demeter only. The standing Demeter also holds the cornucopiæ, and is of course identical with the sitting form. This remark is by no means superfluous. The identity of the sitting and the standing Ardochro must be insisted on for the reason that it happens elsewhere in the case of these

[1] M. Williams, English-Sanskrit Dictionary, *s.v.* Lakshmî.
[2] Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. ii. p. 43.

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coins that the same name appears along with quite distinct figures. For instance, the name Athro is found on coins of king Ooerki along with the figure of Hephaistos, and on other coins of the Turushka kings along with that of a bearded warrior, who holds in his hand a sword, as well as a garland or diadem."[1]

The noose or fillet (*pâśa*), so often seen in the right hand of the goddess on the reverse of the gold coins has been mentioned above as one of the common accessories of the representations of Lakshmî and other deities. This emblem on the Gupta coins is, as explained by Mr. Theobald, of ambiguous meaning.[2] On the one hand, it is connected with the classic *vitta* or fillet, the emblem both of purity and power, and, on the other, with the Hindu noose symbol, which appears to have symbolized many things. As drawn on the Gupta gold coins the emblem is more of a noose than a fillet. It does not matter much which name is applied to it, and I shall continue to use the name fillet, subject to the foregoing remarks.

The gold coins, as has been shown, present a remarkable variety of obverse types. The silver coins, on the other hand, though readily distinguishable into groups by differences in their legends or reverse devices, have all substantially the same obverse device, namely, that of the king's head turned to the right, wearing a low cap or helmet. Many pieces exhibit a defective and corrupt legend in unintelligible Greek characters, which seem intended to stand for the PAO NANO PAO of the Indo-Scythian coinage. The Fan-tail Peacock coins of Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and Budha Gupta are dated in the old Indian numerals, which were in use before the introduction of the present notation. On the coins of Toramâṇa, who belonged to a different dynasty, and succeeded Budha Gupta in Western India, the king's head is turned to the left.[3]

[1] Translated from p. 230 of Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien, von Alfred von Sallet, Berlin, 1879.

[2] J.A.S.B. vol. liv. part i. p. 85.

[3] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 26; and Fleet, Corpus Inscrip. Indic. vol. iii. p. 11. Both Chandra Gupta and Kumâra Gupta indifferently turn their

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The reverse devices of the silver coins have been enumerated above, and the derivation of the Fantail Peacock device has been explained. The obscure device, which I call the Winged Peacock, is barbarous in execution, and it is impossible to trace its origin more particularly. The Trident type connects the coins of Kumâra Gupta with those of the later Senapati Bhaṭârka of Valabhi, and the recumbent bull of the Bull type of Skanda Gupta's coinage was the special emblem of the kings of Valabhi, who succeeded the Guptas in Kaṭhiâwâr, and continued to use the same era. It is also found on the Nâga coins of Narwâr.[1]

The obverse device and the general style of the Gupta silver coins are obviously copied from the coins of the Satraps of Saurâshtra, whom the Gupta kings supplanted. The clusters of dots on some of the Gupta coins represent the rayed sun of the early Satrap coins.[2]

The Satrap coins are imitations of Greek *hemidrachmæ*, and bear a considerable resemblance to the coins of the Bactrian king Kodes.

I have already referred to the Umbrella type of the copper coinage. The Standing King obverse device is also connected with the gold coinage. The bust of the king, with a flower in his right hand, of the Vikramâditya Bust type, is a rude imitation of well-known gold coins of Ooerki (Huvishka).

The reverse device of the copper coins has been explained above.

Chapter III.—Monogrammatic Emblems.

The so-called monograms occur on the reverse of the Gupta gold coins, in the left field, over the right shoulder of the goddess.

Horseman devices right and left. I doubt, therefore, whether any significance can be attached to the fact that the head on Toramâṇa's coins is turned to the left.

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pp. 23, 31.

[2] J.Bo.R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 23 (1862). The reference is to Mr. Newton's paper 'On the Sâh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiâwâr and Guzerat,' which gives a very careful account of the Satrap coins, with a plate. The Satraps used erroneously to be called the Sâh Dynasty, owing to a misreading of the cognomen Siṅha. See also Mr. Newton's paper 'On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India,' in Bo.J.R.A.S. vol. ix. p. 1 (1868).

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I have observed only one certain instance where a monogram is found on both obverse and reverse, namely, a coin of the Javelin type of Samudra Gupta, No. 688 of the Bodleian collection, which has monogram 6*a* on the reverse, and a variety of monogram 19 on the obverse. The obverse emblem looks as if it had been twice struck.

The forms assumed by the monogrammatic emblems on the numerous gold coins which I have examined are shown in Plate V. The most common forms consist of a horizontal line, or two parallel horizontal lines, surmounted by either three or four dots or short prongs, and having a square or lozenge attached below by one corner.

Sometimes the square or lozenge is replaced by a cross, and sometimes by other devices, and occasionally the prongs or dots above the horizontal line are wanting. One form (No. 25), which I know only from a drawing, and for the accuracy of which I cannot answer, departs altogether from the standard pattern.

Examination of the plate will show the large variety of minor modifications in detail which occur.

The following statement exhibits the monograms which have come under my observation, arranged according to reigns:

Reign.	*Monogram.*
Chandra Gupta I.	3*a*; 4*a*; 4*b*; 5; 8*d*; 22*b*.
Samudra Gupta.	3*a*; 4*b*; 4*c*; 4*d*; 6*a*; 6*b*; 8*a*; 8*b*; 9; 11; 19*a*; 19*c*; 20*a*; 20*b*; 21; 22*a*; 22*b*.
Kâcha (?=Samudra Gupta.)	1; 2*a*; 2*b*; 4*a*.
Chandra Gupta II.	3*a*; 3*b*; 3*d*; 4*c*; 4*e*; 7*a*; 7*b*; 8*a*; 8*b*; 10*a*; 10*b*; 10*c*; 12; 15; 16; 17*a*; 17*b*; 17*c*; 18; 19*a*; 19*b*; 19*d*; 19*e*; 20*a*; 21; 22; 23; 24.
Kumâra Gupta.	3*b*; 8*a*; 8*b*; 8*c*; 10*c*; 17*c*; 17*d*; 19*b*; 20*a*; 25.
Skanda Gupta.	3*a*; 3*b*; 4*c*?; 8*a*.
Heavy coins of Chandra, etc.	8*a*; 8*e*; 10*a*; 13; 14; 19*a*.

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The following types have no monogram :

Reign.	*Type.*
Samudra Gupta.	Aśwamedha.
,, ,,	Tiger.
Chandra Gupta II.	Javelin.
Kumâra Gupta.	Horseman to Left.
,, ,,	Peacock.
,, ,,	Aśwamedha.

In the following types the monogram is sometimes present, and sometimes wanting :

Reign.	*Type.*
Samudra Gupta.	Lyrist.
Chandra Gupta II.	Horseman to Right.
,, ,,	Horseman to Left.
,, ,,	Lion-Trampler.
,, ,,	Umbrella.
Kumâra Gupta.	Horseman to Right.[1]

Monogrammatic emblems do not occur either on the silver or copper coins.[2]

The foregoing lists teach us that the monogram, though usually inserted, was frequently omitted, and was not considered indispensable.

The so-called monograms on the Gupta coins correspond to the similar emblems on the Indo-Scythian coinage, and whatever explanation applies to those of the one series necessarily applies to those of the other.

The general type of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms is one, but the details vary, and I doubt if a single example of the Indo-Scythian series is exactly reproduced on a Gupta coin. A comparison of Wilson's plate of the Indo-Scythian monograms in the Ariana Antiqua with my Plate of the corresponding Gupta emblems will prove the correctness of this assertion.

[1] The above lists differ considerably from those given in J.A.S.B. vol. liii. part i. pp. 137, 138, subsequent discoveries and observations having rendered correction necessary.

[2] A mark like an iota occurs commonly on the coins of the Satraps of Saurâshtra before the date, and occasionally on the Gupta silver coins, which Mr. Newton supposed to be a mint-mark.

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Real monograms, combinations of letters, usually Greek, occur on the field of the Græco-Bactrian coinage, some of which are certainly the names or initials of mint-cities. The analogy of the Bactrian coins has led to the application of the name monogram to the corresponding marks on the Indo-Scythian and Gupta mintages, but, strictly speaking, the name is not applicable in either case. The so-called Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms are not combinations of letters of any alphabet. They have sometimes been called emblems, but that word is inconveniently vague, and the term monogrammatic emblem is cumbrous. I therefore use the name monogram as a convenient abbreviation, and hope that this explanation will prevent any misunderstanding of my meaning.

In my essay on the gold coins I expressed a hope that the precise significance of the Gupta monograms might be elucidated, but so far this hope has not been realized. They are certainly not the marks of individual mint-masters or other functionaries, because the same monogram runs on from reign to reign through a period exceeding a century in duration.

With equal certainty it may be affirmed that they are not blundered copies of the Indo-Scythian monograms. The Gupta coins, though closely related to the Indo-Scythian mintages, are not in any respect blind imitations of them, and are characterized by much originality of design, nor are the Gupta monograms inferior in mechanical execution to the Indo-Scythian, from which they differ with systematic, and obviously intentional, variety. The Gupta and Indo-Scythian die-cutters certainly meant to express substantially the same ideas by their monograms, but one did not copy from the other.

I am convinced that the Gupta monograms do not indicate the mint-cities. The Indo-Scythian dominion in India began in, and spread from the Panjâb, and continued to exist there at least as late as the time of Samudra Gupta. There is no reason to suppose that the Guptas ever held the Panjâb, in which province none of their remains are found. Yet, as

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I have observed, the general similarity between the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms is obvious, and it is incredible that marks so nearly alike should be used to indicate Indo-Scythian mints in the Panjâb, and also mints in Bihâr and the adjoining provinces, where the Gupta gold coins appear to have been struck.

We find further that Gupta coins found together in a single hoard, and therefore presumably minted in one province, exhibit many monograms. Thirty-two coins of the Bharsar hoard present five monograms among twenty-five coins, and seven pieces had no monogram at all. Other hoards which I have examined present the same phenomenon.

The description of Types and Devices in the preceding chapter will have satisfied the reader that mythological symbolism is characteristic of the Gupta coins, as it is of the Indo-Scythian, and all ancient coinages. The presumption therefore is that the monograms are in harmony with the rest of the design, and have a religious or mythological significance, and I am convinced that, in general terms, this explanation of their meaning is the correct one.

But I cannot profess to explain them in detail. In my former publication I noted the curiously close likeness between monogram 6*a*, and the Egyptian symbol for the bee, which is said to have been the sign royal in the Hieratic character, and observed that a trident, which bears a resemblance to some of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms, occurs, detached like them, in the field of a coin of Rhescuporis II., King of the Bosporos (A.D. 17 to 34). The four-pronged symbol in the hand of ? Victory on some coins of Azes is identical with the upper part of many of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms.[1] I attach no importance to these observations, and repeat them merely on the chance that they may suggest a clue to a detailed interpretation.

Subsequent investigation has enabled me to contribute little more to the elucidation of the problem, but I have noticed that certain marks called by Mr. Thomas "barrows" and "trees," which occur on some of the early punch-

[1] Gardner, Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, pl. xviii. 11.

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marked Indian coins of uncertain date, bear a general resemblance to the pronged forms of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms.[1] I think it is not unlikely that these pronged forms are connected with the familiar trident or *triśûl* emblem, which was used as a symbol by different religions in many different senses, and that they are thus connected with symbols of almost world-wide use. At present I am unable to make any further suggestion, and can only renew the expression of the hope that the puzzle of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta "monograms" will eventually be solved.

Chapter IV.—Legends.

In order to present a detailed account of the palæography of the Gupta coins it would be necessary to give a plate of alphabets, which would be costly and troublesome to prepare, and would scarcely repay the trouble.[2] It may, however, be worth while to note, in an unsystematic way, a few peculiarities in the forms of the alphabet which occur in the coin legends, and to examine briefly the legends themselves.

The most remarkable peculiarity in the forms of characters used is the omission of the upper vowel marks in the Western series of silver coins. The Northern issues of the silver coinage with the reverse device of a peacock with expanded tail bear legends with the vowel marks above the line fully indicated. This distinction was first noted by Mr. Fleet, and my examination of the coins fully confirms its existence. Plate IV. Fig. 2 shows that the omission of the vowel marks in the Western series was intentional, and not due to want of room on the coin. The coin there figured retains the dotted circle outside the legend, but the vowel marks are wanting, just as they are in coins where the legend is close to the margin. The practice of omitting the vowel marks also

[1] J.A S.B. vol. xxxiv. part i. pl. xi. nos. 10 and 14. The same plate was also published in *Numism. Chron.* N.S. vol. iv. pl. xi.

[2] A valuable table of alphabets, including the characters of some of the Satrap and Gupta inscriptions, is given in plate v. of vol. iv. of the Archæological Survey of Western India.

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obtains in the coinage of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, the model of the Gupta silver coinage. The vowel marks are omitted in the legends of a few of the gold coins, but, as a rule, they are inserted.

The form of the letter *m* presents remarkable variations. Coins of Samudra Gupta frequently present on the same piece this letter both in a slightly modified form of the character in the Aśoka alphabet (No. 1), and in the square form with an indentation in the left limb, which is most common in the Gupta inscriptions (No. 2). The letter also frequently takes the form of two lines meeting in a point resting on a horizontal line (No. 3). A silver coin of Skanda Gupta in the British Museum twice renders medial *m* by three dots, arranged in a triangle with the apex at the bottom (No. 5), and another silver coin of the same king renders medial *m* by a single dot (No. 6). On a gold coin of Samudra Gupta in the Bodleian cabinet *m* assumes a square form without any indentation (No. 4). The following are the principal forms of *m*:

(1) ; (2) ; (3) ; (4) ; (5) ∴; (6) .

The *p*, *t*, *h*, and *y* also display considerable variations of form, and there is hardly any letter in the alphabet which does not vary perceptibly in shape.

The unique Standing King copper coin of Kumâra Gupta in the Bodleian collection is remarkable for expressing long *â* by a vertical stroke behind the *m*, as in the modern alphabet (*post*, p. 143). All other coins which I have seen express this vowel, when it is expressed at all, by a mark above the line, generally turned towards the right.

The nasal in the word Siṅha is always written as the guttural nasal, and not as *anuswâra*.

The *k* in Vikrama on the coins of Chandra Gupta II. is frequently doubled.[1]

The characters for *cha* and *ndra* on the rare silver Vikramâditya coins of Chandra Gupta II. are so peculiar

[1] In inscriptions of the Gupta period *t* and *k*, when followed by *r*, are often doubled, *e.g.* the Asîrgarh seal of Sarvavarman (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 20).

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in shape that they were read as Bakra instead of Chandra by Mr. Newton and Sir E. C. Bayley, but the right reading is undoubtedly Chandra.

On some silver coins of Skanda Gupta the *k* in the conjunct character *ska* is rendered by a loop, which looks like a *v*.

The letters forming the king's name in the field on the obverse of the gold coins are arranged vertically, and must be read from top to bottom. The arrangement of the letters of the name Kumâra Gupta on the unique Two Queens coin is most peculiar. The letters lie on their side, but the word Kumâra, on the right of the central figure, is to be read from above, and the word Gupta, on the left, from below (Plate III. 4).

The legends on the silver coins of Skanda Kramâditya are extremely rude and irregular.

The legends of the Gupta coins consist of the kings' names with the addition of various boastful titles or epithets and laudatory phrases. The queen's name is also recorded on one type, and will probably be found on one or two other types when better specimens than those now available come to light.

Chandra Gupta I. in the single known type of his coinage contented himself with the record of his own and his consort's names, and the addition of the word 'Lichchhavayaḥ' (the Lichchhavis), intimating that his queen belonged to the Lichchhavi royal family of Nepâl. It is evident that he was very proud of this alliance. He abstains from the use of bragging phrases.

His successor, Samudra Gupta, was fond of titles, and of vaunting his conquests, prowess, and accomplishments. We know his coinage in gold only. I presume that his Tiger type, preserved in a single specimen, was his earliest coinage, because he there assumes the plain title of Râjâ only. On the obverse he describes himself as *vyâghra parâkrama* (? or *vikrama*), 'equal in might to the tiger,' and on the reverse simply as *Râjâ Samudra Gupta*. Possibly the coins of this type may have been struck during his father's lifetime. The Tiger, Aśwamedha, and Lyrist types of Samudra are connected by the circumstance that all three look more like

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medals than ordinary coins. The Tiger and Aśwamedha coins agree in having standing goddesses on the reverse, and the Lyrist and Aśwamedha types are related by their common possession of the mysterious syllable 'Si' in a detached position in the exergue.

Samudra Gupta had a special liking for the word *parâkrama*, 'power' or 'might.' The obverse legend of the Aśwamedha pieces is imperfect, but contains a boast of having conquered the earth (*pṛithivî*); the reverse records the fact that the king had power to celebrate the horse sacrifice (*Aśwamedha parâkrama*).

The Lyrist type on the reverse simply gives the king's name, which is repeated on the obverse with the addition of the prefix *Śrî*, and the sovereign title of *Mahârâjâdhirâjâ*.

The Javelin type on the obverse has a long legend stating that "his majesty (*deva*), having conquered [the earth], and being victor in a hundred battles of various kinds, is victorious." The reverse bears the word *parâkrama*, 'might' or 'prowess,' alone.

One variety of Samudra's Archer type repeats *parâkrama* as the sole reverse legend, the other substitutes the epithet *apratiratha*, 'invincible in his war-chariot,' which is also used in the inscriptions to characterize Samudra Gupta. The obverse legend seems to be of the same purport as that of the Javelin type, the synonym *kshiti* being substituted for *pṛithivî*, 'earth.'

The legends of the Battle-axe type explain the symbolism of the devices, and compare the king to Yama, god of Death and Judgment, under his name of *Kṛitânta*, 'he that maketh an end.' The obverse also gives the king the title of *Râjâdhirâjâ*, and not the higher title of *Mahârâjâdhirâjâ* which is used on the Lyrist coin.

The style and reverse device plainly connect the coins of Kâcha with the Tiger and Aśwamedha types of Samudra Gupta, of whom Kâcha was probably a title. These coins bear the remarkable legend *Kâcho gâm avajitya karmabhir uttamair jayati*, 'Kâcho, having vanquished the earth, by excellent deeds is victorious,' and the king is called 'the

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exterminator of all râjâs,' an epithet applied in four, or perhaps five, inscriptions to Samudra Gupta.[1]

The correct *sandhi*, or euphonic change of vowels and consonants, in this legend and the legends of some other northern Gupta coins is noticeable.

The epithet *deva*, 'divine,' which Mr. Fleet renders by 'his majesty,' first appears on Samudra's Javelin pieces. It reappears on the unique Couch coin of Chandra Gupta II., and on several later issues, both gold and silver.

Chandra Gupta II. affected the use of the word *vikrama*, instead of the synonymous *parâkrama*, which Samudra Gupta preferred, and sometimes used the compound epithets *vikramâditya* 'sun of power,' and *vikramânka* 'arm of power.' The latter epithet occurs on the silver coins only. The title *vikramâditya* is found on the gold, silver, and copper coins of Chandra Gupta II.

Ordinarily the personal title used by one Gupta king is not used by another, but the title *Vikramâditya* is undoubtedly used on ten rude silver coins in the British Museum which bear the name of Skanda Gupta.

The special appellation of Skanda Gupta was *Kramâditya*, a synonym of *Vikramâditya*, which occurs on both the Winged Peacock (Altar) and Bull types of his silver coinage, and on his heavy gold coins of the *suvarṇa* standard. The gold coins of Kumâra with the title of *Kramâditya* (Arch. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 81) appear to belong to the later Kumâra Gupta of Magadha. The title is also found on the Bull coins recently discovered by Mr. Rivett-Carnac (Pl. III. 12).

The three Lion types (Lion-Trampler, Combatant Lion, and Retreating Lion) of Chandra Gupta II. may be regarded as imitations of the Tiger type of Samudra Gupta, and bear a reverse legend in the same form; the words *siṅha vikrama*, 'with the strength of a lion,' being substituted for *vyâghra parâkrama*, 'with the might of a tiger.'

In his Umbrella type of gold coins, Chandra Gupta II. uses the formula *Vikramâditya kshitim avajitya sucharati*, 'Vikramâditya having conquered the earth prospers,' and

[1] Corpus. Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 27, note 4.

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the same formula, with the substitution of the synonym *gâm* for *kshitim*, is used by Kumâra Gupta in his Swordsman type.

The special personal title of Kumâra Gupta was *Mahendra*, which has not been found on the coins of any other member of the dynasty. It occurs uncompounded only on Kumâra's gold coins. He uses it in combination with the participle *ajita* 'unconquered,' in his Horseman types, with *Śrî* in his Archer type, with *Kumâra* in his Peacock type, and with *Siṅha* in his Lion types (Combatant Lion and Lion-Trampler). A coin of the Combatant Lion type adds the word *parâkrama*, which generally occurs on the coins of Samudra Gupta only. The fuller compounded form *Mahendrâditya* is found on the Winged Peacock and Trident silver coins of Kumâra Gupta.

A Horseman to Left coin in the Bodleian cabinet gives Kumâra the title *Kramâjita*, 'of unconquered power,' which has not been found elsewhere, and his unique Two Queens coin presents the title *Śrî Pratâpa*.

The epithet *parama bhâgavata*, 'most devout worshipper of the holy one,' *scilicet* Vishṇu, is first met with on the coins of Chandra Gupta II., who uses it on his Vikramâditya silver coins, and his Horseman to Right and Horseman to Left gold pieces. The same epithet is used on the Winged Peacock silver coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, and on the Bull silver coins of the latter prince.

The formula *vijitâvanir avanipati*, 'lord of the earth, who has conquered the earth,' is found on the Fantail Peacock coins of Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta, Toramâṇa, Bhîma Sena, and Îśâna Varman, and is said by Thomas to occur on an unpublished gold Archer coin of Kumâra Gupta in the Freeling collection.

The legends of the Horseman (Right and Left) gold coins of Kumâra are unfortunately imperfect, but they seem to give him the title of *kshitipati*, a synonym of *avanipati*, 'lord of the earth.'

I read the title of *mahâkshatrapa* 'great Satrap' on a silver coin of Skanda Gupta in the British Museum, and believe the reading to be correct, but it requires confirmation.

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The obverse legend of two Lion-Trampler gold coins of Kumâra Gupta clearly appears to include the words *Śrî Siksha* (or *Saiksha*) *devata*, but I cannot interpret them.

Nara, a successor of the Guptas in their Eastern dominions, took the title of *Bâlâditya*, 'the young' or 'rising sun.' The proper personal name of the king who assumed the title of *Prakâśâditya*, 'sun of splendour,' has not yet been deciphered.

Chapter V.—Weights.

Since the publication of my essay on the Gupta gold coins in 1884 I have seen a large number of coins not previously known to me, and have learned the weights of many, but the statistics collected five years ago remain still substantially correct. It seems, therefore, unnecessary to repeat in detail all the arguments then used to establish my positions. I shall content myself with a brief recapitulation of what is already on record, and with noting the few new facts available, and the modifications in my views which they suggest. Most of the Gupta gold coins follow the Indo-Scythian standard, which was apparently adopted from the Romans. We know from Pliny, whose Natural History was published in or about A.D. 77, that a great stream of Roman gold poured into India in his time, and the numerous finds of Roman coins in India prove that it continued for long after.

The *aureus* of Julius Cæsar in the specimens now existing ranges in weight from 120 to 125 grains. His standard is supposed to have been 125·66 grains. He was murdered B.C. 44. After his death the weight of the Roman *aureus* gradually declined, and is said to have averaged 115·39 grains in the reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68). Professor Gardner gives 114 grains as the highest known weight of Nero's *aurei*. The average weight of the *aurei* of Augustus in the British Museum is 121·26 grains.

The reasonings in my previous publication were based on the weighment of 177 gold Gupta coins. Subsequent discoveries do not materially alter the facts, and I therefore

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allow the figures to stand as before, with few exceptions. The highest weights are as follows:—

Reign.	*Type.*	*Grains.*
Chandra Gupta I.	King and Queen	123·8
Samudra Gupta	All	123·4
Kâcha (?=Samudra Gupta)	Standard	125·8
Chandra Gupta II.	Archer, wheel variety	132·5
,, ,,	Horseman to Right	130·92
,, ,,	Archer, common variety	127·6
,, ,,	Others	124·0
Kumâra Gupta	All	128·6
Skanda Gupta	Archer	132·5
Heavy coins of Chandra, etc.	All	148·7

I think that I formerly attached too much importance to average or mean weights. The really significant weighments are those of the best-preserved specimens, and I now confine my consideration to these.

My published table of weights gives as the highest weight of the Horseman to Right (Lancer) coins of Chandra Gupta II. 119·7 grains. A subsequently discovered coin of this type weighs 130·92 grains, and is thus made to conform in standard to the comparatively heavy Wheel variety of the Archer type of the same king, the heaviest specimen of which weighs 132·5 grains. I formerly supposed that the Horseman to Right (Lancer) coins were referable to a standard of 125, and the Wheel coins to a standard of 136·4 grains. Now it would seem as if this distinction were not sustainable, and I suspect that in my former paper I made too little allowance for wear and tear. The coins of Kumâra Gupta weigh, on the average, higher than those of his predecessors, but the top weight of any one coin of Kumâra Gupta's is only 128·6. Skanda Gupta's heaviest coin of the Archer type (not Kramâditya) weighs 132·5 grains, the same as the heaviest of the Wheel coins of Chandra Gupta II. I am inclined now to regard all these coins as struck according to a single standard, which seems to have been that of the Attic stater of 134·4 grains, transmitted through Roman, or possibly Syrian, channels.

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I adhere to the opinion that the best-established value for the *ratti*, the fundamental weight of the Indian scale, is 1·823 grain, which, for convenience, may be read as 1·825 grain, and that, consequently, the weight of the *suvarṇa* gold coin of 80 *ratis* ought to be 146 grains.

I think there can be no doubt that the heavy coins bearing the names of Chandra, Kumâra, Skanda Kramâditya, Nara Bâlâditya, and Prakâśâditya were intended to be of a standard different from that of the ordinary Gupta gold coins. The mean weight of these heavy coins is always, roughly speaking, about 20 grains greater than that of the regular Gupta coinage, and it is impossible that so great and constant a difference can be accidental.

The British Museum contains eleven pieces in base metal which bear the name of Kumâra, or its initial syllable, and the heaviest of these coins weighs as much as 151 grains. No safe conclusion as to weight standards can be drawn from coins of utterly base metal, and these debased coins of Kumâra must be excluded from consideration. They are certainly of later date than the death of Skanda Gupta, and probably belong to the later Kumâra Gupta of Magadha (*circa* A.D. 550), but no information as to their find-spots is available, and I cannot feel any certainty respecting their attribution.

The heavy coins of Chandra, which have been placed in the scales, weigh 144·5 and 148 grains, and bear the title Vikramâditya. The metal in these pieces does not apparently differ from the much-alloyed gold of many of the ordinary Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II., which ordinarily weigh about 123 grains. I know of no Chandra except Chandra Gupta II., to whom these heavy coins can be referred, and am now inclined to the opinion that they were struck during his reign, and formed a provincial coinage, probably issued from an Eastern mint.

The heavy Kumâra coins of tolerably good gold, four specimens of which are in the British Museum, weigh up to 148·7 grains. I cannot be certain whether they are a provincial issue of Kumâra Gupta of the Early Gupta dynasty, or were issued by the later Kumâra Gupta of Magadha.

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I know of no Skanda except the Early Gupta king, and now believe that the heavy gold coins of Skanda with the title Kramâditya were issued by Skanda Gupta of the Early Gupta dynasty. The metal seems to be of much the same quality as that of his undoubted coins. The heavy coins of Skanda Kramâditya which have been weighed weigh from 141·4 to 146 grains.

The coins of Nara Bâlâditya and Prakâśâditya are certainly later than the time of Skanda Gupta, and were not issued by members of the Early Gupta dynasty. Many of the coins of Nara are of base metal. The heaviest of tolerably good gold weighs 146·5 grains. The heaviest Prakâśâditya coin weighs 146·2 grains.

It is, as I have said, useless to attempt to argue about the weights of coins struck in utterly base metal, but the heavy coins of Skanda Kramâditya, and some of those bearing the names of Chandra, Kumâra, Nara Bâlâditya, and Prakâśâditya are not obviously inferior in quality of metal to the undoubted coins of Chandra Gupta II., and it seems incredible that it should have been intended that these heavy coins, averaging about 144 grains, should have been struck, like the earlier Gupta coinage, to the standard of 134·4 grains. I still think that the intention was to adjust them to the Hindu *suvarṇa* standard of 146 grains. We cannot at present explain why this standard was adopted for some coins, and not for others, but I think it clear that both standards were in simultaneous use. The Garhwâ (Gaḍhwâ) inscription from the Allâhâbâd District, which seems to have been recorded in the reign of Kumâra Gupta, especially mentions an endowment of nineteen *suvarṇas*, and the same inscription makes mention of *dînâras*. The name *suvarṇas* would properly be applied to the heavy class, and that of *dînâra* to the lighter class of Gupta coins. Unluckily this inscription is imperfect. (See *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. iii. p. 264, No. 64.) Endowments of *dînâras* are mentioned in other Gupta inscriptions, *e.g.* in the Sânchi record dated 131 (*ibid*, p. 260, No. 62).

Specimens of the Gupta silver coins of Kumâra and Skanda

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are so numerous that it would be absurd to give their weights in detail. The silver pieces of Chandra Gupta II., however, are extremely rare. The Freeling specimen of his Vikramânka type weighed 31 grains, and this is the only coin of his reign the weight of which I know. Specimens of the Winged Peacock type of Kumâra Gupta range in weight as high as 33 grains, or a fraction more, but average about 29. The Fantail Peacock coins of the same king are of about the same weight. Mr. Thomas observes that the weight of the Winged Peacock coins of Skanda Gupta "is more than ordinarily uneven, rising from 22½ to 33 grains." The highest weight noted for Skanda Gupta's Fantail Peacock coins is about 35 grains, and for his Bull type is 30 grains.

I am not able to give analyses of the metal in the silver coinage, but it is, like that of the gold coins, frequently impure. The figures given are, however, sufficient to show that all the Gupta silver coins were intended to be roughly equivalent to Attic hemidrachmæ, though they depart considerably from the standard weight.

The copper coins are rare, as compared with the silver, and it is possible to deal with their weights in more detail, but the coins are almost all in such bad condition that the investigation is not very profitable, and I cannot make out with certainty the standard according to which they were struck.

A much worn coin of the Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II. weighs 102 grains, and another only 70·8. They may be intended for three-quarter *paṇa* pieces, of which the standard weight would be 109·5 grains.[1]

The Standing King coins range from 13·5 to 53·5 grains, and evidently include at least two denominations, but the specimens are all so worn, and the weights are so graduated, that I cannot say with confidence what the denominations were.

The British Museum specimens of the Vikramâditya Bust

[1] The *paṇa* in copper was the same weight as the *suvarṇa* in gold, and the equivalent in value of 80 cowrie shells, or a handful (*Arch. Rep.* vol. x. p. 78; vol. xiv. p. 17).

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type weigh respectively 44 and 40·5 grains. Both these coins are in fair condition. I do not think the full weight can have exceeded 50 grains.

The Chandra Head coins are all small, and some are excessively minute. The lowest weight is 6·5 (or perhaps 4·5), and the highest 28 grains. I have sorted the coins into a larger size weighing from 16·5 to 28 grains, and a smaller size weighing from 6·5 (or perhaps 4·5) to 13 grains. I am inclined to think that three denominations of this type were issued, but the bad condition of the coins forbids any definite conclusions.

The little piece which weighs only 4·5 grains is very indistinct, and may belong to the Vase type of Chandra.

These curious little Vase coins occur in at least two sizes. A specimen of the larger kind weighs 13 grains, and the minute pieces range from 3½ to 7 grains. I do not think that these coins were issued by a member of the Gupta dynasty.

The metal of the Gupta copper coins seems to be of good quality.

Most of the gold coins are in weight *aurei* (=*didrachmæ*) of the standard of 134·4 grains, but some, as I have said, seem to have been struck to the Hindu standard of 146 grains. The genuine copper coinage, which was struck at Northern mints, is obviously related to the gold, and was doubtless intended to follow either the Græco-Roman or the Hindu standard, but I am unable to decide which was actually followed.

The minute copper coins of Skanda Gupta and Kumâra Gupta which follow the types of the silver coinage seem to be ancient forgeries.[1] They have been found in Kaṭhiâwâṛ.

Chapter VI.—Find-Spots and Mints.

In my former publication I gave minute details of the *provenance* of all the Gupta gold coins mentioned in my Catalogue, so far as known. It appears unnecessary to repeat

[1] See *post*, Chapter X. Supplement to Catalogue of Copper Coins, p. 144.

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all those details, and I shall now confine myself to a general summary of the facts, adding details of the hoards of gold coins which have been discovered of late years, and a brief account of the *provenance* of the silver and copper coins.

The newly-discovered hoards of gold coins are as follows:

(1). The Tândâ hoard.

Tândâ is an old site in the Rai Bareli District of Oudh. The hoard was discovered in 1885, and consisted of twenty-five coins. Two of these belonged to the King and Queen type of Chandra Gupta I. The remaining twenty-three consisted of coins of Kâcha, and specimens of the Aśwamedha and Battle-axe types of Samudra Gupta, but, unfortunately, I omitted to note the exact numbers of each class. Specimens from this hoard are now in the Lucknow Museum, and seven coins belonging to it have been briefly noticed in print.[1]

(2). The Koṭwâ hoard.

This hoard was found at an ancient site named Koṭwâ in the Bânsgaon Tahsîl of the Gorakhpur District in the N.W.P., and a detailed description of it has been published by me.[2] Its contents were remarkably varied, as follows:—

Chandra Gupta II.	Archer type, class II., variety α, 5 specimens.
,, ,,	Lion-Trampler type, variety δ, 1 specimen.
Kumâra Gupta.	Archer type, class I., variety η, 1 specimen.
,, ,,	Horseman to Right type, variety α, 3 specimens.
,, ,,	Ditto, variety γ, 2 specimens.
,, ,,	Horseman to Left type, 1 specimen.
,, ,,	Peacock type, variety β, 2 specimens.
,, ,,	Lion-Trampler type, variety α, 1 specimen.

(3). The Bastî hoard.

This hoard was found, in August, 1887, at the site of an

[1] Proc. A.S.B. April, 1886, p. 68. Information respecting this hoard was first given me by Mr. E. Rose, of the P.W.D.

[2] Proc. A.S.B. July, 1887. I had not an opportunity of correcting the proofs of this paper, and regret that it is consequently disfigured by some misprints in the references.

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old town in Mauza Sarai, close to the Jail of the civil station of Bastî, in the Bastî District of the N.W.P., which was then in my charge. Bastî is forty miles west of Gorakhpur, and lies between that town and Ajodhyâ. Eleven coins appear to have been found, but I only succeeded in purchasing ten for Government. Nine of these belong to the common variety of the Archer type (class II. *a*) of Chandra Gupta II. The tenth is a specimen of the rare Umbrella type of the same king. This coin is, I think, now in the Lucknow Museum.[1]

Mr. J. G. Sykes, Barrister-at-law, Lucknow, has favoured me with an inspection of nine Gupta gold coins in his cabinet, which were probably obtained in Oudh.

Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac has shown me sundry gold coins, obtained for the most part in or near Benares, which have passed through his hands, including fifteen specimens of the coinage of Skanda Kramâditya.

I understand that Mr. Hodges, of the P.W.D., has nineteen gold Gupta coins, all procured in Oudh, but I have not seen them.

I am indebted to Sir A. Cunningham for the following note on the find-spots of Gupta coins, which I give *verbatim*.

"The finds of gold Guptas are often concealed. Most of my coins have been obtained at the great places of pilgrimage, Mathurâ, Benares, and Gayâ. The silver Gupta coins[2] are chiefly found at Benares and country round about it, Ajudhya and country round about it, Mathurâ, and places in the neighbourhood. A fair number of silver Guptas have been obtained round about Sahâranpur and Bûriya on the Jumna.[3] The only records that I can find in my existing note-books are the following.[4]

[1] Proc. A.S.B. for 1887, p. 221.

[2] *Scilicet* those with reverse device of peacock with expanded tail, which I call Fantail Peacock coins.

[3] Haridwâr (Hurdwar), a famous place of pilgrimage, is in the Sahâranpur District of the North-Western Provinces.

[4] The rest of Sir A. Cunningham's valuable note-books were destroyed by the shipwreck of the P. and O. steamer Indus.

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Gold.

At Gayâ:

1 Chandra Gupta I. (Chandra and Kumâra Devî).
1 Samudra (Parâkrama).
3 Chandra Gupta II. (Śrî Vikrama).
1 ,, ,, (Singha Vikrama).
1 Kumâra Gupta (Horseman).
1 Skanda Gupta (Kramâditya, single figure).

—

Total, 8.

At village near Kosam (in Allâhâbâd District):

1 Kumâra Gupta (Horseman).

At Soron on the Ganges (in the Etâ District, N.W.P.):

1 Chandra Gupta II. (Śrî Vikrama).

At Lucknow:

1 Samudra Gupta (Aśwamedha).

At Delhi:

1 Kumâra Gupta (Horseman).

—

Total, 12 gold Guptas in one year.

	SILVER.			COPPER.	
PLACE.	CHANDRA.	KUMÂRA.	SKANDA.	CHANDRA.	KUMÂRA.
Mathurâ	.....	2	6	.....	.....
Ajudhya	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Sankisa	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Sultânganj on Ganges	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kosam	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Ahichhatra...	.....	.....	.....	2	1
Sunit, close to Ludiâna	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
TOTAL	1	2	7	14	1
	TOTAL... 10			TOTAL 15	

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"I have seen a large number of silver Guptas, but latterly have refused all without dates.

"The northern silver coins with the peacock with spread tail are tolerably common. The western silver coins of Kumâra with standing peacock are very common in Gujarât.

"I have a considerable number of silver Guptas, and a fair collection of copper Guptas, but the copper are confined to Chandra, with the single exception of one Kumâra. I formerly possessed a better copper coin of Kumâra, which Tregear got from Ajodhya. I think it may now be in the Bodleian Library at Oxford." [1]

The hoards noticed in my essay on the gold coins were those found at

1. Jaichandra's Mahal, Jaunpur, by Mr. Tregear. A small number of coins of various reigns;—

2. Bharsar, near Benares. About 160 coins of the reigns of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and Prakâśâditya. 71 pieces are known to have belonged to the reign of Chandra Gupta II.;—

3. At Muhammadpur, in Jessore District, Bengal. Gold and silver Gupta coins of various reigns, mixed with coins of later date, including one of Śaśângka, A.D. 600;—

4. At Gopâlpur, in the Gorakhpur District, Bengal. 20 gold coins, of which seven belonged to the reign of Chandra Gupta II.;—

5. At Allâhâbâd. About 200 pieces of the Peacock type of Kumâra Gupta;—

6. At Jhûsî, opposite Allâhâbâd. 20 or 30 gold coins of Kumâra Gupta;—

7. At Hûglî. 13 gold coins of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II., and Kumâra Gupta;—

8. On the border between the Gonda District, Oudh, and the Bastî District, N.W.P. The exact number of coins is not known, but several of Mr. Hooper's specimens are from this find. This hoard was not explicitly mentioned in my former essay, though alluded to in the notes on Mr. Hooper's coins.

[1] Letter dated 27th January, 1888. Sankisa is in the Farrukhâbâd District, N.W.P.; Sultânganj is in the Bhâgalpur District, Bengal; Kosam is in the Allâhâbâd District, N.W.P.; Ahichhatra (Râmnagar) is in the Barelî District, N.W.P.; and Sunit is in the Lûdiâna District, Panjâb. The copper coin of Kumâra, collected by Tregear, is in the Bodleian cabinet.

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The statistics previously published by me proved that the total of indisputably gold coins found east of Kanauj was then known to be about 480, only five or six being known to have been obtained at Kanauj, and 10 to the west or north-west of that city. I therefore observed that "the evidence now presented fully warrants the assertion that the find-spots of the Gupta gold coins in no way support the statement that Kanauj was the Gupta capital." The fresh evidence amply confirms this proposition. Two of the newly-discovered hoards, those of Koṭwâ and Bastî, were found in the districts of the N.W.P. east of Oudh, and the third, that of Tândâ, was found in the province of Oudh, which is to the east of Kanauj.[1] A few stray specimens of Gupta gold coins have been picked up in the western districts, or even in the Panjâb, but very few, except at certain places of pilgrimage, and the fact is certain that the study of the gold coinage indicates no special connection of the Gupta dynasty with Kanauj, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Gupta gold coins were minted at that city.

The evidence as to the find-spots of the silver and copper coins supports the same negative proposition.

The principal locality from which the copper coins are obtained is the ancient Hindu city of Ajodhyâ (Ayudhyâ), near Faizâbâd on the banks of the Ghâgra on the eastern border of Oudh. Ten out of fifteen specimens of the copper coinage in Sir A. Cunningham's cabinet were obtained at this place, from which Tregear also procured his unique specimen of the Standing King type of Kumâra Gupta. The five copper coins in Mr. Hooper's cabinet were all collected at Ajodhya.

Ahichhatra (Râmnagar), in the Barelî District of the North-Western Provinces, far to the north-west, has yielded two copper coins of Chandra Gupta, and one, which is doubtfully ascribed to Kumâra Gupta. Two copper pieces of

[1] Kanauj is in the Farrukhâbâd or Fatehgarh District of the North-Western Provinces. An account of its history and a description of the few remains now existing on its site will be found in Cunningham's Arch. Rep. vol. i. pp. 279 *seqq.*

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Chandra Gupta have been obtained in the Panjâb, namely, one by Mr. Theobald at Pânîpat, near Delhi, and the other by Sir A. Cunningham at Sunit, near Lûdiâna. One has been procured at Kosam in the Allâhâbâd District.

It is quite clear that the copper coinage, like the gold, has no special connection with Kanauj. The copper coins of Chandra Gupta II. are not so rare as has sometimes been supposed. I know that many specimens exist in the cabinets of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Lucknow Museum, and private collectors, respecting which I have not been able to procure details. My catalogue notices in detail more than fifty pieces, and I should say that at least as many more exist scattered in various collections. It is unfortunate that more copious information respecting the find-spots of the copper coins is not available, because copper coins are rarely dug up far from their place of mintage, and, if we knew the find-spots of the copper coins with accuracy, we should know the position of the Gupta copper mints.

The negative proposition, that the copper coinage had no special connection with Kanauj, having been established, I think that the fact of sixteen Gupta copper coins having been obtained (and presumably found) at the ancient city of Ajodhya fully warrants the positive inference that a mint for copper coinage was maintained, certainly by Chandra Gupta II., and probably by Kumâra Gupta, at that place. The remaining evidence concerning the *provenance* of the Gupta copper is too imperfect to justify any further positive conclusions, but it is not improbable that Ahichhatra also was a mint-city.

The Gupta copper coins are sometimes found associated with those of the Mitra (Sunga) dynasty, which are obtained in considerable numbers at Ajodhya and in the neighbourhood.

The silver Gupta coinage was provincial. It is, in all its forms, beyond doubt a continuation of the Satrap coinage of Saurâshtra, which was imitated from Græco-Bactrian hemidrachmæ, and it it can hardly be doubted that the form of the Satrap coinage was first adopted by Chandra Gupta II. when he conquered Saurâshtra and Guzerat. The Udayagiri

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inscription shows that he was in Mâlwâ in the year 82 G.E., equivalent to A.D. 401-402,[1] but the precise date of the western conquests is not known. Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta retained possession of these conquests, and issued large quantities of silver coinage, and, after the death of Skanda Gupta, his successor in the west, Budha Gupta, and likewise Toramâṇa and Bhîma Sena, who succeeded Budha Gupta, continued to strike silver coins of the same general pattern.[2]

As I have said, all the Gupta silver coins are intended to be roughly equivalent in weight to hemidrachmæ, and all are clearly derived from the Satrap coins of Saurâshtra, the obverse device of which is continued throughout the series without material change. But the reverse devices of the Gupta silver coins divide the coinage into at least three distinct classes, which may be called the Winged Peacock, the Bull, and the Fantail Peacock. The main reverse device on the very rare silver coins of Chandra Gupta II. is a rude representation of a bird (presumably a peacock, but possibly intended for Garuḍa) standing to front with wings expanded but the tail concealed. Excepting one specimen, which was found at Sultânganj in the Bhâgalpur District, Bengal,[3] associated with a coin of Swâmî Rudra Siṅha, the last Satrap of Saurâshtra,[4] all the silver coins of Chandra Gupta II. appear to have been found in Kaṭhiâwâṛ or Guzerat. I have no doubt that they were struck at some place or places in either of those provinces.

Kumâra Gupta struck immense quantities of silver coins with the same reverse device, some bearing the title of Râjâdhirâjâ, and some the higher title of Mahârâjâdhirâjâ. I believe specimens of these coins are occasionally found in Northern India, but all of which I know particulars were found in the same provinces as the coins of Chandra Gupta II., and were certainly struck at mints there situated.

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. x. pp. 49, 51; Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii.

[2] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 26. The unique coin of Bhîma Sena has been presented by Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac to the British Museum, which also possesses the only two known specimens of Toramâṇa's coinage.

[3] Now in the Indian Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

[4] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. x. p. 127.

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Skanda Gupta struck coins bearing the title Kramâditya, some of which have the reverse device the same as on the coins of Chandra Gupta II. and of Kumâra Gupta, while the majority bear a rude device which seems to be a modified form of it, but which has generally been described as an 'altar.' His silver coins bearing the title Vikramâditya all have the degraded altar-like device. All these varieties of Skanda Gupta's silver coinage seem to have been issued from Western mints.

A few coins of Skanda Gupta have as reverse device a recumbent bull, associated with the title Kramâditya. I have no precise information as to the find-spots of these coins, but, considering that the recumbent bull was the cognizance of the Kings of Valabhi in Saurâshtra, I presume that they were struck in the Western provinces.

The third leading reverse device of the Gupta silver coinage is that of the standing peacock, with tail fully expanded. Coins of this type were struck by Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta of the Imperial dynasty, by Budha Gupta, by Toramâṇa, who seems to have succeeded him in Mâlwâ, by Bhîma Sena, of whom a single coin has been obtained at Ajodhya, and by Îśâna Varman of Magadha.

The single trident coin of Kumâra, described by Mr. Newton, was also a Western coin. It is perhaps possible to regard its device as a modification of the winged bird, but in the drawing it seems to be a trident, and nothing else; and, if the drawing is correct, we must admit the existence of a fourth trident class of silver coins.

The only known inscription of Budha Gupta is at Eraṇ in Mâlwâ dated 165 G.E., and it indicates that he ruled the country between the Jumna and the Narbadâ,[1] but the few known examples of his coinage have been obtained at or near Benares, and are dated 174. It is impossible to say where they were struck. Toramâṇa, like Budha, ruled in Mâlwâ. Only two specimens of his coinage are known to me. They are both in the British Museum, one being part of the Bush

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. x. p. 81; Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 88, No. 19.

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collection, and one presented by Miss Baring. Both bear the date 52, of which the interpretation is doubtful.[1]

As in the case of Budha Gupta, it is impossible to say where Toramâṇa's coins were struck.

The Fantail Peacock coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta were certainly struck chiefly, if not altogether, at mints in the Northern Provinces. I have already quoted Sir A. Cunningham's testimony that they are chiefly found at or near Benares, Ajodhya, Mathurâ, and Sahâranpur, all of which places are situated in the North-Western Provinces. A few have been obtained at Kanauj. The coins of both reigns are tolerably common, but I think those of Skanda Gupta are scarcer than those of his predecessor. I am not aware of any evidence that indicates the precise position of the mints from which the Northern silver coinage issued. The principal mint was presumably at the capital.

The Western silver coinage appears to have been a purely provincial issue, and was probably struck at the capital of Saurâshtra, which was very likely Jûnâgarh, close to which the great inscription of Skanda Gupta's reign is incised on the Girnâr rock.

The evidence clearly proves that the gold and copper coins were struck and chiefly current in territories far to the east of Kanauj, which territories may be roughly described as the Province of Benares, with some adjoining districts. The distribution of the architectural and sculptural remains of the Gupta dynasty confirms the testimony of the coins, and distinctly indicates that the capital of the Northern dominions of the Gupta Kings lay either between Allâhâbâd (Prayâg) on the west, and Patna (Pâṭaliputra) on the east, or at one of those cities. This is the region indicated by the Purâṇas as the seat of their power, and not the Doâb, or country between the Ganges and Jumna in which Kanauj is situated.

The Vâyu Purâṇa states that Sâketa was included in their

[1] Sir A. Cunningham reads the date of one as 53, but I agree with Mr. Fleet in reading the dates on both specimens as 52. The character = which stands for 2 is a little blurred on one coin. Mr. Fleet reads the date on Budha Gupta's coins as 175, but Sir A. Cunningham's reading of 174 is supported by the evidence of an inscription dated in words and figures.

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dominions, and there can be no doubt that it was, whether we identify that city with Ajodhya, as Sir A. Cunningham proposes, or with Lucknow as suggested by Mr. Fergusson.[1]

The first two princes of the dynasty, Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, assumed only the subordinate title of Mahârâjâ, and seem to have been mere feudatory chiefs, presumably subject to an Indo-Scythian sovereign. It is improbable that they coined money, and they have left no inscriptions, and consequently we know nothing about them, except that they were respectively grandfather and father of Chandra Gupta I., the first independent sovereign of the dynasty. Probably their principality was in the neighbourhood of Pâṭaliputra. Chandra Gupta I. married Kumâra Devî of the Lichchhavi family of Nepâl, and the prominent record of this fact, both on coins and in inscriptions, is good evidence that the alliance was important. It may reasonably be assumed that it helped Chandra Gupta I. in his rise to greatness. I formerly supposed that the Lichchhavi family into which he married was that of Vaisâli near Pâṭaliputra, but recent discoveries show that the alliance was with the ruling family of Nepâl, of which the Vaisâli Lichchhavis were probably a branch.[2]

Mr. Hooper has suggested to me that Ajodhya may have been the Gupta capital. I have shown that there is reason to believe that it was the seat of a copper mint in the reigns of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta, and, from the reign of Chandra Gupta I., it must have been one of the chief cities of the dynasty. Sir A. Cunningham has collected at Ajodhya traditions of kings named Samudra Pâla and Chandra Pâla, which seem to be confused reminiscences of the great Gupta dynasty.[3]

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. i. p. 317. Fergusson, Archæology in India (Trübner, London, 1884), pp. 110—115. Mr. Fergusson's suggestion that excavations should be made in the numerous mounds which exist in Lucknow deserves attention. I am inclined to think that he was right in identifying Lucknow with Sâketa.

[2] *See* Hewitt on Early History of Northern India in J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. N.S p. 356. The Vajjian or Vrijjian confederacy included nine tribes of Lichchhavis and nine tribes of Mallis. Mr. Hewitt thinks that these tribes were of Kolarian race. Some ill-supported speculations of Mr. Beal on the subject will be found in J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV. N.S. p. 39.

[3] Arch. Rep. vol. xi. p. 99. The forged Gayâ inscription of Samudra Gupta purports to have been executed at Ajodhya, and issued from the camp of Samudra

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But, I am still of opinion that Pâṭaliputra has the best claim to be considered the Gupta capital. In the fourteenth line of the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription, which was recorded early in the reign of Chandra Gupta II. (*i.e. circa* A.D. 390 to 400), the city of Pushpapura is spoken of in connection with Samudra Gupta in such a way as to indicate that it was his capital. Mr. Fleet is inclined to think that the name Pushpapura is intended to mean Kusumapura, which was a name of Kanauj.[1] It is true that in Sanskrit Kusumapura and Pushpapura have the same meaning, 'flower-city,' but it seems to me that when we know that the former synonym was appropriated to Kanauj, and the latter to Pâṭaliputra,[2] we are not warranted in making the gratuitous assumption that the names were exchanged in the Allâhâbâd inscription. I repeat that there is not a tittle of evidence of any kind that Kanauj was the Gupta capital, and there is not the slightest reason for scepticism as to the testimony of the Allâhâbâd inscription that Pushpapura or Pâṭaliputra was the capital of Samudra Gupta. Its evidence is confirmed by the references to Pâṭaliputra under that name in two records of Chandra Gupta II.

The Guptas had no more to do with Kanauj than they had to do with Mathurâ or Gayâ, or any other big city in their empire; but errors die hard, and I suppose that, because Prinsep used an incautious phrase fifty years ago, people will still, fifty years hence, insist on speaking of 'the Guptas of Kanauj.'

There is no reason to suppose that either Lower Bengal or the Panjâb was included in the Gupta empire. Its eastern boundary was probably in the neighbourhood of Bhâgalpur, and its western near Delhi. During the reigns of Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda (*circa* A.D. 390 to 480) it included the territories which are now known as Bihâr (North and South), the North-west Provinces and Oudh, Central India, Guzerât, and Kâṭhiâwâṛ.

Gupta there. This shows that at the begining of the eighth century A.D. Ajodhya was believed to have been one of the chief cities of Samudra Gupta.

[1] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 5.

[2] *E.g.* in the Nepâl inscription of Jaya Deva dated Samvat 153 (*scilicet* of S'rî Harsha era = A.D. 759–60), published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. ix. p. 180.

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Chapter VII.—Authorities.

The public collections of coins to which I have had access are the following:

(1) Asiatic Society of Bengal (A.S.B.).[1]
(2) Bodleian (B.).[2]
(3) British Museum (B.M.).
(4) India Office (I.O.).[3]
(5) Royal Asiatic Society (R.A.S.).[4]

The private collectors who have been good enough to favour me with inspection of their coins are:

(1) Major-Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., etc. (A.C.).[5]
(2) Alexander Grant, Esq., C.I.E. (A.G.).
(3) H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E., Bengal Civil Service (C.).
(4) The late Sir E. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I. (E.C.B.).
(5) John Hooper, Esq., Bengal Civil Service (H.).
(6) J. G. Sykes, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Lucknow (S.).
(7) W. Theobald, Esq. (W.T.).

The known hoards of gold coins have been enumerated in Chapter VI.

I have no doubt that large numbers of Gupta coins exist in private cabinets which I have not seen, and it is quite possible that they may include some unpublished types. I hope the possessors will look up their specimens, and endeavour to fill up the gaps in my exposition of the subject.

The publication of this monograph will, I trust, in general render superfluous reference to earlier publications, but the appended bibliographical list may be of some use.

[1] I have not seen the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and am dependent for my knowledge of it on rough notes supplied by Dr. Hoernlé, and a few published notices of individual coins.

[2] See the detailed catalogue *post* p. 61.

[3] The India Office collection has been presented by the Secretary of State for India to the British Museum. Mr. E. J. Rapson has given me much assistance in examining the coins under his care.

[4] The Royal Asiatic Society collection contains no coins of value.

[5] I am specially indebted to Sir A. Cunningham for the liberality with which he placed his knowledge and cabinet at my disposal.

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Gold Coinage.

1. Col. Tod's paper in Trans. Roy. As. Soc. (1827), Vol. I. p. 340, and pl. xii. 4th series. 4 coins, figures 1–4.

2. H. H. Wilson's paper in Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii. and pl. i. figures 5, 7, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19.

3. Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, Nos. ml.–mlix. inclusive.

4. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, pl. xviii. figures 1–14 and 16–28.

5. E. Thomas's Revised Catalogue of Gupta gold coins in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, (1858), vol. i. pp. 377–387. Thomas's original catalogue of gold coins was published in J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. (1855), pp. 487–502.

The plates of gold coins in Thomas's edition reproduce J. Prinsep's plates in the J.A.S.B. as follows:—

P.E.	Pl.	xxii.	figs.	16 and 17 =	J.A.S.B.	vol.	iv.	pl. xxxviii.
,,	,,	xxiii.	,,	18 to 32 =	,,	,,	,,	xxxix.
,,	,,	xxix.	,,	11 to 20 =	,,	,,	v. ,,	xxxvi.
,,	,,	xxx.	,,	1 to 10 =	,,	,,	,,	xxxviii.

J. Prinsep's plates are also reproduced in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. (o.s.), 1850, and two of them (pl. xxii. and xxix. of P.E.) were reprinted by Mr. H. T. Prinsep as plates x. and xi. of his Note on the Historical Discoveries deducible from the Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan (London, 1844). A portion of J. Prinsep's plates is badly copied in the plate facing page 28 of the late Mr. Wilton Oldham's Historical and Statistical Memoir of the Ghaziepoor District.

6. E. Thomas's Records of the Gupta Dynasty (Trübner, 1876), pp. 21–24, and Autotype plate, figures 1–5. This work is a reprint of chapter iii. in vol. ii. of the Reports of the Archæological Survey for Western India (1874–75), compiled by Mr. James Burgess.

7. Kittoe and Bayley, Memo. on Ancient Gold Coins found at Bharsar, near Benares, in J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. (1852), pp. 390–400, and plate xii. figures 1–9.

8. Sundry minor notices, chiefly in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

9. Classified and Detailed Catalogue by V. A. Smith, in J.A.S.B. vol. liii. (1884), part i. p. 119, with 5 plates.

10. Indian Antiquary, for March and June, 1885, vol. xiv.

11. W. Theobald, On certain Symbols or Devices on the Gold Coins of the Guptas, J.A.S.B. vol. liv. part i. p. 84.

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Silver Coinage.

1. E. Thomas in P.E. vol. ii. pp. 94–101, plate xxxvii. figs. 16, 17, for coins other than the Fantail Peacock types, and P.E. vol. i. p. 338, pl. xxvii. 10–12 for the latter; also P.E. vol. i. pl. iv. 20.

The corresponding original notes and plates of J. Prinsep are:—

J.A.S.B. vol. iii. p. 230, pl. xviii. fig. 20=P.E. vol. i. pl. iv. fig. 20.

J.A.S.B. vol. iv. p. 687, pl. xlix. figs. 10, 11, 12,=P.E. vol. i. p. 338, pl. xxvii. figs. 10–12.

J.A.S.B. vol. v. pl. xii.=P.E. ii. pl. xxxvii. figs. 16, 17.

2. E. Thomas, J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. pp. 503–518.

3. E. Thomas, J.A.S.B. vol. xxvii. p. 255.

4. E. Thomas, J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. (N.S.) p. 548, and J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. (O.S.) p. 65, pl. ii. figs. 39–53.

5. E. Thomas, Records of Gupta Dynasty, pp. 44–55, and autotype plate, from fig. 6.

6. Newton, in J.Bo.R.A.S. vol. vii. (1862), pp. 3, 10, and plate, and *ibid.* vol. ix. p. 1 (1868.)

7. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xv. 17, 18, 20.

8. Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 23, pl. v.

9. Fleet, in Indian Antiquary, March, 1885, vol. xiv. p. 65; and E. C. Bayley, *ibid.* vol. vi. p. 57.

10. Sundry minor notices.

Copper Coinage.

P.E. vol. i. pp. 374–375, pl. xxx. figures 11–15, corresponding to J.A.S.B. vol. iv. pl. xxxviii.

A.A. pl. xxviii. fig. 15.

J.A.S.B. vol. xxxiv. (1865), p. 125, and pl. v. figures 20 and 21.

J.A.S.B. vol. liii. (1884), p. 121, *note.*

The British Museum and India Office collections of gold coins were examined by me in 1883. I have now carefully re-examined all the gold coins in both cabinets, correcting the errors in my previous observations, and have also scrutinized every specimen of the copper and silver coinage in the same collections. When my essay on the gold coins was published, I was dependent for information concerning the coins in the Bodleian Library on imperfect notes supplied by the late Mr.

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W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S. I have now had an opportunity of personally examining the coins, and am in a position to give a detailed account of them.

The cabinet of the Bodleian Library at Oxford contains a large number, though not at all a complete series, of Gupta coins.

The Gupta and other Hindu coins in this cabinet have never been carefully catalogued, and were, at the time of my examination of them, very erroneously arranged and labelled. Numismatists will, therefore, I presume, be glad to be supplied with an accurate list of the Bodleian Gupta coins.

When inspecting the collection, I had not leisure to thoroughly examine the silver coins, but, so far as I perceived, they include no novelty. A few silver pieces are labelled as belonging to certain of the so-called Sâh Kings (the Satraps of Saurâshṭra). Fifteen specimens are labelled as 'Sâh uncertain,' and this batch includes the Gupta coins, which are all of the Fantail Peacock type. I identified three of these coins, namely, No. 785, Skanda Gupta, No. 789, Budha Gupta, and one coin of Kumâra Gupta. Two of the coins bear the trident *(triśûl)* reverse device, and are probably coins of the Bhaṭârka princes of Valabhi, but I did not succeed in deciphering the legends. It is quite possible that, on close examination of the trays of unclassed coins, some other silver Guptas may be discovered.

All the Gupta coins appear to belong to the collection presented to the Bodleian Library by Mr. J. Bardoe Elliott in 1859, part of which was purchased by that gentleman from Mr. Tregear in 1848. Some of the specimens belonged at one time to Sir A. Cunningham.

I made a careful and minute examination of all the gold and copper coins. Two of the latter were picked out of a tray containing a most miscellaneous collection of unclassed coins. The following catalogue is correct, and will facilitate the accurate labelling of the gold and copper Gupta coins.

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Catalogue of the Gold and Copper Gupta Coins in the Bodleian Library.

Gold.

Reign.	*Type and Variety.*	*No. of Label.*
Chandra Gupta I.	King and Queen	683
Samudra Gupta	Javelin, *α*	686, 686 *bis*, 687, 687 *bis*, 688–691, 692 (*on label* 892)
	Archer, *α*	693
	Aśwamedha, *α*	694, 695
	,, *β*	696
Kâcha (?=Samudra Gupta)	Standard	678, 679
Chandra Gupta II.	Archer, Class I., *α*	708
	,, Class I., *β*	709
	,, Class II., *α*	697–706
	Horseman to r.	732
	,, l., *α*	710, 711
	,, l., *β*	713
	Lion-Trampler, *α*	725
	,, *γ*	724
	,, *δ*	726
	Umbrella	680–682
Kumâra Gupta	Swordsman	717
	Archer, Class I.	714–716
	,, Class II.	719, 735, 736
	Horseman to r., *α*	712
	,, *β*	731
	,, *γ*	734
	,, l.	733
Skanda Kramâditya	Archer	684, 727, 728, 730
Nara Bâlâditya		718, 720–723, 729

Copper.

Chandra Gupta II.	Umbrella	752
	Standing King	750, 753, and one not numbered
	Chandra Head, large	754
	,, ,, small	one not numbered
Kumâra Gupta	Standing King	751

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Abstract.

GOLD.

Chandra Gupta I., Samudra Gupta, Kâcha, Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Kramâditya, 54 coins; Nara Bâlâditya, 6 coins.

COPPER.

Chandra Gupta II., 6 coins; Kumâra Gupta, 1 coin.

The coins bearing the following numbers, namely, 737, 738, 740, 740 *bis*, and 741–747, belong to the class of Indo-Scythian coins with Nâgarî legends, which have been described by Mr. Thomas.[1] Nos. 741 and 742 have the name Bhadra to the left of the spear, and resemble the coins described by me.[2]

Nos. 741–746 are like silver in colour, but were probably intended to pass as gold currency. No. 747 is of base pale gold. Nos. 738 and 740 are gold coins of the Bhṛi Shaka type.

A manuscript list, signed A. Cunningham, shows that the Tregear collection had contained 8 copper coins of Chandra Gupta II., viz. 3 'bust,' 2 'half-length,' and 3 'Mahârâjâ.' The last must have been of the Umbrella type. The total number of Gupta copper coins now in the Bodleian collection is seven.[3]

CHAPTER VIII.—CATALOGUE OF GOLD COINS.

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Vîra Sena (?) Kramâditya	118

[1] Indian Antiquary, vol. xii. Jan. 1883.

[2] J.A.S.B. vol. liii. part i. p. 172, plate iv. 6.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. E. B. Nicholson, the Bodleian Librarian, for the grant of special facilities for the examination of the four trays containing Gupta coins, and for perusal of a book of manuscript correspondence concerning the Elliott collection. The Bodleian coin cabinet has, unfortunately, been much neglected in the past, and, until it is properly arranged, its contents can be of little use to numismatists. The Muhammadan coins have recently been arranged by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, whose catalogue has been published. The other Indian coins are, as yet, in confusion, and no dependence can be placed on such labelling as has been attempted. The Librarian intends, I understand, to proceed with the arrangement of the whole cabinet, and to take steps for making it more accessible to students than it used to be.

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CHANDRA GUPTA I.

King and Queen Type.

Obv. King, wearing tailed-coat and close-fitting cap, standing to l. facing queen, who looks to r. King's r. hand raised, his l. arm resting on spear, surmounted by crescent.

Under king's l. arm च्र | गुप्त 'Chandra Gupta.'

Behind queen कुमार देवी श्री: 'Kumâra Devî Srî.'

Rev. Goddess, holding fillet in r. hand, and cornucopiæ in l. arm, seated on couchant lion, which faces either r. or l.

Legend in field near r. margin लिच्छवय:, '*Lichchhavayaḥ*, 'the Lichchhavis.' Mon.

References and Remarks.—Variety a. Rev. lion to r.

B.M. Purchased. Crescent between heads of king and queen. Condition good. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 123·8. (Pl. I. Fig. 1.)

B.M. Marsden mlviii. Brought from India by Lord Valentia (Mountmorris). Mon. 5. Wt. 115·3.

B.M. Swiney. Mon. 4*b*. Wt. 118·2. Figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 3.

C. One specimen obtained at Ghâzîpur. Wt. 119. Another obtained at Benares. Wt. 119·5.

A.C. P.E. i. 369, pl. xxix. 15.

Stacy. Mon. 8*d*. A duplicate in Tregear cabinet.

Tâṇḍâ hoard. One specimen.

Variety β. Rev. lion to l.

B. Mon. 4*a*.

W.T. Mon. 22*b*. Wt. 113. Bought at Benares.

Tâṇḍâ hoard. One specimen.

S. Wt. 112·5. Obtained either at Lucknow or Fyzabad. Mon. apparently 8*a*. (Proc.A.S.B. pl. v. 4.)

Sir A. Cunningham has in his cabinet three examples of this type, one of which I have noted as belonging to variety *a*. One of his coins was procured at Gayâ, and another at Nîmkhâr or Nîmsâr, on the banks of the Gumtî, a very sacred site in the Sîtâpur District, Oudh.

The legend 'Lichchhavayaḥ' records the marriage of the king into the Lichchhavi family of Nepâl. The stone inscriptions mention this alliance, and also state the queen's name, as given on the coins.

Compare the rev. device with the sandstone sculpture, M. 10,

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CHANDRA GUPTA I.—*continued.*

believed to be from Mathurâ, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. "The figure is that of a woman, seated on the back of an undoubted lion. The left leg is bent at the knee, and the left knee rests on the head of the lion, the left foot being drawn up almost under the body in front, thus resting on the lion's back. The foot, however, as in the majority of Buddhist figures, has not the sole upturned. The right limb is only partially bent, and the foot rests on the side of the lion. . . . The most interesting feature of this sculpture, however, is the child, which is represented lying across the left thigh of the figure, resting on the left hand, the feet of the infant hanging down against the hind part of the left leg of the statuette." (*Anderson, Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum*, part i. p. 184.) Also compare the effigies of the Greek Cybele, and of the Syrian Great Goddess.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Tiger Type.

Obv. King standing to r., wearing tight Indian waist-cloth, turban, necklace, armlets, and large earrings, trampling on body of tiger, which is falling backwards, while he shoots it in the mouth. Bow in king's r. hand, his l. is raised above his shoulder.

Imperfect legend on r. margin व्याघ्र [पराक्रमः], *vyâghra* [*parâkrama*], 'with the might of a tiger.'

Rev. Goddess to l., standing on a monster facing l., which has an elephant's head, and scaly fish's tail. Her r. hand is extended across a standard or spear, tipped with a crescent, and adorned with pennons. An expanded lotus-flower in her l. hand.

Legend near margin to r. राजा समुद्र गुप्तः, *Râjâ Samudra Guptaḥ*. No mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Eden. At present unique. Wt. 116·6. Described and figured in Records, p. 21, fig. 2 of plate. (Pl. I. Fig. 2.)

The execution of this coin is good, and the design spirited. The reading *parâkrama* in the obv. legend is probable, but not certain, the character for *kra* only being legible. The

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

crescent-tipped spear or standard is also found on the coins of Chandra Gupta I. and the Battle-axe coins of Samudra Gupta. The reverse goddess is probably intended to represent the consort of Varuṇa = Samudra, the ocean, or god of the waters, *ante*, p. 20. The standing figure of the goddess connects this type with the Aśwamedha type of Samudra Gupta and Kumâra Gupta, the Standard type of Kâcha, and the Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II. The resemblance to the last-named type is especially close, because in one variety of it the goddess appears to stand likewise on a monster.

I place this Tiger type first in the list of the issues of Samudra Gupta on account of the simple title Râjâ assumed by the king. In his other coins he assumes more ambitious titles. The obverse device served as the model for the Lion types of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta.

Aśwamedha Type.

Obv. Horse, standing to l., unattended, and occupying most of field. In front of horse an altar, from which springs a bent pole, carrying three long streamers, which occupy top of field.

Between horse's legs the syllable सि, *Si*, sometimes standing on an altar or pedestal.

Marginal legend imperfect; it includes the title राजाधिराज *Râjâdhirâja*, followed by पृथिवीं जित्य or जयति, *pṛithivîm jitya* or *jayati*, a boast of having conquered the earth.

Rev. Female, standing to l., holding in r. hand handle of yak's tail fly-whisk (*chauṛî*), which rests on her r. shoulder. Her left hand hangs empty by her side. In front of her a spear or standard adorned with pennons. Legend in r. field अश्वमेध पराक्रमः, *aśwamedha parâkramaḥ*, 'with power to perform the *aśwamedha* sacrifice.' No mon.

References and Remarks.—Variety a. Without pedestal under सि.

B.M. **Eden.** Wt. 117. (Pl. I. Fig. 4.)
B.M. **Payne Knight.** Wt. 113·2. Condition poor.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

B.M. Thomas. Wt. 117. Ditto. Seems to be the coin from Sahâranpur figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 2.

B.M. Prinsep. Wt. 117·7. Labelled as collected by Conolly at Kanauj, but Prinsep says he got it from Miss Watson. Figured in P.E. pl. xxiii. 31, and Records, fig. 4 of plate.

B. Two specimens.

Variety β. With pedestal under सि.

B. One specimen.

W.T. One specimen.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, Sir A. Cunningham, and the late Sir E. C. Bayley's cabinet each possess one specimen of the type, but I have not noted to which variety these coins belong. The Freeling collection included one example, wt. 115 (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 498). The Stacy cabinet (P.E. pl. xxiii. p. 32), and the Bush cabinet (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 499) also possessed a specimen each.

Several examples were included in the Tânḍâ hoard, where they were associated with coins of Chandra Gupta I. and Kâcha, and Battle-axe coins of Samudra Gupta.

The meaning of the syllable *Si* on the obverse has not yet been explained. The same syllable is found on the footstool in the Lyrist type of Samudra Gupta, and on an unpublished Indo-Scythian coin belonging to Sir A. Cunningham. The word *parâkrama* on the reverse is a favourite with Samudra Gupta, and the wording of the obverse legend, as far as it has been deciphered, resembles the language used in the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription to describe his achievements. We know from the inscriptions that he actually performed the *Aśwamedha* or horse sacrifice, as claiming the position of lord paramount of India. These facts, especially when considered in connection with the composition of the Tânḍâ hoard, establish beyond doubt that the *Aśwamedha* pieces were issued by Samudra Gupta. A coin of similar type, with the horse to the right, is assigned to Kumâra Gupta (*post*, p. 110). Samudra's *Aśwamedha* pieces agree in weight with his

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

ordinary coinage, but were evidently struck as commemorative medals, and were probably distributed to the Brahmans, who assisted in the sacrifice. For remarks on the *Aśwamedha* and the titles of Samudra Gupta see Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. iii. pp. 27–28.

I think that the *Aśwamedha* medals must have been struck early in his reign.

LYRIST TYPE.

Obv. King, wearing close cap and tight drawers, to front, with head turned to l., seated on high-backed couch, over edge of which his feet are dangling. He is playing an Indian lyre, (*vîṇâ*), which rests on his lap.

On footstool the syllable सि, *Si*, except in one coin. Marginal legend महाराजाधिराज श्री समुद्र गुप्तः, *mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Samudra Guptaḥ*, 'the sovereign of Mahârâjâs, S'rî Samudra Gupta.'

Rev. Goddess, turned to l., seated on Indian wicker stool (*moṛhâ*), holding in r. hand fillet, and in l. cornucopiæ. Between figure and legend generally a vertical line or mace.

Legend in r. field समुद्र गुप्तः, *Samudra Guptaḥ*. Mon. sometimes wanting.

References and Remarks.—Variety a. Broad thin coins with footstool and 'Si.'

B.M. Eden. Broad thin coin, design in very low relief. Diameter ·91. No mon. Wt. 111. On obv. king's name is written सर्मुद्र *Sarmudra.* (Pl. I. Fig. 5.)

B.M. Prinsep. No mon. Wt. 119·5. Is probably the coin from Stacy collection figured in P.E. pl. xxiii. 26. A similar coin is figured in As. Res. xvii. pl. i. 19.

A.G. Wt. 117·4. From Oudh. Resembles B.M. coins.

A.C. 3 specimens.

Bharsar hoard, No. 2. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 12·2. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. pp. 392, 396, pl. xii. 5.)

H. One specimen from Pargana Nawâbganj in Gonḍâ District, Oudh, opposite Ajodhyâ.

W.T. Vertical line or mace on rev. wanting.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Variety β. Thick coins, without footstool or 'Si.'

B.M. I.O. Diameter ·72. Wt. 120·7. Rudely executed, and the attitude of the king differs from that shown in variety *a*. Obv. legend imperfect. Rev. legend as in *a*. Mon. 11. At present unique. (Pl. I. Fig. 6.)

These Lyrist coins, excepting the unique India Office example of variety *β*, like the Aśwamedha pieces, have the appearance of medals rather than of ordinary coins. They commemorate Samudra Gupta's musical accomplishments, which are eulogized in the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription, and it seems probable that this very peculiar coinage was issued to commemorate some special festival. Variety *a* is finely executed in low relief, and the diameter is greater than that of any other type, except the fine and unique Retreating Lion coin of Chandra Gupta II., which also measures ·91.

The India Office specimen of variety *β* is very coarsely designed and executed, but does not look like a forgery. I cannot give any certain explanation of its peculiarities. Its general appearance is totally different from that of the variety *a* coins, and its style is rather that of the late coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta. Perhaps it was struck in some outlying province.

The unexplained syllable *Si* on the obverse of variety *a* obviously connects this type with the Aśwamedha medals. Very likely the Lyrist medals were struck on the same occasion as the Aśwamedha ones.

The goddess seated on the wicker stool makes her first appearance on this type.

Javelin Type.

Obv. King standing (to l. in varieties *a* and *γ*, to r. in variety *β*), dressed in tailed coat and leggings in Indo-Scythian style, with r. hand (l. hand in variety *β*) casting incense on a small fire altar, and with l. arm (r. arm in variety *β*) resting on spear or javelin. Bird standard, generally adorned with pennons, behind the arm, which does not hold the javelin.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

In variety *α*, स मु द्र *Samudra* under l. arm.

In variety *β* the same legend under king's r. arm, which holds the javelin.

In variety *γ*, स मु द्र | गु प्त *Samudra Gupta*, under l. arm.

Marginal legend, sometimes following margin, and sometimes parallel to javelin,[1] समर शत वितत विजयो जितरि [or रे] परदेवो जयति, *Samara śata vitata vijayo jita ri* [or *re*] *pa ra devo jayati*, 'his majesty victorious in a hundred widely extended [*or* various] battles, having conquered [his enemies] is victorious.'

Rev. Lakshmî, facing front, seated on raised throne with four lathe-turned legs, her feet resting on a footstool, r. hand holding fillet, l. arm grasping cornucopiæ. Legend near r. margin पराक्रमः, *parâkramaḥ*, 'prowess *or* might.' Mon.

The reverse is the same in all varieties.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. King to l. 'Samudra' under l. arm.

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 117·8. (Pl. I. Fig. 7.)

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 114. From cabinet of Col. Smith of Patna, figured in P.E. pl. xxii. 17.

B.M. Twisden. Mon. 20*a*. Wt. 117·4.

B.M. Twisden. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 117·8.

B.M. I.O. No. 1. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 114·4. In poor condition.

B.M. I.O. No. 2. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 108·2. ,,

B.M. I.O. No. 3. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 113·4. ,,

B.M. I.O. No. 4. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 114·8. ,,

B.M. I.O. No. 5. Mon. 22. Wt. 118·6. ,,

B.M. Eden. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 119·2. In fine condition. Legend parallel to javelin. (Pl. I. Fig. 8.)

[1] Formerly I classed as a separate variety the coins of which the legend is parallel to the javelin, but the distinction is not well marked in some of the Bodleian examples, and I have now combined in one class the coins formerly arranged as varieties 1 and 3.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

B. 10 specimens. Mons. 4*c*, 4*d*, 6*a*, 8*a*, 8*b*, 19*c*.

S. 4 specimens. Mons. 3*a*, 4*c*, 19*a*.

A.C. 4 specimens.

A.G. 2 specimens, both from Oudh. Mons. 8*a* and 4*b*. Wts. 114·5 and 116·5.

A.S.B. 2 specimens.

H. 2 specimens, from hoard found in mound on Râptî river in pargana Atraula of Gonḍâ District, Oudh. Mr. Boys, B.C.S., has a specimen from same hoard.

Bharsar hoard. No. 4 of Samudra. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 117.

Hûgli hoard. 1 specimen.

W.T. 3 specimens.

See A.A. pl. xviii. 6, 9; As. Res. vol. xvii. pl. i. 7; P.E. pl. xxii. 16, 17, and pl. xxix. 14; J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 396.

Variety β. King to r., javelin in r. hand, and name 'Samudra' under r. arm.

As. Res. xvii. plate i. 5. Mon. imperfect.

Variety γ. King to l., 'Samudra Gupta' under l. arm.

B.M. Bush. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 119·3. In fine condition. (Pl. I. Fig. 9.)

Bharsar hoard. No. 5 of Samudra. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 114. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 396.)

A.C. One specimen.

C. Wt. 117·6 Obtained at Mathurâ.

The device of the obverse evidently connects this type with the coins of Kâcha, which appear to be contemporary, and with the Indo-Scythian coinages. The Javelin coins may have been struck at any period of Samudra Gupta's reign. They certainly constituted his principal issue. The coins of variety *a* are the commonest of all the Gupta gold coins, except the Archer type, Class II. A., of Chandra Gupta II. I have enumerated more than forty specimens, and have no doubt that many more exist. Variety β is known only from the coin figured in the Asiatic Researches. Variety γ seems to be very scarce. I have seen only three specimens, as enumerated above. The fourth was included in the Bharsar hoard, but I do not know what became of the coins from that hoard.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

The reading of the obverse legend was settled by Mr. Fleet. One word, which should be a substantive, has not yet been deciphered. It looks like *repara* or *ripara* on the coin figured in Pl. I. Fig. 9.

Line 17 of the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription commemorates Samudra Gupta's conquests in similar language.[1]

The tautological form of expression is common in the legends of the Gupta coins.

The first four forms of the letter *m* given on p. 35 *ante*, all occur in the legends of coins of this type, different forms being often used on a single coin. The coins figured (Pl. I. Fig. 7–9) illustrate some of the alphabetical variations. The square form of *t*, scarcely distinguishable from *ś*, shown in Fig. 8, is noticeable, but not very uncommon.

Archer Type.

Obv. King standing to l., with l. arm resting on bow, and r. hand, either holding arrow (variety *α*), or offering incense on altar (variety *β*). Bird standard adorned with pennons behind r. arm. Under l. arm स मु द्र *Samudra.*

Marginal legend not fully deciphered, but it contains the words देव विजय . . . अप्रतिरथ विजित क्षितिम अव[जित्य], *deva vijaya . . . apratiratha vijitya kshitim ava[jitya].*

Rev. Throned goddess (Lakshmî) with fillet and cornucopiæ, as in Javelin type.

Legend in variety *α* is अप्रतिरथः, *apratirathaḥ*, 'invincible in his war-chariot'; and variety *β* is पराक्रमः, *parâkramaḥ*, as in Javelin type. Mon.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. King holding arrow. Rev. legend 'apratirathaḥ.'

B.M. Eden. Mon. 4*σ*. Wt. 118. Well-executed coin in fine condition. (Pl. I. Fig. 10.)

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 21 (irregular). Wt. 117·4. Dug up

[1] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 12, note 2.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

at Jaunpur by Tregear, along with Archer coin, class I., of Chandra Gupta II.

B.M. I.O. Mon. 22 (irregular). Wt. 120. Figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 8.

B. Mon. 22*b*.

A.G. Two specimens from Oudh. Mons. indistinct. Wt. 117·1 and 119·2.

A.C. One specimen.

A.A. Pl. xviii. 7. From Swiney collection. Mon. 19*a*.

Variety β. King sacrificing at altar. Rev. legend 'parâkramaḥ.'

Bharsar hoard. No. 1 (two specimens) and No. 3 of Samudra Gupta. Wts. 110, 114, and 110.

A scarce type. I have never seen a specimen of variety β, which is known only from the three examples in the Bharsar hoard, not now forthcoming. This variety is identical with the Javelin type, except that the king holds a bow instead of a javelin. The epithet *apratiratha*, 'invincible in his war-chariot,' is applied to Samudra Gupta in the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription. The obv. legend has not been fully made out, but is one of the usual boasts of having conquered the earth. The obv. device served as the model for all the subsequent Archer coinages, but is distinctly superior to them in execution.

BATTLE-AXE TYPE.

Obv. King, wearing tailed coat, standing, leaning on battle-axe. An attendant supports a standard tipped with a crescent. In variety α and β king is to l., and attendant in l. field. In variety γ king is to r., and attendant in r. field. In varieties

α and γ under king's arm स मु द्र *Samudra.* In variety β the syllable कृ, *Kṛi*, is under his arm.

Marginal legend in varieties α and γ कृतान्त परशु राजाधिराज, *Kṛitânta paraśu râjâdhirâja*, 'the sovereign armed with the axe of Kṛitânta.' In variety β it seems in part to differ.

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SAMUDRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Rev. Lakshmî on throne, facing front, with feet on lotus-flower. Fillet in r. hand, cornucopiæ in l. arm. Throne sometimes indistinct. Legend कृतान्त परशु, *Kṛitânta paraśu,* 'the battle-axe of Kṛitânta.' Mon.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. King to l., 'Samudra' under arm.

B.M. Bush. Mon. 6*a*. Wt. 123·4. Throne indistinct. (Pl. I. Fig. 11.) A star and second crescent above the crescent-tipped standard.

B.M. Thomas. Throne indistinct, or wanting. Mon. 6*a*. Wt. 117.

B.M. Prinsep. A star above crescent-tipped standard. On rev. an axe-head attached to back of throne. Mon. 6*a*. Wt. 116·7. Obtained by Conolly at Kanauj. Figured in P.E. xxiii. pl. 23.

A.S.B. and **A.C.** One specimen each.

Tândâ hoard. Several specimens.

The coin figured in P.E. pl. xxix. 11 is one of two obtained by Cunningham at Benares. Prinsep had a third similar.

Variety β.—King to l. 'Kṛi' under arm.

B.M. Eden. Obv. legend on l. margin looks like जयतज, *jajataja.* On r. margin it is कृतन्त प, *Kṛitanta pa-.* No axe on rev. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 117·7. (Pl. I. Fig. 12.)

Variety γ. King to r.; attendant in r. field.

Swiney collection. Figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 10. No rev. battle-axe. Mon. 3*a*.

A scarce type. Varieties β and γ are each known from a single specimen only. I do not know what has become of the Swiney example of the latter. This type is evidently intended to represent Samudra Gupta as an incarnation of Yama, the god of Death, under his name Kṛitânta, 'he that maketh an end.' We may conjecture that the coins were struck to commemorate some of the king's numerous conquests, which are celebrated in detail in the Allâhâbâd Pillar inscription. The crescent-tipped standard of the obv. is found on the rev. of his Tiger type.

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KÂCHA (? = SAMUDRA GUPTA).

Standard Type.

Obv. King to l., standing, in dress and pose almost exactly the same as on the Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta. His l. arm rests on a standard with pennons, bearing a rayed wheel-like symbol. With his r. hand he casts incense on a small altar.

Under l. arm क च *'Kâcha.'*

Marginal legend काचो गामवजित्य कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति, *Kâcha, gâm avajitya, karmabhir uttamair jayati,* 'Kâcha, having subdued the earth, by excellent deeds is victorious.'

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî), standing to l., clad in long robe, holding lotus-flower in r. hand, and grasping cornucopiæ in l. arm.

Legend near r. margin, सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता *sarvarâjochchhettâ,* 'exterminator of all râjâs.'

References and Remarks.

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 2. Wt. 115·2. (Pl. I. Fig. 3.)

B.M. Eden. Two specimens. Wts. 111 and 115·6 respectively. Both have same mon. 4*a*.

The coin weighing 115·6 is figured as figure 1 of plate in Records, and may be the coin figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 4.

B. No. 678. Mon. 1. From Tregear collection, and figured in P.E. pl. xxix. 12.

B. No. 679. Mon. 2*b*.

A.C. 3 specimens.

A.S.B. 1 specimen.

W.T. 2 specimens. Wt. of one is 118.

C. Wt. 125·8.

Tândâ hoard. One or more specimens.

Bush, Stacy, and **Freeling** cabinets—one each. The late **Mr. Gibbs** also had one.

These coins were formerly attributed to Ghaṭotkacha, the second prince of the Gupta dynasty, and in my previous publication I followed Prinsep and Thomas in so assigning them. But Mr. Fleet has since proved that they cannot have been struck by Ghaṭotkacha, and there is no reason

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KÂCHA (?=SAMUDRA GUPTA)—*continued.*

whatever for supposing that they were.[1] The attribution was suggested by the misreading of Kacha for Kâcha under the King's arm and a second mislection of the obv. marginal legend by Prinsep. The better-preserved examples show beyond all doubt that the name under the king's arm is Kâcha, with the long vowel. Even if the name could be read Kacha, which it cannot be, the syllables Kacha could not stand alone, because the name Ghaṭotkacha in the Sanskritized form, in which alone it has come down to us, is a compound of *ghaṭa* and *utkacha*, the latter word being itself a compound of *ut* and *kacha*, and used adjectivally. Moreover, Ghaṭotkacha, like his father Gupta, assumed only the subordinate title of Mahârâjâ, and it was not the practice of Mahârâjâs to coin gold money, at all events, even if they may have coined sometimes in other metals. The name Kâcha has not yet been found in any of the Gupta inscriptions, but the style and legends of the coins under discussion forbid us to doubt that they were struck by a Gupta king. The standing goddess on the reverse is unmistakeably executed in the same style of art as the similar figures on the Tiger and Aśwamedha coins of Samudra Gupta, and the king's name is inserted under his arm on the obv. in the manner usual on the Gupta coins. The king's figure and attitude are identical with those of Samudra Gupta on the Javelin type. The epithet 'exterminator of all râjâs' occurs five times in the Gupta inscriptions, in four of which it is certainly applied to Samudra Gupta, and in the fifth instance it probably refers to him.[2] The formula *gâm avajitya* recurs on the Swordsman coins of Kumâra Gupta, and several Gupta types have legends identical in meaning, though not exactly in expression. In the Tâṇḍâ hoard coins of Kâcha were

[1] Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 95 (March and June, 1885); Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 27, note 4.

[2] Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 95. Mr. Fleet observes that the name Kâcha is of rare occurrence, but that two kings or chieftains of the name are mentioned in an inscription of the fifth or sixth century A.D. in the Ajaṇṭâ caves, published in Arch. Survey of Western India, vol. iv. p. 130. The name Kacha, with the short vowel, occurs in the Mahâbhârata. See Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, etc., *sub voce.*

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KÂCHA (?=SAMUDRA GUPTA)—*continued.*

found associated with coins of the Aśwamedha and Battle-axe types of Samudra Gupta, and with the King and Queen types of his father Chandra Gupta I. The alphabet of the legends agrees with that of Samudra Gupta's coinage. The entire evidence therefore points directly to the conclusion that the Kâcha coins were struck by a member of the Gupta dynasty, and that they are contemporaneous with the coins of Samudra Gupta. The further inference that they were issued by Samudra Gupta himself is unavoidable, because there is no room for a co-ordinate independent contemporary, and Samudra's and Kâcha's coinages are found together, and were evidently current in the same region.

The rayed emblem or wheel surmounting the standard on the obv. most likely symbolizes the sun. The Gupta symbolism is all Hindu. A similar rayed symbol is found detached on the Wheel variety of the Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II.

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

Couch Type.

Obv. King wearing waistcloth, seated on couch, with r. leg tucked up, and l. foot resting on ground. His l. hand rests upon the couch, the r. hand is upraised empty.

Marginal legend देव श्री [महाराजा] धिराज श्री च[न्द्र] गुप्तः, *deva S'rî [mahârâjâ]dhirâja S'rî Cha[ndra] Guptaḥ,* 'his majesty, the fortunate (*S'rî*) sovereign of Mahârâjas, Śrî Chandra Gupta.' Also two or three obscure characters below couch.

Rev. Throned goddess (Lakshmî), holding fillet in r. hand and flower in l. hand.

Legend श्री विक्रमः, *S'rî Vikramaḥ.* Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 114·7. Condition worn. (Pl. I. Fig. 13.)

This type is known to us from the one coin only. I am indebted to Sir A. Cunningham for the information that a rude engraving of the same coin, which then belonged to

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

a Dr. Frazer, was published so far back as 1797. This engraving will be found at p. 425, vol. ii. of a scarce book, a copy of which is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. The full title is "The Oriental Collections, consisting of Original Essays and Dissertations, Translations and Miscellaneous Papers; Illustrating the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia." Two volumes, quarto, N.D. Published by subscription for Cadell and Davies, Strand. The preface is dated 1797.

The king's attitude on the obv. is very nearly the same as that of Samudra Gupta in his Lyrist type, but here there is no lyre. The legends indicate that the coin must be assigned to Chandra Gupta II., and not to his grandfather. Śrî Vikrama is the title specially affected by Chandra Gupta II.[1] The obv. legend is identical with that of the Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II. The throned goddess of the rev. points to an early period of his reign. The later coins place the goddess on a lotus-flower seat.

Javelin Type.

Obv. and *rev.* As described below.

References and Remarks.

This type is known only from a unique coin, described by Dr. Hoernlé as follows:

Boys. "About two months ago I received from Mr. Henry S. Boys, B.C.S., in Lucknow, for decipherment, a gold Gupta coin, which he had obtained at Badaulí, about 25 miles from Ajudhyá. It is of a quite new type, and apparently unique. It is of somewhat coarse workmanship, though not more so than many other Gupta coins of well-known types, and is undoubtedly genuine, as it was bought of a common man at a little above its intrinsic value. Weight 112·5 grains. (See Pl. V. Fig 3.)

"*Obv.* King standing in the same posture as on Samudra Gupta's

[1] "With regard to the meaning of *Vikrama*, which is properly 'heroism,' it may be observed that it is often used in a way where 'king' or 'hero' alone can be signified by it; thus *Vikramâditya* is as often called simply *Vikrama* as not. . . The word is applied also attributively as *Dîpakarṇir iti khyâto râjâ bhûd râjya-vikramaḥ*, 'There was a king named Dîpakarṇi, the Vikrama of the realm.'"—(Wilson, Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, vol. i. p. 196.)

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

coins of the "Javelin" type (see Mr. Smith's Catalogue, J.A.S.B. vol. liii. part i. p. 172). King standing to left, dressed in be-jewelled close-fitting tail coat, trousers, and tall pointed cap, left arm resting on javelin, right hand casting incense on a small altar in left field; behind right arm the bird standard; corona round the head. Under the king's left arm, within the field, चन्द्र *chandra*; along the left hand margin पर॰ म॰ भग॰ *para. ma. bhaga*; along the right hand margin प्रवीरः गुप्त *pravirah Gupta.* The obverse is imperfectly struck; it looks as if the coin slipped on the die; most of the letters appear double, slightly overlapping each other; still they are all tolerably distinct, except गुप्त *gupta*, the प *p* of which is wanting. The marginal legend consists of abbreviated words, which I take to be in full *paramabhágavatapravirah Chandra Guptah, i.e.* 'The most devoted worshipper of Vishṇu, the mighty Chandra Gupta.' The circle is a well-known mark of abbreviation; its being used three times would seem to indicate three abbreviated words; but the first circle may be redundant; otherwise the phrase might be *parama-mahá-* (or *mahad-*)*bhágavata.*

"*Rev.* King and queen sitting on a couch, facing each other. The king sits on the right side, right leg drawn up on the couch, and his right hand holding up and apparently showing to the queen a cup, shaped somewhat like a modern champagne glass. The queen sits on the left-side margin of the couch, with both legs down, supporting herself with the right arm on the corner of the couch, and her left arm a-kimbo. Both figures are dressed in lower garments (*dhotis*), the king in short ones reaching to above the knees, the queen in long ones coming down to below the knees. Both wear jewels in their hair and ears, also bracelets, the king also a necklace, and the queen anklets. There is a sort of corona round the king's head. The scene seems to represent a drinking bout, similar to what may be seen on old Buddhist sculptures. On the margin, behind the queen, श्री वि *śri vi*, similarly behind the king, क्रमः *kramah*; that is श्री विक्रमः *S'ri Vikramah.*

"It is doubtful whether this coin should be attributed to Chandra Gupta I. or Chandra Gupta II. The only point, however, which really seems to favour the attribution to the latter king, is the reverse legend *S'rí Vikramah*, which has hitherto been only found on coins of that king. The words *paramabhágavata* (if correct) have also been met with on coins of the same king (see J.A.S.B.,

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

vol. liii. pp. 180, 182). But another, and more striking peculiarity points rather to an older date for the coin, and to Chandra I. as its issuer. The king's figure on the obverse has a decidedly antique look. It closely resembles that on the early coins of the so-called Ghaṭotkacha, and of Chandra Gupta I. (*ibid.* plate ii. figs 1–4). The reverse device of 'King and Queen,' too, has hitherto been only observed on coins of Chandra Gupta I. and of Skanda Gupta (see *ibid.* pp. 129, 171). If the coin should be attributed to Chandra Gupta II., we must assume that, on some of his coins, he reverted to the more antique obverse device of his early predecessors. On the other hand, as hitherto only one type (King and Queen) of coin of Chandra Gupta I. has been discovered, it is impossible to assert, that he might not have used the legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* on other coins. On the whole, the ascription to Chandra Gupta I. appears to me the more probable one."—Proc.A.S.B. for 1888, pl. v. 3.

This type is the most curious addition made for a long time past to the varied series of Gupta coin types. The collotype accompanying Dr. Hoernlé's paper is unfortunately too indistinct to reproduce. I cannot accept his theory that the so-called circles in the obverse legend indicate abbreviations. Such abbreviations are unknown on the Gupta coins, and the 'circles' are evidently letters. The syllable *ma* on the l. obv. margin seems to me to be followed by the word '*Chandra,*' the second 'circle' being the character च *Cha.* On the r. margin the word either प्रवीरः or प्रवरः, *pravīraḥ* or *pravaraḥ,* appears distinct. The name Chandra under the king's arm on obv. is certain, and I think the word '*Gupta*' is arranged vertically outside the javelin.

The rev. legend is as read by Dr. Hoernlé. The object, which he interprets as the bowl of the 'champagne-glass,' looks to me like part of the wheel symbol.

The reverse device is most peculiar, and according to the analogy of the other types, ought to be the obverse.

The king's figure recalls the Couch type.

I think it more probable that the coin belongs to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. than to that of his grandfather.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Archer Type.

Obv. King wearing tailed coat, standing, grasping a bow in one hand, and holding an arrow in the other. The name चन्द्र, *Chandra*, under the bow arm, and the bird standard behind the other arm. Sometimes a wheel or crescent above king's shoulder.

Marginal legend of Class I. and Class II. A. देव श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः, *deva S'rî mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Chandra Guptaḥ*, 'his majesty, the fortunate (*S'rî*) sovereign of mahârâjâs, S'rî Chandra Gupta.'

Marginal legend of Class II. B. not read.

Rev. Class I. Goddess (Lakshmî) seated on throne, holding in r. hand fillet, and in l. cornucopiæ, or flower.

Class II. Goddess (Lakshmî) seated cross-legged on lotus-flower, holding in r. hand fillet, and in l. hand lotus-flower.

Legend of Class I. and Class II. A. श्री विक्रमः, *S'rî Vikramaḥ.* The क *k* is often doubled.

In Class II. B. legend seems to include the title Vikramâditya. Mon.

References and Remarks.

Class I. Throne Reverse. Wt. normal.

Variety α. Bow-string inwards.

A.G. Mon. 16. Wt. 113·2. From Oudh.

C. Wt. 118·9.

Tregear. Mon. 21. Dug up at Jaichandra's Mahal, Jaunpur, along with an Archer coin of Samudra Gupta, and figured in P.E. pl. xxiii. 18. P.E. pl. xxix. 13 figures "a very perfect example from Cunningham's cabinet, procured at Mirzâpur." Mon. 3*a*. The goddess on this coin is shown as holding a flower, not a cornucopiæ. This may be the coin now in possession of A. C.

B. Mon. 19*d*.

Variety β. Bow-string outwards.

B.M. I.O. No. 8. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 120·9. (Pl. I. Fig. 14.) Seems to be the coin from Barhal in Gorakhpur (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 499).

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

M., **mlvii.** Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 118·5.

B. Mon. 4*c*.

Class II. Lotus-flower seat Reverse.

A. Coins of normal weight, averaging about 123 grains.

Variety a. King to l. Bow in l. hand. No wheel or crescent over shoulder.

B.M. Eden. Two *ks* in rev. legend. Mon. 7*a*. Wt. 124·3. In fine condition. (Pl. I. Fig. 15.)

B.M. Swiney. Mon. 10*b*. Wt. 124·6. In fine condition.

B.M. Marsden, ml. Mon. 20*a*. Wt. 124·5.

B.M. Brind. Mon. 10*a*. Wt. 117·8.

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 3*b*. Wt. 121·7.

B.M. T. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 126·3.

B.M. Yeames No. 4. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 124·7.

B.M. Yeames No. 5. Mon. 1. Wt. 119·2.

B.M. Yeames No. 6. Mon. 10*a*. Wt. 121·8.

B.M. I.O. No. 3. Mon. 24. Wt. 125·5.

B.M. I.O. No. 4. Mon. 3*b*. Wt. 123.

B.M. I.O. No. 5. Mon. 24. Wt. 127·6.

B.M. I.O. No. 6. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 119·7.

B.M. I.O. No. 7. Mon. 17*a*. Wt. 126·5.

B. Ten specimens, Nos. 697–706. No. 706 has the rare mon. 17*c*.

A.S.B. Eight specimens, besides one of base metal, which probably belongs to the heavy class, B.

Basti hoard. Nine specimens. Mons. 8*a*, 8*b*, 10*b*, and 19*b*.

A.C. Five specimens.

It would be superfluous to attempt to enumerate all the specimens of this variety.

Variety β. As variety a, with a wheel over king's r. shoulder.

B.M. I.O. No. 9. Mon. 18. Wt. 132·5. (Pl. I. Fig. 16.)

B.M. I.O. No. 10. Mon. 17*b*. Wt. 130·5.

B.M. I.O. No. 13. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 129·5.

A.G. Mon. lost. Wt. 130·4. Rude coin, from Oudh. An indistinct object seems to take the place of the wheel.

Bharsar hoard. No. 2 of Chandra Gupta (two specimens). Mon. 15. Wt. 130 (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 394, pl. xii. 1).

C. Wt. 125·75.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Variety γ. *As variety* β, *but a crescent in place of wheel.*

B.M. I.O. No. 11. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 126·6. Worn.

B.M. I.O. No. 12. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 126·7. Worn.

Bharsar hoard. No. 3 of Chandra Gupta (two specimens). Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 126. (J.A.S.B. xxi. pl. xii. 2.)

Variety δ. *King to r. Bow in r. hand, and name under r. arm.*

B.M. I.O. No. 1. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 118·4. Worn. (Pl. II. Fig. 1.)

Bharsar hoard. No. 4 of Chandra Gupta. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 112. (J.A.S.B. xxi. pl. xii. 3.)

Variety ε. *King to r. Bow in l. hand, and name under l. arm.*

B.M. I.O. No. 2. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 122·3.

A.S.B. Seemingly the coin from Bulandshahr, mentioned in Proc. A.S.B. April, 1879.

B. Coins of *suvarṇa* standard, with average weight of about 146 grains, king to l.

B.M. Marsden, mlvi. *Chandra* under king's l. arm, with a crescent above the name. भा *bhâ* between king's legs. Rev. legend, श्री देव, . . . *S'rî Deva* . . . (Pl. II. Fig. 2.) Mon. indistinct. Wt. 144·5.

B.M. Marsden, mli. Resembles last. Rev. legend [विक्रमा]दित्य, [*Vikramâ*]*ditya*. Mon. 19*a*. Wt. 148.

B.M. T. Wt. 144·7.

A.G. Rev. legend श्री विक्रम, *S'rî Vikrama*. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 144·5. Metal impure, from Oudh.

C. Wt. 146·25.

The Archer type of Chandra Gupta is the form in which the most extensive issues of the Gupta gold coinage took place. Specimens of Class II. A. *a*, are met with in such numbers that they may be said to be common, an epithet which cannot well be applied to any other set of Gupta coins, except perhaps to the Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta.

Class I., with the throned goddess on the reverse, is imitated from the Archer type of Samudra Gupta, but with marked deterioration in artistic execution. The coins of both varieties of this class are rare, and evidently belong to an

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

early period of the reign of Chandra Gupta II. The throned goddess does not again appear on the Gupta coinage.

The figure of the goddess Lakshmî, seated cross-legged on an open lotus-flower, which is the reverse device employed in Class II., had already made its appearance on some specimens of the Battle-axe coins of Samudra Gupta, which may be regarded as his latest issue. From the time that it was adopted by Chandra Gupta II., it became and long remained the favourite device in Northern India, suffering great degradation in course of time. Even in the case of coins which seem to have been struck in the reign of Chandra Gupta II., the execution of the device varies much, and is sometimes very barbarous.

The heavy coins (Class II. B.), which seem to have been struck to the *suvarṇa* standard of 146 grains, agree generally in device with the common Class II. A. *a*, but seem to differ in reverse legend. The name under the king's arm has a crescent above it, as in the other heavy types. The execution of these heavy coins of Chandra is decidedly barbarous, but so is that of many specimens of his coinage of normal weight. The latter are, also, frequently composed of very impure metal. Neither in style nor fabric is there much to choose between the better heavy and the worse light coins, and I am now inclined to assign the heavy coins, or most of them, which bear the name of Chandra, to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. They sometimes occur in base metal, and these specimens may be posthumous imitations. The better specimens may represent a provincial coinage. In my former publication I placed all these heavy coins in a supplement, but they are plainly Gupta coins, and I know of no later prince to whom they can be attributed. The genealogy of the local Gupta dynasty of Magadha does not include a Chandra. The title Vikramâditya, which Chandra Gupta II. certainly used on his Umbrella gold pieces, and his silver and copper coins, is also used on these heavy gold coins. No single specimen shows the complete word, but comparison of

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Marsden's mli. with Mr. Grant's coin establishes the reading.

The scarce varieties δ and ε differ from the normal type in the circumstance that the king is turned to the r., instead of the l. The Gupta coinage shows by many examples that figures were depicted indifferently turned to the r. or l.

The rayed symbol, which I call a wheel, found on variety β, is probably intended for the sun, and may be compared with the similar symbol on the coins of Kâcha. The weight of these Wheel coins is generally higher than that of the other varieties, but the difference is not sufficient to warrant the inference that a different standard of weight was adopted. In variety γ a crescent takes the place of the wheel, and presumably is intended to symbolize the moon. The crescent often occurs on Gupta coins.

Horseman to Right Type.

Obv. King, proceeding to r., on prancing horse, with bow slung behind him, and, sometimes, wearing a sword. A crescent behind his head.

Marginal legend परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः, *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Chandra Guptaḥ*; 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, the sovereign of Mahârâjâs, Srî Chandra Gupta.'

Rev. Goddess, to l., seated upright on wicker stool (*moṛhâ*), holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand

Legend अजित विक्रमः, *ajita vikramaḥ*, 'of unconquered power.'

Mon. sometimes wanting.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Prinsep, No. 1. The *j* of the rev. legend is turned on its side. No mon. Wt. 119·7. Obtained by Bacon at Kanauj. (Pl. II. Fig. 3.)

B.M. Prinsep, No. 2. Wt. 118·6.

B. Mon. 19*e*.

A.S.B. Purchased (Proc. for 1884, p. 127). Wt. 130·92.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Legend nearly complete. Col. Malcolm Clerk had a similar coin, which plainly showed the king's sword.

A.C. One specimen.

W.T. One specimen. Mon. 4*e*, nearly. Wt. 120·5.

Tregear Collection. P.E. xxx. 6. Possibly the same as B.M. Prinsep, No. 2.

A.A. pl. xviii. 17. This engraving appears to be incorrect, and its peculiarities, as noted in my former catalogue, appear to be due to the engraver.

This scarce type was formerly named Lancer by me, because I was misled by Wilson's inaccurate engraving. None of the coins which I have examined has any lance. The object sticking out behind the king's back seems to be the end of a bow, as it certainly is in the Horseman to Left type.

The legends are the same as in variety *a* of the latter type.

The high weight of the A.S.B. coin is noticeable.

Horseman to Left Type.

Obv. King, proceeding to l., on prancing horse, carrying bow, half of which is visible behind him. Marginal legend of variety *a*, परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः, *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Chandra Guptaḥ*, 'the devout worshipper of the holy one, the sovereign of Mahârâjas, Srî Chandra Gupta.' The legend of variety *β* appears to be different, and consists of about twenty characters arranged all round the coin, of which I could read only वजत, *vajata* or *vijita*.

Rev. Goddess, seated to l. on Indian wicker stool (*moṛhâ*), holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand.

Mon. sometimes wanting.

Legend of variety *a*, अजित विक्रमः, *ajita vikramaḥ*, 'of unconquered power.'

Legend of variety *β*, क्रमाजित, *kramâjita*, with the same meaning.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

References and Remarks.—Variety a. Rev. legend 'ajita vikramaḥ.'

B. No. 710. Obv. legend clear and complete. Mon. 8*b*. In fine condition.

B. No. 711. Similar, but in inferior condition. Same mon.

S. Mon. 3*d*. Wt. 118·25. Obtained at Lucknow or Fyzabad. (Proc. A.S.B. for 1888, pl. v. 5.)

W.T. Wt. 122.

Bharsar hoard. No. 6 of Chandra Gupta. "A very perfect specimen." Wt. 122. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 395, pl. xii. 4.)

Bharsar hoard. Described wrongly as No. 3 of Mahendra. Wt. 124. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 399.)

Variety β. Reverse legend 'kramâjita.'

B. No. 713. Obv. legend of over 20 characters all round margin, of which only वजत legible. Rev. legend clear, क्रमाजित. No mon., but in its place seven dots and a crescent.

This type is very rare, and variety β is known only from the single example in the Bodleian Library. Kittoe read the epithet on the better-preserved Bharsar specimen as *parama bhaṭṭâraka*, and I formerly accepted that reading. But Mr. Sykes' coin and the two examples of variety *a* in the Bodleian Library read beyond all doubt *parama bhâgavata*. I am, therefore, of opinion that Kittoe was mistaken in his reading. Chandra Gupta II. uses the title *parama bhâgavata* on his Vikramâditya silver coins. It is also employed on the Winged Peacock silver coins of Kumâra Gupta, and both on the Winged Peacock and Bull silver coins of Skanda Gupta. The title *parama bhaṭṭâraka* has not yet been met with on any other Gupta coin, and it is unlikely, though still possible, that it was correctly read on the Bharsar coin. It was much affected by the kings of Valabhi, the successors of the Guptas in Kâthiâwâṛ, and by some members of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.[1]

The letters '*vajata*' or '*vijita*' on the obverse of variety β suggest the legend '*vijitâvanir avanipati*' etc. of the Fantail Peacock silver coins of Kumâra Gupta and his successors.

[1] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 217, etc.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

The title '*kramâjita*' on the reverse of variety β has not been met with elsewhere, but is synonymous with the common epithet '*ajita vikrama.*'

Lion-Trampler Type.

Obv. King, wearing waistcloth, standing in energetic attitude, and shooting in mouth a lion, which, in varieties α, β, δ, is falling backwards with the king's foot on its belly. In variety γ the lion is standing with the king's l. foot on its back.

In varieties α, β, γ, king is turned to r., with bow in l. hand, but, in variety δ, he faces l., with bow in r. hand.

Legend not fully deciphered, but in variety δ it includes the words जयति. . . सिंह विक्रम नरात [? = नरोत्तम] *jayati. . . sinha vikrama narâta* [? *narottama*], 'is victorious . . . with the power of a lion [? the best of men],' and seems to conclude with the word गुप्तः, *Guptaḥ.*

Rev. Goddess, facing front, seated on couchant lion, which faces l.

In varieties α, γ, δ, she sits cross-legged, and holds fillet in r. hand, and lotus-flower in l. hand. In variety β she sits astride, holding lotus-flower in r. hand, while the l. hand is empty.

Legend in all varieties सिंह विक्रमः, *siṅha vikramaḥ,* 'with the power of a lion.'

Mon. generally inserted, but sometimes wanting.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. King to r. with bow in l. hand, trampling on lion's belly. Reverse goddess cross-legged, facing front.

B.M. Swiney, No. 5. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 115·4. (Pl. II. Fig. 4.) Figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 5, but erroneously described.

B. Mon. 8*a*. From Tregear collection. Figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 1. This may be the coin with same mon. figured in Trans. R.A.S. vol. i. pl. xii. 4th series, No. 3.

W.T. Mon. 7*b*. Wt. 122.

Variety β. Obv. as in α. Rev. goddess astride on lion, with lotus-flower in r. hand, and l. hand empty.

E.C.B. No mon. Wt. 118·2. Worn.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Variety γ. King to r., with foot on back of lion, which stands with head turned round. Rev. as a.

B. Mon. 10*b*. From Tregear collection. Figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 2.

Variety δ. King to l. with bow in r. hand, trampling with r. foot on lion's belly. Rev. as a.

B. No. 726. Obv. legend जयति जय [भु] वि सिङ्ह विक्रम नरत, *jayati jaya [bhu] vi siṅha vikrama narata.* Mon. damaged. A similar coin, from the Stacey collection, is figured in P.E. pl. xxiii. 27, on which Prinsep read the legend as विक्रम नराग म गुप्तः. Mon. 4*c*.

C. In obv. legend नरा, *narâ*, legible. No mon. Wt. 122. Obtained at Benares.

Koṭwâ hoard. 1 specimen. In obv. legend only क *k* legible. Mon. 19*b*. Rev. legend disappeared.

No. 4 of Tod's 4th Series. Mon. 20*a*. विक्रम, *Vikrama*, legible in obv. legend. (Trans. R.A.S. vol. i. pl. xii.)

A.C. has two coins of Chandra Gupta "killing lion."

All the varieties of this type are very rare. Varieties β and γ are each known from a single specimen only, and *a* is the only variety represented in the B.M.

The obv. device is an adaptation of that of the Tiger type of Samudra Gupta, and the rev. device is borrowed from the coinage of Chandra Gupta I.

The use of titles compounded with 'Vikrama' in both the obverse and reverse legends indicates that these coins, as well as the next two succeeding types, must be assigned to Chandra Gupta II. Kumâra Gupta issued closely similar coins, but they are distinguished readily by their use of the title 'Mahendra' and of the Peacock device. I do not think that anybody now disputes that the Siṅha Vikrama coins must be assigned to the reign of Chandra Gupta II.

I cannot accept as genuine the cast in the Stacy collection, which Mr. Thomas (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 501) described as "a cast from a genuine original. *Obv.* King to r. armed with a bow, shooting a lion; legend संह विक्रम कुमार [गुप्तपरिधि] संह महेन्द्र, 'Kumâra Gupta, of might like a lion's, most

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

prosperous.' *Rev.* Pârvatî seated on a lion, her r. hand extends the fillet, the l., which rests upon her knee, holds a flower; Legend सिंह महेन्द्र, *Sinha Mahendra*; wt. 126; type P.E. pl. xxx. 1."

The legends on the cast are quite different from those on the genuine coins of Kumâra's Lion types, and the combination of titles on the cast has no parallel in any authentic coin.

COMBATANT LION TYPE.

Obv. King, wearing waistcloth, standing, with bow in l. hand, shooting lion in mouth, but not trampling on its body. His attitude is less energetic than in the Lion-Trampler type.

Long marginal legend, almost wholly illegible.

Rev. Goddess, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand, seated, facing front, cross-legged on back of lion couchant to l.

Legend सिंह विक्रमः, *Siṅha vikramaḥ*, 'with the power of a lion.' The क is sometimes doubled. Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Swiney, No. 4. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 111·4. (Pl. II. Fig. 5.)

E.C.B. Six or seven illegible characters on l. obv. margin. -रत चन्द्र, *-rata Chandra*, read doubtfully on r. margin. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 120·9.

A.G. Long obv. legend of about 20 characters. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 117·4. From Oudh.

This type is only a slight modification of the Lion-Trampler type, and, like it, is very rare. I formerly by mistake gave the reverse legend as *S'rî Vikrama.* The E.C.B. specimen has a character before the king's face, but it is probably part of the marginal legend.

The reverse is very poorly designed and executed.

RETREATING LION TYPE.

Obv. King standing to front, with head turned to l., wearing tight waistcloth, armlets, large earrings, and necklace. He holds in r. hand bow, and in l. an arrow pointed downwards,

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

having just discharged an arrow at retreating lion, which occupies l. margin, and in whose snout an arrow-head is sticking.

Legend on r. margin महाराजाधिराज श्री, *Mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî.*

Rev. Goddess, facing front, seated on couchant lion, which faces l.; in her r. hand fillet, and in l., which rests on her hip, an expanded lotus-flower. Her r. leg is tucked up under her, the l. hangs down behind the lion's rump.

Legend श्री सिंह विक्रमः, *Srî Siṅha Vikramaḥ.* Vertical line between device and legend. Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Mon. 4*c*. Wt. 123. Diameter ·92.

A fine medal-like piece of artistic design, and spirited execution (Pl. II. Fig. 6). Obtained at Kanauj by Lieutenant Conolly. Published in P.E. vol. i. pp. 27, 280, pl. xxii. 25, and in Records, p. 22, fig. 8 of plate.

This type is known only from the unique specimen in the British Museum, which happened to be the first gold Gupta coin of which Prinsep deciphered the legends. The accident that it was found at Kanauj seems to have led Prinsep to use the erroneous phrase 'the Kanauj series' for the Gupta gold coins.

In artistic merit the coin is much superior to the bulk of the Gupta coinage, and is at least equal to the best issues of Samudra Gupta. The reverse device recalls that of the King and Queen type of Chandra Gupta I. These circumstances suggest the assignment of the coin in question to that prince, but the legends show that it belongs to the reign of his grandson. There is no reason to suppose that the elder Chandra Gupta assumed the title of Siṅha Vikrama. The reverse legend differs from that of the other Siṅha Vikrama coins by having Śrî prefixed. The king's name is unfortunately missing, but so much of the obverse legend as was impressed on this piece is identical in form with the corresponding part of the legends of the Lyrist type of

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Samudra Gupta, and the Couch and Archer types of his son, Chandra Gupta II. The obverse design is a variation of the Tiger type of Samudra Gupta, but the legend Siṅha Vikrama forbids the assignment of this coin to that king.

Umbrella Type.

Obv. King, standing, facing l., apparently bareheaded, with l. hand resting on short sword, and with r. hand casting incense on small altar.

In r. field a miniature (male or female) figure, standing on l. foot, with r. foot raised, or with l. knee bent, holds a state umbrella over the king.

Marginal legend, विक्रमादित्य क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरति, *Vikramâditya kshitim avajitya sucharati*, 'Vikramâditya, having conquered the earth, prospers.'

Rev. Standing goddess, occupying field, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand.

In variety *α*, she stands on a stool or pedestal, and is turned to l.

In variety *β*, she faces front, and there is no pedestal. She seems to stand on a monster.

Legend, in both varieties, विक्रमादित्यः, *Vikramâdityaḥ*, 'the sun of power.' The क्र is sometimes doubled. Mon. sometimes wanting.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. Reverse goddess to l. on pedestal.

B.M. Eden, No. 1. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 119·3. (Pl. II. Fig. 7.)

B. Nos. 680, 682. Mon. 8*b*. क्र doubled.

B. No. 681. No mon. क्र not doubled (probably=P.E. pl. xxx. 7, from Tregear Collection).

Freeling Collection, No. 1. Wt. 121. Mon. 3*a*. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 492.)

Variety β. Goddess to front, standing on monster (?). *No pedestal.*

B.M. Eden, No. 2. Mon. damaged. Wt. 117·5. (Pl. II. Fig. 8.)

Bastî hoard. 1 specimen. Mon. 7*a*.

Freeling Collection, No. 2. Wt. 121. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 492.)

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Mr. Thomas assigned this curious and rare type to the reign of the elder Chandra Gupta, and this decision can be supported by a comparison of the reverse device with the similar figures on the Tiger and Aśwamedha types of Samudra Gupta. But other considerations prove conclusively that the coins in question must be assigned, as they were by Sir E. C. Bayley, Sir A. Cunningham, and myself, to Chandra Gupta II. They bear on both sides the title Vikramâditya, which was employed by Chandra Gupta II. both on his copper and silver coins, as well as on his heavy gold Archer pieces. No one would suggest that these copper and silver pieces were struck by Chandra Gupta I. The title Vikramâditya was used by Skanda Gupta on one variety of his silver coinage, but there is no indication of its use by Chandra Gupta I. The reverse device is the only reason that can be given for assigning the coins in question to an early date, and it would indicate their ascription rather to Samudra Gupta than to his father. But there is no authority for the use of the title of Vikramâditya in connection with Samudra Gupta, whereas, although it was adopted by Skanda Gupta, it and Vikramâṅka, and other combinations of the word *vikrama*, were the favourite appellations of Chandra Gupta II. The obverse device affords a still stronger argument for the attribution of these coins to the later Chandra Gupta, inasmuch as it is substantially identical with that of the Umbrella type copper coins (Pl. IV. Figs. 8, 9), which have always been supposed to belong to the reign of Chandra Gupta II. The form of the obverse legend, *kshitim avajitya sucharati*, supports the same conclusion, because it is almost identical with the legend *gâm avajitya sucharati* of the Swordsman type of Kumâra Gupta II., son and successor of Chandra Gupta II. The obverse fire-altar occurs on the Swordsman coins of Kumâra Gupta as well as on the coins of Kâcha and Samudra Gupta, and its occurrence on these Umbrella coins consequently does not prove an early date. The Bastî hoard contained one gold Umbrella coin, associated

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

with nine Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II. These considerations leave no doubt on my mind that the Umbrella gold coins were struck in his reign, and not in that of his grandfather.

I formerly gave the name Swordsman and Umbrella to this type to emphasize the connection between it and the Swordsman type of Kumâra Gupta, but now use a simpler designation. The close connection between the legends of these two types has induced me to place the Umbrella coins at the end of the series of the issues of Chandra Gupta II., but this reason is not decisive, and the style of the coins perhaps indicates an earlier date. It is noticeable that the copper Umbrella coins simply describe the king as Mahârâja Śrî Chandra Gupta.

The attendant holding the umbrella on the gold coins is certainly a male, as depicted on the B.M. coins, for he is shown there as wearing top-boots. But the attendant, as shown on the Bastî coin, seems to be a female, and her attitude differs slightly from that of the figure on the B.M. coins. The sculptures at Amarâvatî would lead us to expect umbrella-holders to be females.

The No. 2 Eden coin in the B.M. (variety β) is not in sufficiently good preservation to permit of certainty as to the object on which the reverse goddess stands, but it seemed to me to be a monster, something like that on which the goddess of Samudra Gupta's Tiger type is standing.

KUMÂRA GUPTA.

Swordsman Type.

Obv. King standing, facing front, with long curly hair. He wears a close cap or turban, the usual ornaments of necklace and armlets, and apparently short drawers and top-boots. With r. hand he casts incense on altar; his l. hand rests on hilt of straight sword, which hangs from his waist. Behind r. arm, bird-standard, with pennons. Under l. elbow the syllable कु, *Ku*, with a crescent above it.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Legend on l. margin lost, only *j*, and perhaps *bh*, being legible. Legend on r. margin गामवजित्य सुचरति कमार, *gâm avâjitya sucharati Kumâra*, 'having subdued the earth, Kumâra prospers.'

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî), seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat, holding fillet in r., and open lotus flower in l. hand.

Legend near r. margin श्री कुमार गुप्त, *Srî Kumâra Gupta.* Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 124·2. (Pl. II. Fig. 9.) Published in Records, p. 23, fig. 5 of plate.

B. Mon. 8*b*.

This remarkable type is known only from the two examples above mentioned, both of which, Sir A. Cunningham tells me, were found together in the bed of the Ganges near Patna, on the site of Pâṭaliputra, which has been mostly cut away by the river.[1] When I published my catalogue of gold coins, I was not aware of the existence of the Bodleian specimen. Both coins have the same mon. and were probably struck from a single die. Both are in good preservation. The Bodleian specimen shows that the true reading on the obv. is *gâm*, not *kshitim*. The form of obv. legend resembles that of the Umbrella coins of Chandra Gupta II., with which these Swordsman coins are also connected by the resumption of the fire-altar device, which had been previously used by Kâcha and Samudra Gupta. For these reasons I consider the Swordsman type to be the earliest issue of Kumâra Gupta. Unfortunately the title on the l. obv. margin, which corresponded to the Vikramâditya of the Umbrella coins, has been lost. The crescent over the कु, *Ku*, on the obv. is noticeable, because these Swordsman coins are of normal weight, while the crescent over the initial of the king's name is generally found on the heavy coins of *suvarṇa* standard, and not on the normal pieces. It is, however, found on some of the normal Archer coins of Kumâra Gupta. Its use

[1] Arch. Rep. vol. viii. p. 24.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

on coins which undoubtedly belong to Kumâra Gupta of the Early or Imperial dynasty is an indication that I am correct in the opinion which I now hold that at any rate the better executed heavy gold coins belong to the princes of the Imperial dynasty.

The figure of the king in the type under discussion is of the short stumpy form, with a peculiar bend, which is specially characteristic of the coinage of Kumâra Gupta. The artistic merit of these coins is small, but they are not inferior to some of the Archer coins of Chandra Gupta, though decidedly inferior to the Siṅha Vikrama pieces.

ARCHER TYPE.

Obv. King standing to l., head bare, hair curly, r. hand extended across bird-standard, holding arrow; l. hand either resting on tip of bow, with string turned inwards (A. Class I. and B.), or grasping middle of bow, with string turned outwards (A. Class II.).

In A. Class I. under l. arm, either the syllable कु, *Ku*, with crescent above, or कुमार, *Kumâra*, arranged vertically. In B. कु, *Ku*, with crescent.

In A. Class II. कुमार, *Kumâra*, vertically, outside bow-string.

Marginal legend seems to vary widely, but the specimens are not sufficiently perfect to admit of exhaustive classification on this ground. Some have no legend at all. A considerable number read जयति महेन्द्र, *jayati Mahendra*, 'Mahendra is victorious,' but these words are part of a longer inscription.

For other legends see below.

Rev. In all varieties—goddess (Lakshmî) seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat, holding fillet in r. hand and lotus-flower in l. But in one coin r. hand is empty, and in another instance both hands seem empty.

(A.) legend, श्री महेन्द्रः, *S'rî Mahendraḥ.*

(B.) legend, श्री कुमार गुप्त, *S'rî Kumâra Gupta.*

Mon. The mon. is omitted in one or two instances, probably by accident.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.—A. Coins of normal weight, averaging about 125 *grains.*

Class I. Bow-string inwards; *Ku* with crescent under king's l. arm.

Variety a. Obv. legend 'jayati Mahendra,' or not read.

B.M. Eden. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 124·7. (Pl. II. Fig. 10.)

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. illegible. Wt. 106·7. Worn.

B.M. I.O. Wt. 125·8. Rev. goddess has r. hand empty and open, with three dots below. Five dots in place of mon.

B. No. 714. Obv. legend *jayati Mah-*.

B. No. 715. Obv. legend illegible.

B. No. 716. Obv. legend illegible. Mon. 3*b*.

Bharsar hoard. Two specimens. Mon. of both 25. Wts. 123 and 124·5. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 397.)

Jhûsî hoard. Two specimens, communicated by E.C.B.

C. One specimen, probably from same hoard.

Koṭwâ hoard. One specimen. Obv. legend includes *jayati Mahendra*, *Ku-*, and *râ-*.

A.S.B. Two or three specimens.

A.C. Figured in P.E. pl. xxix. 20. Mon. a form of 25. Obtained at Gayâ. A C. has a specimen now, but I do not know that it is the same. A similar coin figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 12; and another with mon. 20*a* in Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. pl. xii. No. 1 of 4th series.

Hûglî hoard. Three specimens seem to belong to this variety.

Variety β. Obv. legend as stated below.

A.S.B. Obv. legend, as read by Dr. Hoernlé, *parama râjâdhirâja S'rî* [*Kumâra Gupta Mahen*]*dra*, the words in brackets being conjectural. A character between king's feet and '*h*' before his face. Figured in P.E. pl. xxxix. 19, and As. Res. vol. xvii. pl. i. 14.

Variety γ. Obv. legend as stated below.

A.G. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 125. Obv. legend includes जतर, *jatara*. From Oudh.

Variety δ. Obv. legend as stated below.

Coin from Mahanada in Bengal. Obv. legend, *S'rî mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Kumâra Gupta.* (Proc. A.S.B. 1882, p. 91.)

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Variety ε. 'Kumâra' vertically under king's arm. Obv. marginal legend not read, includes Mahârâja.

S. Obv. marginal legend of about eight illegible characters. Mon. 8*b*.

C. Obv. marginal legend, *Mahârâja*. Obtained at Benares. The king's figure differs in pose from that on the commoner variety.

Variety ζ. Obv. legend as stated below.

Freeling Collection. Obv. legend said by Thomas to be [*de*]*va vijitâvanir avanipati Kumâro Gupto*, as in Fantail Peacock silver coins. Wt. 125. (*Records*, p. 50.) I doubt the genuineness of this coin.

A. Class II. Bowstring outside, and Kumâra vertically outside string.

B.M. I.O. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 123·5. (Pl. II. Fig. 11.)
B.M. I.O. Mon. 19*b*. Wt. 121·4.
B.M. I.O. Mon. 10*c*. Wt. 119·5.
B. No. 735, 736. Mon. of both 8*b*.
B. No. 719. Mon. illegible. L. hand of goddess raised, no lotus-flower visible.
P.E. pl. xxix. 16. The engraving shows reverse goddess with elbows resting on her knees and both hands turned up. Mon. 8*c*. Rude coin of irregular outline obtained by A.C. at Gayâ. A.C. has now a specimen.
A.A. pl. xviii. 11. Mon. 8*b*. "Very rude coin."

B. Coins of heavy weight, struck apparently to suvarṇa standard, averaging about 146 *grains.*

B.M. R.P.K. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 148·7. (Pl. II. Fig. 12.)
B.M. Yeames. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 143.
B.M. Marsden, mlii. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 147.
B.M. Marsden, mliii. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 146·5.
B.M. 11 specimens in base metal. Execution very coarse. Wts. 151; 150·6; 150·3; 150·2 (*bis*); 149·2; 147·8; 147·2; 147; 146·8; 146.
A.C. 2 specimens.
Kalighât hoard. Figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 23. Supposed by Cunningham (Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 137) to be a coin of the later Kumâra Gupta of Magadha.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

It is very difficult to arrange satisfactorily these Archer coins of Kumâra Gupta, and I cannot profess to have solved the problem either now, or in my previous publication.

The coins (A) of normal weight (that is to say, of about 125 grains) readily fall into two classes, those with the bow-string inwards, and those with the bow-string outwards. The first class is divided into a number of varieties based on differences in the obverse legend, but this classification is uncertain and unsatisfactory owing to doubts as to what the full legend was. Mr. Sykes' coin and Mr. Carnac's similar specimen (ε) undoubtedly constitute a distinct variety. Both these coins have the bow-string inwards, but have the king's name Kumâra arranged vertically under the arm, as in Class II.

The (ζ) coin in the Freeling collection, mentioned by Thomas, and said to bear the legend *deva vijitâvanir avanipati Kumâro Gupto*, if genuine, is also quite distinct from all other known pieces. But I cannot help feeling doubts about the genuineness of this coin. It is very odd that it should have the legend of the Fantail Peacock silver coins. However, it may be genuine, and it must, for the present, be classed separately. I have not been able to obtain access to the collection of the late Mr. Freeling.

The remaining coins of Class I. seem always to have *Ku* under the king's arm, and the obv. marginal legends noted are as follows:

1. α. *Jayati Mahendra*, with other legend illegible.
2. β. *Parama râjâdhirâja Śrî* [*Kumâra Gupta Mahen*]*dra.*
3. γ. *jatara* (? = [*a*]*jita râ*[*jâ*].
4. δ. *Śrî mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Kumâra Gupta.*

The *jatara* fragment of legend cannot apparently be reconciled with any of the other inscriptions. The Koṭwâ coin shows that the syllables *Ku* and *râ* were associated with the words *jayati Mahendra*, and these words might very well have formed the conclusion of the third form of legend. The second form of legend appears to be distinct.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Kumâra Gupta issued silver coins with the title *râjâdhirâja*, and others with the higher title *mahârâjâdhirâja.*

The B heavy coins vary in weight from 143 to 151 grains, and were certainly not struck to the same standard as the coins of normal weight. I formerly placed these pieces, with all those of similar weight, in a supplement, but am now disposed to think that many of these pieces were struck by the kings of the Early or Imperial dynasty. They vary very considerably in style and execution. Some, including the one figured in Pl. II. 12, are not visibly inferior in quality of metal to many of the undoubted coins of the Early dynasty, nor can the design and execution be confidently stated to be ruder. Others are composed of utterly base metal, and are very roughly designed and struck. I formerly misread the reverse legend as *Śrî Mahendraḥ*, which it certainly is not. It is *Śrî Kumâra Gupta.* The word Kumâra is plain on some of the base metal coins, and the first syllable of Gupta can be read on the coin figured.

Sir A. Cunningham assigns the Kâlîghât specimen to the Kumâra Gupta of Magadha, who lived about a century later than his namesake, the father of Skanda Gupta. It is probable enough that the base metal specimens belong to his reign, but I now think it most probable that the coins in tolerable gold, like the one figured, belong to the Early Kumâra Gupta, and I would assign the similar coins of Chandra Vikramâditya and Skanda Kramâditya also to the princes of the Early or Imperial dynasty.

The Class II. coins of normal weight, which have the bow-string outwards, are as rude in style and execution as the heavy coins, but undoubtedly bear both the names Kumâra and Mahendra, and there appears to be no reason to doubt that these coins were struck by the Early Kumâra Gupta.

The detached letters which are found, sometimes between the king's feet, and sometimes before his face, on many coins of the Archer type, may be only parts of the marginal

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

legend. The character before the king's face is, I think, always part of the legend, but that between his legs may be a mint-mark, or other special sign.

Sir A. Cunningham notes (Arch. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 81) that he has two gold coins of Kumâra with the title Kramâditya, which was specially affected by Skanda Gupta.

Horseman to Right Type.

Obv. King, bareheaded, with curly hair, on high-stepping horse, proceeding to r. No weapon visible, except, perhaps, in one coin. Marginal legend various, and not fully deciphered. One form may be probably restored as अजित विक्रम महेन्द्र गुप्त देवजनित क्षितिपति राजति विजय कुमार, *ajita vikrama Mahendra Gupta devajanita kshitipati râjati vijaya Kumâra*, 'the invincible in might, Mahendra Gupta, begotten of Deva (or 'of the Devas'), the lord of earth, the victorious Kumâra, rules.'

Another form is परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री महेन्द्र गुप्तः, *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Mahendra Guptaḥ*, 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, the sovereign of Mahârâjas, S'rî Mahendra Gupta.'

Other variations are noted below.

Rev. Goddess seated to l. on Indian wicker-stool (*Moṛhâ*), and in (Variety *α*) holding fillet in r. hand, and lotus-flower in l. hand behind her back;

(Variety *β*) holding lotus-flower in r. hand, and with l. hand resting on her hip;

(Variety *γ*) offering fruit (apparently plantains) to a peacock with r. hand, and holding lotus-flower in her l.

Legend of all varieties अजितो महेन्द्रः, *ajito Mahendraḥ*, 'unconquered Mahendra.'

Mon. generally wanting.

References and Remarks.—Variety α. Reverse goddess sitting upright, holding fillet in r., and flower in l. hand.

B.M. Bush. Obv. legend seems to include *deva*. Wt. 127·2. (Pl. II. Fig. 13.)

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

B.M. E.T. Worn, in poor condition. Wt. 117·3.

B.M. I.O. No. 3. Obv. legend includes *Gupta devajanita kshiti-*.

B. No. 712. Obv. marginal legend illegible.

Koṭwâ hoard. Three specimens, obverse legends of all illegible.

Bharsar hoard. Two specimens. Wts. 124·5 and 125. Much worn. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. pp. 398, 400, pl. xii. 8.)

P.E. pl. xxiii. 29. From Lieut. Burt's collection.

P.E. pl. xxx. 4. On obv. margin *-ta vi-* legible.

Hûgli hoard. Obv. legend, as read by Dr. Hoernlé, *Parama bhâgavata . . . . . adhirâja Guptaḥ.* Mon. 8*b*. This is the only instance where a mon. has been observed in this type.

A.A. xviii. 16. Obv. legend includes *Gupta devajanita.* (Records, p. 23 note.)

C. "No. 6. This is a gold coin belonging to Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac. Its find-place is not specified further than 'somewhere between Benares and Fyzabad.' It is a coin of Kumâra Gupta, of the 'Horseman to left' type, (see *ibid.* p. 193) (*sic.* the horseman is to right). I publish it because it has the obverse legend exceptionally well preserved, and may help to establish its correct reading. (See Pl. V. Fig. 5.) It runs thus: + + महरजपत behind the king's back, the vowel marks being clipped off; क्षि between the king's and the horse's head; तिपति रथीपाद + + + in front and below the horse; there would be space for about six more letters behind the horse, joining the two preserved portions of the legend, though possibly the whole of the space was not occupied by letters. I would suggest to restore the legend thus: महाराजपति-क्षितिपति-रथीपाद [विजय-कुमारगुप्तः], *mahárájapati—kshitipati—rathipáda—vijaya—Kumára—Guptaḥ, i.e.* 'the lord of Mahárájas, the lord of the earth, the famous chariot-man, the victorious Kumára Gupta.' The reading of the preserved portion of the legend, as above given, is practically certain, except the *akshara* थी *thi*, the consonant of which is too blurred to be recognizable, and the vowel might be a long *á*. The bracketed portion of the reading I have supplied from another specimen of the 'Horseman to left' type in the Society's collection (see Proceedings A. S. B. for 1882, pp. 111—114, also J.A.S.B., vol. liii. p. 194). The reverse has, as usual, the legend अजितमहेन्द्र *ajita-*

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Mahendra, *i.e.* 'the unconquered Mahendra,' and a female figure seated on a *moṛhá*, holding a fillet in her r., and a long-stalked lotus in her l. hand. There is no mon. The weight is 123·75 grains."—Proc. A.S.B. for 1888, pl. v. 6.[1]

Variety β. Reverse goddess stooping, holding in r. hand an open flower, stalk of which springs from an uncertain object; her l. hand rests on hip.

B. No. 731. King seems to carry a ? bow or quiver on l. side. Obv. legend includes *-jata* or *-jita*, and *pṛithi . . t*, so the word *pṛithivî* 'earth,' evidently formed part of the legend.

Seems to be Tregear's coin figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 3.

E.C.B. Obv. legend illegible. Wt. 126·5.

Variety γ.—Reverse goddess feeding peacock with r. hand, holding lotus-flower in l.

B.M. Prinsep. Obv. legend comprises *-ta Mahendra Gupta*, and eight or nine other characters. Wt. 124·5. Worn. Given to Prinsep by Miss Watson. Figured in P.E. pl. xxiii. 30.

Koṭwá hoard. Two specimens, with exactly the same obv. legend as above.

B.M. Marsden, mlix. As above. Obv. legend includes *Mahendra Gupta*, followed by ? *bhûpati*. Wt. 125·5. P.E. pl. xxx. 5 much resembles this coin.

B.M. Eden. Obv. legend includes *vijaya kshitipati ra-*. Wt. 124·8.

B.M. Yeames, 1. Wt. 126·7.

B.M. Yeames, 2. Obv. legend includes *mâ* (or *pâ*) *Kshitipati r-*. Wt. 124·7.

B.M. In obv. legend *Gu* legible. Wt. 125·9.

B.M. I.O. No. 1. Obv. legend includes *-gu kshiti-*. Wt. 124.

B.M. I.O. No. 2. Obv. legend includes *kshiti*. Wt. 125·8.

B. No. 734.

Hûglî hoard. One specimen. Obv. legend, as read by Dr. Hoernlé, *Parama bhâgavata . . . S'rî Ma[hendra Gu]pta.* Cf. variety *a*.

[1] The above extract gives Dr. Hoernlé's account of the coin. The collotype figure is too indistinct to allow of the obv. legend being read, but I do not accept the reading *rathipâda*.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

H. From place in Gonḍâ District opposite Ajodhya. Obv. legend *ajita Mahendra Gupta.*

A.S.B. Obv. legend *Śrî mahârâjâdhirâja.* It is doubtful to which variety this coin belongs.

A.G. Obv. legend includes *vi . . . pati rajati vij*[*aya*] *Ku-*, and ?*ksh.* Worn. From Oudh.

My previously published account of this type was, I regret to find, inaccurate in several particulars. The errors have now been corrected. The characters which are found on some coins above the horse's head, or between his legs, are parts of the marginal legend. That legend varies much, as already shown. The title *kshitipati,* which occurs, in one form of the legend, is now met with for the first time. One coin seems to give the synonym *bhûpati.* The Horseman to Left coins have legends containing the same titles. The second form of legend *Parama bhâgavata,* etc., is borrowed from the Horseman coins of Chandra Gupta II.

Horseman to Left Type.

Obv. King bareheaded, with curly hair, and with bow slung behind his back, on high-stepping horse proceeding to right.

Marginal legend not fully deciphered. It includes विजित जयति क्षप्र म, *vijita jayati kshapra ma,* in three instances, and [महाराजा] धिराज क्षितिपति राजति विजय कुमार गुप्त, [*mahârâjâ*]*dhirâja kshitipati râjati vijaya Kumâra Gupta,* 'the sovereign of Mahârâjas, lord of earth, the victorious Kumâra Gupta rules,' in other cases. In the first form of the legend the meaningless '*kshapra ma*' should perhaps be read '*kshatrapa.*'

Rev. Goddess facing l., seated on Indian wicker stool (*moṛhâ*), with r. hand feeding peacock, and with l. hand holding flower behind her back.

Legend अजितो महेन्द्रः, *ajito Mahendraḥ,* 'the unconquered Mahendra.'

No mon.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.

B.M. No. 1. Wt. 126. Obv. legend विजित जयत गुप्त क्षप्र मल च, *vijita jayati Gupta kshapra mala cha.* (Pl. II. Fig. 14.)

B.M. No. 2. Wt. 123·8 Same obv. legend with the addition of महेन्द्र कम, *Mahendra Kum—*, the letters *hendra* not being quite certain. The character on both these coins which I have rendered *l* looks like that letter, but ought apparently to be an *h*. The legend of No. 2 is blundered, as if the die had slipped.

B.M. No. 3. Enniskillen. Wt. 123·2. Obv. legend illegible.

B. No. 733. Obv. legend illegible.

Kotwâ hoard. One poor specimen.

Bharsar hoard. No. 1 of Mahendra. Wt. 124. Obv. legend read by Kittoe as *Mahendra Kumâra.*

Bharsar hoard. No. 2. Ditto, but obv. legend illegible. Wt. 124. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 399.)

Hûglî hoard. One specimen. Obv. legend, as read by Dr. Hoernlé, *Gupta kshapra mahâ . . ma . . . vijita jayati.* Cf. B.M. Nos. 1 and 2.

A.S.B. No. 1. Obv. legend धिराज क्षितिपति राजति विजय कुमार [गुप्त], *-dhirâjakshitipati râjati vijaya Kumâra* [*Gupta*], as read by Dr. Hoernlé. From Midnapur District, Bengal.

A.S.B. No. 2. Apparently similar.

A.C. Three specimens.

Coin in Freeling Collection, cited in Thomas' Revised Catalogue, and a coin belonging to Mrs. White of Fatehgarh, engraved in **As. Res. vol. xvii. pl. i. 18.**

The legends seem identical or nearly so with those of the first form of the Horseman to Right coins of the same king, but require elucidation. The word *kshapra* which is read on some coins is meaningless, and the reading requires correction. A silver forgery of this type, obtained apparently at Kanauj, was exhibited in April, 1887, when Dr. Hoernlé observed that it was known that forgeries of the kind were carried on at Kanauj.—(Proc. A.S.B. 1887, p. 124.)

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Peacock Type.

Obv. King bareheaded, with curly hair, standing to l., and with r. hand offering fruit (seemingly a bunch of plantains) to a peacock, which stands facing r.

In variety *a* the king stands upright, and the peacock's neck is extended full-length.

In variety *β* the king is stooping, and the peacock's neck is not fully extended.

Marginal legend of not less than fourteen characters. It certainly includes the word *jayati*, 'is victorious,' and seems to include the name *Kumâra*.

Rev. Goddess, probably Kumârî Devî, riding a peacock, holding a mace or sceptre (? lotus bud) in l. hand, and sometimes, apparently, a fillet in r. hand, which is usually empty.

In variety *a* peacock and goddess turned to l., with altar in front of peacock.

In variety *β* peacock and goddess face front, as in the Fantail Peacock silver coins. No altar.

Legend महेन्द्र कुमारः, *Mahendra Kumâraḥ*. No mon.

References and Remarks.—Variety a. King upright. Rev. peacock in profile, with altar.

B.M. Lind. Wt. 128·4. Finely executed. (Pl. III. Fig. 1.)
B.M. Nathan. Wt. 126·5.
E.C.B. No. 3. From Jhûsî hoard. Wt. 128·6.
C. Wt. 127·6 From Allâhâbâd.
A.C. One specimen, from Allâhâbâd.
A.S.B. One specimen.
W.T. One specimen.
Swiney collection. A.A. pl. xviii. 13.

Variety β. King stooping. Rev. peacock and goddess facing front. No altar.

B.M. I.O. Wt. 126. (Pl. III. Fig. 2.)
E.C.B. No. 1. Wt. 128·2.
E.C.B. No. 2. Wt. 127·8. Both these coins from Jhûsî hoard. *Jayati* legible on obv.
A.C. One specimen, found at or near Allâhâbâd.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

C. One specimen, obtained at Benares. Wt. 127·5.

A.G. Wt. 127·6. From Oudh.

A.S.B. One specimen.

Bharsar hoard. No. 3 of Kumâra. Rev. goddess holds fillet and sceptre. Kittoe doubtfully read *S'rî Kumâra* on obv., and *S'rîmad Kumâra* on rev., but the correct rev. reading is *Mahendra Kumâraḥ.* Wt. 124. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 397, pl. xii. 7.)

Kotwâ hoard. Two specimens. *Jayati* legible on obv. of one.

There is no doubt that this Peacock type belongs to the reign of Kumâra Gupta. The reverse legend *Mahendra Kumâra* can be made out on several coins. The peacock was the special emblem of Kumâra Gupta.

The obverse legend cannot be fully deciphered on any coin I know of. The only certain word in it is *jayati,* and the name *Kumâra* is almost certain.

The mechanical execution of the Lind coin in the B.M. is unusually delicate, and the photograph does not do it justice.

I cannot discover any indication to show whether this type was struck early or late in the reign. Specimens of it seem chiefly to come from the finds at or near Allâhâbâd, but they are not confined to that locality.

Lion-Trampler Type.

Obv. King standing to r., bareheaded, wearing waistcloth; in energetic attitude, with bow in l. hand, and with l. foot trampling on body of lion, which is falling backwards.

The obv. legend includes words which read as श्री सिच (or सैच) देवत, *S'rî Siksha* (or *Saiksha*) *devata.*

Rev. Goddess, facing front, seated on lion, which is usually turned to r.

In variety *α* she holds fillet in r. hand, while her l. hand rests empty on her hip, or holds cornucopiæ.

In variety *β* her r. hand is extended open, and empty, while her l. hand is raised above her shoulder, holding lotus-flower.

Legend, apparently in both varieties, श्री महेन्द्र सिङ्ह, *S'rî Mahendra Siṅha.*

Mon.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.

Koṭwâ hoard. Obv. legend reads सिक्षे देवत, *S'rî Sikshe devata.* Rev. Lion to r., legend complete. Mon. 8*a*.

Boys. Similar coin, with same mon. In the rev. legend the vowel mark is placed by mistake over the *m* instead of the *h*. Obv. legend श्री सैक्ष देवत, *S'rî Saiksha devata.* The vowel mark over the *S* is double (ˇˇ), and there is a dot between the *S* and the *ksh*, so that the word may be read *Saiṇksha.* The characters जयत्य ति, *jayatya ti* seem to precede *S'rî.*

Hûglî hoard. One specimen. Rev. legend complete.

Tregear collection. Obv. legend, as read by Prinsep, -त महेन्द्र जय श्री, *-ta Mahendra jaya S'rî.* Mon. 8*a*. Figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 8. Obtained at Jaunpur. The engraving shows a cornucopiæ in l. hand of rev. goddess. Lion to r.

Variety β. Rev. goddess with r. hand extended open and empty, and l. hand raised, holding lotus-flower.

A.G. Obv. legend illegible. Rev. legend incomplete. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 127·2

W.T. One specimen.

The obv. legend is very puzzling; the characters on the Koṭwâ and Boys coins are distinct. The title *Mahendra* shows that this rare type must be assigned to Kumâra Gupta. Two coins in A.S.B. cabinet seem to belong to this type, and in one of them the rev. lion faces l.

Combatant Lion Type.

Obv. King standing, facing nearly full front, wearing cap and Indian waistcloth, with his l. hand raised to his shoulder. In his r. hand he holds bow, having discharged arrow into mouth of attacking lion, the forepart of which is shown on l. margin.

Under king's left arm कु *Ku.*

Marginal legend includes श्री महेन्द्र सिंह पराक्रमः, *S'rî Mahendra siṅha parâkramaḥ,* 'S'rî Mahendra with the might of a lion.'

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Rev. Goddess (probably Kumârî Devî) standing, slightly stooping to l. holding lotus-flower in her l. hand, and with r. hand offering fruit to a standing peacock, which faces r.

Marginal legend कुमार गुप्ताधिराज, *Kumâra Guptâdhirâja.* Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. I.O. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 126·1. The obv. legend includes मत्य, and क्र or कु, *matya*, and *kra* or *ku*. (Pl. III. 3.)

A.C.

Bharsar hoard. No. 1 of Kumâra Gupta. Obv. legend illegible. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 124·5. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. p. 397.)

S. "One Kumâra Gupta, belonging to Mr. Sykes, of the 'Combatant lion' type (as *ibid.* p. 197, pl. iv. fig. 3), weight 119·75 grains; the obverse legend is very imperfect; on left margin there are traces of three letters, the last two of which look like क्रम *krama* (perhaps विक्रम *vikrama*); on the right margin there are traces of seven letters, the first two looking like द्य श्री *dya śrî*, and the last like कु *ku*; there must have been other letters below the king and behind the lion, joining the two preserved portions, and making up कुमारगुप्तस्य *Kumâra Guptasya*, the initial कु *ku* of which is preserved. The reverse legend reads clearly कुमारगुप्ताधिराज्ञो, *Kumâra Guptâdhirâjño* (not merely *Kumâra Guptâdhirâja*)." [1]

P.E. pl. xxiii. 28. Collected by Cunningham at Benares. Mon. 8*a*.

Swiney collection. Similar coin, noticed in A.A. p. 423.

A.S.B. Exhibited coin. Obv. legend read as beginning with *Śrî mâ-*, a second *Śrî* on r. margin. (Proc. A.S.B. 1881.)

A very rare type. The reading of the obv. legend, so far as it has been deciphered, rests mainly on the following observations of Sir A. Cunningham:

"Ancient coins are occasionally found at Mahâsthân [in the Bogra or Bâgraha District, Lower Bengal],[2] and its suburbs. About 1862 a number of gold coins were found at Bâhmanpâra,

[1] Dr. Hoernlé in Proc. A.S.B. for 1888. The references are to my Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins.

[2] Identified with Paundra Vardhana, a city mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, the capital of the country known as Paundra deśa, or Varendra, or Eastern Gauḍa, supposed to be the region called Mahâ Kântâra in the Allâhâbâd Pillar Gupta inscription. (Arch. Rep. vol. xv. pp. 102-112.)

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

out of which Mr. Beveridge obtained two. . . . They were both Gupta coins, one of Chandra Gupta II., and the other of Kumâra Gupta. . . . I am able to give a more complete reading of the legends on both sides [*scil.* of the latter] from a coin in my own collection. *Obv.* S'rî Mahendra Siṅha parâkrama. *Rev.* Kumâra Gupta. . ."—(Arch. Rep. vol. xv. p 116.)

The reverse legend with the title *adhirâja* is plain on more than one specimen. The obv. legend is remarkable for the use of the word *parâkrama,* which was specially affected by Samudra Gupta. Prinsep had succeeded in deciphering the word on the coin he figured.

TWO QUEENS TYPE.

Obv. King standing to front in centre of field, with both hands clasped on his breast, apparently clad in a long robe. On each side a standing female, with one hand raised towards the central figure, and the other resting on her hip. The central figure is the shortest. Above the king's r. shoulder the bird standard. To the r. of the king कुमार, *Kumâra,* and to the l. गुप्त, *Gupta.* The letters lie on their side; the word *Kumâra* is read from above, and the word *Gupta* from below.

Marginal legend of about thirty characters all round the coin, quite illegible.

Rev. Goddess to the front, seated on lotus, from l. corner of which two leaf or flower-buds spring. In her r. hand she holds a bud, and her l. rests empty on her hip.

Legend on r. margin श्री प्रताप:, *S'rî Pratâpaḥ.* Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Presented by Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., who bought the coin at Mathurâ. Mon. 8*b*. Wt. 115. (Pl. III. Fig. 4.) This very peculiar piece is at present unique, but there is no reason to doubt its genuineness. A notice of it, with a poor woodcut, was published in Proc. A.S.B. Nov. 1883, p. 144. The legend shows that the obv. central figure is the king, and I think the females must certainly be his consorts. The buds springing from the reverse lotus are noticeable, and the title *S'rî Pratâpa* has not been met with elsewhere.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Aśwamedha Type.

Obv. Thick-barrelled horse, with breast band, standing to r., occupying field, and facing a pole carrying pennons, which float over the horse.

Marginal legend illegible.

Rev. Female standing to l., facing a standard with vase-shaped head, and adorned with pennons. She carries a yak's tail fly-whisk (*chauri*) in her r. hand, resting on her shoulder; her l. hand hangs down, and seems to hold a small object.

Legend following r. margin श्री अश्वमेध महेन्द्र, *Śrî aśwamedha mahendra.* No mon.

References and Remarks.

A.C. At present unique; obtained at Mathurâ. Wt. 124·5. (Pl. III. Fig. 5.) The *obv.* and *rev.* devices closely resemble those of the Aśwamedha medals of Samudra Gupta, the most striking difference being that the horse in this coin is turned to the r.

The legend on the Aśwamedha pieces of Samudra Gupta is *aśwamedha parâkrama*—here it is clearly *Śrî aśwamedha mahendra.* Mahendra was the special personal title of Kumâra Gupta, and, so far as is known at present, was not assumed by any other member of the dynasty. The legend therefore indicates that this new type must be assigned to Kumâra Gupta. The style of the reverse female figure leads to the same conclusion. She has the stumpy bent figure which is characteristic of Kumâra's coins, and is quite different from the tall, upright figures of the standing females on Samudra's coinage. This coin is the only evidence that Kumâra Gupta performed the *aśwamedha* sacrifice. There is nothing to show whether the coin was struck early or late in his reign.

SKANDA GUPTA.

King and Queen Type.

Obv. Bird-standard, with pennons, in centre of field; king bare-headed, with curly hair, standing in l. field, facing r.;

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

queen standing in r. field opposite king. King wears either a waistcloth (*dhotî*), or short drawers (*janghiyâ*), and armlets, and with l. hand grasps middle of bow, the string of which is parallel and next to standard. His r. hand rests on his hip. Queen wears Indian woman's waistcloth (*lahangâ*), and in r. hand holds up to the bird-standard an object, probably a flower.

Marginal legend quite illegible, but it probably included the names of both king and queen.

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî) seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat, holding lotus-flower in l., and fillet in r. hand.

Legend on r. margin श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः, *S'rî Skanda Guptaḥ.* Mon.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 128·8. (Pl. III. Fig. 6.) This coin was purchased at Kanauj by Mr. Bacon, who presented it to Prinsep. It has been engraved in P.E. pl. xxiii. 24, and As. Res. vol. xvii. pl. i. 12.

A.S.B. One specimen.

This type is one of the rarest in the Gupta series. I have never heard of any specimen except the two above mentioned. The analogy of the King and Queen coins of Chandra Gupta I. makes it almost certain that the figures on the obverse are those of Skanda Gupta and his queen. Her name is not mentioned in the extant inscriptions. The Two Queens type of Kumâra Gupta may also be compared.

ARCHER TYPE.

Obv. King with curly hair, wearing tailed coat, standing upright to l., holding arrow in r. hand, which is extended across the bird-standard adorned with pennons, and in l. hand holding bow, the string of which is turned inwards.

Under king's l. arm स्कन्द, *Skanda*, arranged vertically. In Class B. a crescent above name.

Marginal legend not deciphered. In Class B. it includes *parama vi . . . deva S'rî.*

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî), as usual, seated cross-legged on lotus-flower, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand.

Legend श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः, *S'rî Skanda Guptaḥ*, in Class A., and क्रमादित्यः, *Kramâdityaḥ*, 'the sun of power,' in Class B.

References and Remarks.—Class A. Coins of normal (stater) weight, averaging about 129 *grains.*

B.M. I.O. No. 2. Mon. 8*a*. Wt. 132·5. (Pl. III. Fig. 7.)

B.M. I.O. No. 1. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 129·5.

B.M. Brind. Mon. 3*b*. Wt. 130·1.

Bharsar hoard. 6 specimens, viz. No. 1, mon. 3*b*, wt. 129·25, and two duplicates, wt. 125 each; No. 2, mon. 3*b* or 4*c*, wt. 129·25; No. 3, mon. as No. 2, wt. of two specimens 130 each.—(J.A.S.B. vol. xxi. pp. 398–400.)

A.G. Mon. 3*a*. Wt. 132·3. From Oudh.

Coin from Mahanada. (Proc. A.S.B. May 1882, p. 91.)

P.E. pl. xxix. 18. From Cunningham's collection. Dug up eight miles from Ghâzîpur in Ghâzîpur District, N.W.P. Mon. 3*a*.

P.E. pl. xxx. 10. From Tregear collection. Mon 3*a*.

Class B. Heavy coins, apparently struck to suvarṇa standard, averaging 142·3 *grains. Rev. legend 'Kramâdityaḥ.'*

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 141·4. (Pl. III. Fig. 8.)

M.B. Marsden, mlv. Ditto. Wt., including attached ring, 150.

B.M. Rivett-Carnac. Wt. 141·7 and 142.

B. No. 684. Mon. 8*b*.

B. No. 727. Agrees with P.E. pl. xxix. 17. Obv. legend of eight characters, beginning परम विक्र [or क] र, *parama vikra* [*or ka*] *ra*.

B. No. 728. A peculiar character before king's face. Mon. 8*a*.

B. No. 730. Agrees with P.E. pl. xxiii. 22. Obv. marginal legend त देव श्री, *ta deva S'rî*.

A.C. Two specimens. One was obtained at Gayâ.

P.E. pl. xxiii. 20. A rude coin.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, at the beginning of 1887, showed me fifteen of the Kramâditya coins. Fourteen of these were of the usual size, about ·8 in diameter, the fifteenth was a larger

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

and flatter coin, nearly a full inch in diameter. Two of the fourteen are now in the B.M. One was obtained at Bhitarî, an ancient site in the Ghâzîpur District, N.W.P., where there are remains of buildings of the time of Kumâra Gupta, and a well-known inscription of the reign of Skanda Gupta. The other coins were, I think, obtained at or near Benares.

I formerly relegated the Kramâditya pieces to a supplement, and doubted if they were issued by Skanda Gupta. But, on reconsideration, I do not find any sufficient reason for supposing that they were struck by any other prince. No Skanda Kramâditya is known except he be the Skanda Gupta, son of Kumâra Gupta, and numerous silver coins of Skanda Gupta Kramâditya exist. The crescent under the king's arm occurs on coins which undoubtedly belong to Kumâra Gupta of the Early or Imperial dynasty. The difference in style between the heavy and the normal weight Archer coins of Skanda is not sufficient to warrant the assignment to them of different dates. I now believe that Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, and Skanda Gupta all, for some reason unknown, struck gold coins, both according to the Greek stater (*aureus*) standard, and the native *suvarṇa* standard.

The reverse legend of the normal weight Archer coins of Skanda is the same as that of his King and Queen coins.

SUPPLEMENT.

The princes named Nara Bâlâditya, Prakâśâditya, and ? Vîra Sena Kramâditya, whose coins are briefly discussed in the following pages, do not seem to belong to the Imperial Gupta family, at least to its direct line. It is quite possible that they were connected with it by ties of blood.

A strict adherence to my plan would preclude me from noticing these coins, but I do not like to pass them over. The coins of ? Vîra Sena Kramâditya are so remarkable that they deserve a fuller notice than they have yet received, and the present is a convenient opportunity for noticing them.

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The coins of Nara Bâlâditya and Prakâśâditya were included in my former catalogue, but my descriptions of them in some points require correction, and the necessary corrections can be made more conveniently now than on any other occasion.

I regret that I am still unable to identify the king who took the title of Prakâśâditya, and, in spite of the rude style of his coins, I should not be surprised if he turned out to be either Kumâra or Skanda Gupta. In the Bharsar hoard his coins were found associated with coins of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II., Kumâra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and with those of no one else. We now know that Skanda Gupta certainly assumed the title of Vikramâditya, as well as that of Kramâditya, and that Kumâra Gupta took the style of S'rî Pratâpa, as well as his better-known title of Mahendra. There is thus no *à priori* improbability in the assumption that the title Prakâśâditya may belong to either Kumâra or Skanda Gupta. The difference in style between the Prakâśâditya coins and some issues of Kumâra and Skanda Gupta is not sufficient to warrant any certain inference as to difference of date. The contrast in style between the various issues of Chandra Gupta II. is very great, and, in a less degree, similar variations in execution and design may be perceived in the coinages of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

But it is more likely that Prakâśâditya is a title of an early member of the later dynasty of the Guptas of Magadha, which ruled from about A.D. 480 to A.D. 700 or a little later. The inscriptions do not mention Prakâśâditya, who must not be confounded with Prakaṭâditya, son of Bâlâditya, who seems to have been king of Benares at the close of the seventh century A.D., and is mentioned in the Sârnâth inscription.[1]

The same document mentions an earlier Bâlâditya.

I cannot venture to decide on the identity of Nara Bâlâditya of the coins. Sir A. Cunningham is disposed, he tells me, to identify him with the King Bâlâditya of Magadha, the opponent of the Hûṇa King Mihirakula. Mr.

[1] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. No. 79, p. 284.

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Fleet fixes A.D. 515 as the date for the commencement of the career of Mihirakula,[1] and Mr. Beal, though making some corrections in Mr. Fleet's detailed arguments, accepts that date.[2] I doubted it at one time, but now admit that it seems to be established. The date of A.D. 520 or A.D. 530 would very well suit the style and epigraphy of the coins of Nara Bâlâditya, but a great obstacle in the way of assigning these coins to the Bâlâditya, the opponent of Mihirakula, is this, that the coins are as much Hindu in character as the coins of Kumâra and Skanda Gupta of the same Archer type, whereas the opponent of Mihirakula "profoundly honoured the law of Buddha."[3] We should expect to see Buddhist symbols on his coins. The name Nara does not seem to occur in the inscriptions.

Nara Bâlâditya may be the father of Prakaṭâditya mentioned in the Sârnâth inscription, and the date thus obtained (*circa* A.D. 650) is a possible one, though rather late for the style of the coins, which look to me a century earlier.

PRAKÂSÂDITYA.

Lion and Horseman Type (suvarṇa standard).

Obv. Horseman (king), wearing low cap, advancing to r. to meet a dragon-like animal with open jaws. The horseman carries a bow slung behind him, and in some specimens he seems to be thrusting a weapon into the dragon's mouth, while in others his hand is empty. His body is sometimes upright, sometimes stooped forward.

Some coins show a small bird-standard above the horse's head, another has three dots in the same place, and others have nothing.

Legend behind horseman includes the words देव जयति, *deva jayati*, 'his majesty is victorious.'

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmî), as usual, on lotus-seat, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand.

Legend on r. margin श्री प्रकाशादित्यः, *Śri Prakâśâdityaḥ*, which means 'the sun of splendour.' Mon.

[1] Ind. Ant. vol. xv. p. 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 346.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

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PRAKÂSÂDITYA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.

B.M. R.S. *Obv.*, bird-standard over horse's head. Legend *va ja*. Mon. 10*a*. Wt. 145. (Pl. III. Fig. 9.)

B.M. I.O. No. 1. *Obv.*, three dots over horse's head. Mon. 13. Wt. 145·8. (Pl. III. Fig. 10.)

B.M. Pringle. In bad condition. Wt. 136.

B.M. I O. No. 2. *Obv.*, bird-standard over horse's head, legend *deva jayati*. Mon. imperfect. Wt. 146·2.

A.C. Two specimens. Mon. 8*a*. and 13. Wt. of one 146, and of the other nearly the same.

Bharsar hoard. Nos. 1 and 2. *Obv.*, bird-standard over horse's head. Mon. of both coins 8*a*. Wt. 146 and 145. Gold said to be rich, but the workmanship inferior. (J.A.S.B. vol. xii. p. 400, pl. xii. 9.)

R.A.S. One specimen.

A.A. pl. xviii. 18. Mon. 6.

A.A. pl. xviii. 19. Mon. wanting. From Kanauj.

The obverse device of these coins is compounded of the devices of the Horseman and the Lion types of Chandra Gupta II. and Kumâra Gupta, but is executed in an inferior manner. The figure of the reverse goddess resembles that on the coins of Skanda Kramâditya and Nara Bâlâditya, the crossed legs being drawn as a horizontal bar, without distinguishing one limb from the other. In other respects the execution of these coins is not distinctly inferior to that of the Swordsman coins of Kumâra Gupta, and some of the normal weight Archer coins of the same king, which are very coarsely designed and struck.

Some specimens (Pl. III. Fig. 10) have a character under the horse, which looks like a *u*. A similar character is found on the coins of Vishṇu Chandrâditya, who was probably Vishṇu Gupta Deva of Magadha, who reigned about A.D. 700.[1] But on one of the A.C. coins the character under the horse looks like *r*, and may be part of the marginal legend. Wherever it is not part of the legend, it may be intended for the initial of the king's proper name. Prakâśâditya, like Kramâditya, Vikra-

[1] Arch. Rep. vol. i. p. 40, note; and Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 217.

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PRAKÂŚÂDITYA—*continued.*

mâditya, etc., was doubtless only a title. I do not think that these coins of Prakâśâditya are later than, say, A.D. 550. They look rather earlier than than those of Nara, but it is very difficult to judge the style of semi-barbarous issues. The metal of the Prakâśâditya coins appears to be of better quality than that found in the other *suvarṇa* coinages. Kittoe expressly noted that the gold of the Bharsar coins was rich, and I have not seen any coins of this type in base metal.

NARA BÂLÂDITYA.

Archer Type (suvarṇa standard).

Obv. Standing king to l., holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand. Bird standard as usual. In style the device is much the same as that of the heavy coins of Chandra, Kumâra, and Skanda. Between king's legs ग्रे, *gre*, which does not seem to be part of the marginal legend.

Under king's l. arm नर, *Nara*, arranged vertically.

Marginal legend not deciphered.

Rev. Lakshmî on lotus-seat, holding fillet and flower, in degraded style.

Legend बालादित्य, *Bâlâditya*, 'the young, or rising, sun.' The initial syllable is written वा, *Vâ*. Mon., sometimes omitted, but the omission is probably accidental.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Yeames. Mon. 8*e*. Wt. 148·7. (Pl. III. Fig. 11.)

B.M. Prinsep. Mon. 8*e*. Wt. 144·5.

B.M. A. Newman. Mon. 8*e*. Wt. 143·5.

B. Six specimens.

A.C. Four specimens.

A.G. Mon. 9*a*. Wt. 145·1.

M. mliv. Wt. 146·5. From Kâlîghât hoard.

A.A. pl. xviii. 22. From Kâlîghât hoard. See also Records, p. 24.

Coin from Ranaghat subdivision of Nuddea (Nadiyâ) District. (Proc. A.S.B. 1886, p. 65.)

A.S.B. Some specimens.

W.T. One coin.

The above coins are gold, though the metal is always

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NARA BÂLÂDITYA—*continued.*

impure. But a large number of coins bearing the name of Nara are composed of utterly base metal, and are executed with extreme coarseness. Six specimens of this class are in the B.M. collection, and thirty-three similar pieces are in the I.O. collection, now incorporated with the B.M. I did not think it worth while to examine the I.O. base metal coins very minutely, but they do not all bear the name of Nara; many, however, do. As already noted, the B.M. collection includes eleven similar coarse pieces with the name of Kumâra. I am disposed to think that all the coins of this kind are from fifty to two hundred years later than Skanda Gupta, but I cannot profess to assign them definitely. The gold coins of Nara are very much the same in style as the heavy coins in tolerable gold bearing the names of Chandra, Kumâra and Skanda, and are not, I think, far removed from them in date. I do not think it probable that they are later than A.D. 550. The base metal coins look like late imitations of them.

In my former catalogue I erroneously wrote Nâra for Nara, and, following Mr. Thomas, added the cognomen Gupta, for which there is no authority.

VÎRA [? SENA, OR ? SIṄHA] KRAMÂDITYA.

Bull Type.

Obv. Standing bull (? cow) to r., with trappings.

Legend above श्री वीर [? सेन or ? सिंह], *S'rî Vîra*[*Sena or Siṅha*?]. Two characters between bull's legs.

Rev. Lakshmî to front on lotus-seat, holding lotus as usual in her l. hand. Her r. hand seems empty, but is cut away. Legend क्रमादित्य, *Kramâditya.* No mon.

Oval, thick coins.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Presented by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E. Wt. 162·5. (Pl. III. 12.) Noticed in Proc. A.S.B. for 1887, p. 124, pl. i.

The B.M. specimen is one of three coins purchased by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, at or near Benares, I think. Another specimen

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VÎRA [?SENA OR ?SIṄHA] KRAMÂDITYA—*continued.*

weighed 169 grains. The coins are oval in form. They seem later than the coins of the Imperial Guptas, though not much later, and are connected with the coinage of Skanda Gupta by the use of the Lakshmî reverse, the bull symbol, and the title Kramâditya. On the coin figured the first three syllables of this title are distinct, and the form of the letter *m* is of the oldest style found on the Gupta coinage. The king's name on the obv. cannot be made out with certainty, but certainly begins with *V* and a vowel mark. The name looks like Vîra Sena. I cannot at present make out to whom the coins belong, or to exactly what period. The weight is very peculiar. The coins may possibly have been struck to the 100 *rati* standard of 182·5 grains, but it is much more probable that they were struck to the standard "called by metrologists the Persian, the standard on which coins were struck in all parts of the Persian Empire, notably the *sigli* stamped with the figure of the Persian king, which must have freely circulated in the northern parts of India, which paid tribute to the Persians. . . . In the Persian standard the unit or drachm weighs 84–86 grains."[1]

These coins of Kramâditya resemble in form the Persian *sigli*, and I have little doubt that they follow the Persian standard of weight, which had been used long before by the Bactrian kings Eukratides, Heliocles, and Antialcidas.

CHAPTER IX.—CATALOGUE OF SILVER COINS.

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[1] Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, p. lxviii.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.

Vikramâṅka Type.

Obv. Head of king to r., as in the coins of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, with long hair, moustaches, and collar.

Remains of corrupt Greek letters in front of face. No date.

Rev. Rude representation of a bird (peacock) standing to front, with wings expanded, but tail hidden by the body. A sun or cluster of stars in r. field, sometimes with a crescent.

Marginal legend, without vowel marks above line, श्री गुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्त विक्रमाङ्कस्य, *S'rî Guptakulasya mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Chandra Gupta Vikramâṅkasya*, '[coin] of S'rî Chandra Gupta, sovereign of Mahârâjas, of the S'rî Gupta race.'

References and Remarks.

Freeling. Cluster of stars and minute half-moon in rev. r. upper field. Wt. 31.

First published as unique by Thomas in J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 503 (1855), and erroneously assigned by him to (S'rî) Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Republished by the same author in P.E. vol. ii. p. 94, and in Records, pp. 49–50, with woodcut of rev.

E.C.B. No. 1. Group of stars wanting. Legend incomplete. Title read by E.C.B. as *Vikramârkasya*, but erroneously, the character is *ṅ* not *r*. E.C.B. assigned the coin wrongly to Kumâra Gupta. Received from Dr. Bühler.—(Ind. Ant. vol. vi. pp. 57, 58, with woodcuts, and vol. xiv. p. 65.)

E.C.B. No. 2. Legend as in Freeling coin, the *ṅ* being unmistakeable. Received from Dr. Bühler.—(*Ibid.*)

A.C. No cluster of stars on crescent visible in the lithograph, but the description notes "to the right a sun or star."—(Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 23, pl. v. 1.)

The four specimens above described are the only ones at present known to exist. I do not know the exact find-spot of any of them, but Dr. Bühler's coins certainly came from the Bombay Presidency, and I have no doubt that the other specimens also are from the West.

The reading of the legend has been finally settled by Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 65). It is needless to note earlier erroneous readings, or the theories based upon them.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Mr. Fleet translates the words *Śrî Guptakulasya* by the phrase 'who belongs to the glorious family of the Guptas,' and Sir A. Cunningham renders them 'the descendant of Srî Gupta.' Either interpretation is legitimate, and I have, therefore, preferred a literal rendering which retains the ambiguity of the original. I think the honorific prefix *Srî* is better left untranslated. No English word has exactly the same connotation.

The reverse device of these coins is certainly a rude diagram of a bird, presumably a peacock, standing to the front, with wings expanded, and tail concealed by the body. It is found also on the coins of Kumâra Gupta and some of those of Skanda Gupta in the same form, and on one class of Skanda Gupta's coinage in a modified, degraded form, which has been called an altar.

The sun, or cluster of stars, and crescent were borrowed from the coinage of the Saurâshṭran Satraps.

I cannot determine whether this type was struck earlier or later than the type next to be described.

Vikramâditya Type.

Obv. As in Vikramâṅka type. The corrupt Greek letters seem to be a corruption of the legend PAO NANO PAO of the Indo-Scythian coins.

Rev. As in Vikramâṅka type, with sun or stars in r. field.

Marginal legend, without vowel marks above line, परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्त विक्रमादित्य, *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya*, 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, the sovereign of Mahârâjas, S'rî Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya.'

References and Remarks.

B.M. Bird.[1] Cluster of six stars in r. upper field of rev. Marginal legend -त महाराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्त व-, *-ta Mahârâja S'rî Chandra Gupta V-*. (Pl. IV. Fig. 1.)

A.C. Two specimens (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 23, pl. v. 2, 3; Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 66).

[1] This coin was erroneously labelled as belonging to Kumâra Gupta.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

Indian Museum, Calcutta. One specimen found at Sultânganj in Bhâgalpur District, Bengal, along with a coin of Swâmî Rudra Siṅha, last Satrap of Saurâshṭra.[1]

Newton. Cluster of seven stars. Found in Kâthiâwâṛ, along with coins of Kumâra Gupta. (J.Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 11, and fig. 12 of plate; and Records, p. 48.)

E.C.B. See Ind. Ant. vol. vi. p. 57, and vol. xiv. p. 66.

The coins of this type are almost as rare as those of the Vikramâṅka type. The association of the Sultânganj specimen with a coin of the last Satrap of Saurâshṭra is interesting, as supporting the inference justified by other evidence that the conquest of Saurâshṭra was effected by Chandra Gupta II. His inscriptions in Central India must have been recorded when he was on his way to or from his conquests on the western coast. He adopted the Saurâshṭran model for his silver coinage, but with legends to suit his own predilections. The title Vikramâditya is found on his Umbrella gold coins, which I suppose to be the latest of his gold issues, and on one very rare type of his copper coinage. The extreme rarity of both types of the silver coins of Chandra Gupta II. shows that they must have been issued in small numbers, and probably near the close of his reign. The Vaishṇava epithet *paramabhâgavata* occurs on his Horseman gold coins, and on one variety of the Horseman to Right gold coins of Kumâra Gupta, as well as on the silver coins of both Kumâra and Skanda Gupta.

The date 90, in the ancient form, was read by both Sir E. C. Bayley and Mr. Newton on two coins of this type, but Mr. Thomas interpreted the same character as corrupt Greek. Sir E. C. Bayley also wished to read *va* (for *varshe*, 'in the year') *behind* the king's head, but this reading is rejected by Mr. Fleet, who would interpret the character in question as a numeral, either 4 or 5. Mr. Fleet, however, admits that the character *in front* of the king's face, which has been read as 90, is doubtful, and may even be part of a marginal

[1] The discovery of the coin is mentioned in Arch. Rep. vol. x. p. 127. Sir A. Cunningham informs me that it is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

pattern. There is no precedent for the engraving of one figure of the legend behind, and another before the king's head, and I do not believe that the coins of this type are dated at all.

No clear reading of a date is to be found on any of the Gupta silver coins, except those with the Fantail Peacock device.

The king's name on the Vikramâditya coins was read by Sir E. C. Bayley and Mr. Newton as Bakra. But this reading is undoubtedly erroneous. The name is Chandra, and nothing else, as correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham and Mr. Fleet. The mistaken reading was due to a slight irregularity in the form of the letters comprising the name on some specimens.

KUMÂRA GUPTA.

Winged Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to r., as in coins of Chandra Gupta II. Corrupt Greek letters, sometimes before, and sometimes behind the head. Two crescents on cap.

Rev. Peacock standing to front with wings expanded, but tail concealed, sometimes very rudely executed. Sun or cluster of stars seems to be wanting in variety *a*, but is sometimes present in variety *β*. Legend of variety *a* परम भागवत राजाधिराज श्री कुमार गुप्त महेन्द्रादित्य (or महेन्द्रस्य), *parama bhâgavata râjâdhirâja S'rî Kumâra Gupta Mahendrâditya* (or *Mahendrasya*), 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, the sovereign of Râjas, S'rî Kumâra Gupta Mahendrâditya,' *or* '[Coin] of the most devout S'rî, etc., Kumâra Gupta Mahendra.'

Legend of variety *β*, as above, with the addition of महा, *mahâ*, 'great,' to the title राजाधिराज, *râjâdhirâja*.

Vowel marks not inserted above the line.

References and Remarks.—Variety a, with title râjâdhirâja.

B.M. Prinsep. One crescent on king's cap, the second being obliterated. Behind head O I O I O

KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Rev. legend complete; it appears to end in *-asya*, not *âditya* (Pl. IV. Fig. 2).

B.M. Prinsep. Ten other specimens, in some of which the Greek letters are before, and in others behind the head. The legend of two of these ends in *-asya*, not *-âditya*.

B.M. Bird. Two specimens, which may belong to variety *β*.

B.M. A. Grant. One specimen, which may belong to variety *β*.

A.C. 24 specimens. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 24, pl. v. 4; and Ind. Ant. vol. xvi. p. 66).

Variety β, with title mahârâjâdhirâja.

A.C. Four specimens. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 24, pl. v. 5; and Ind. Ant. vol. xvi. p. 66).

B.M. Steuart. Two specimens, cluster of seven stars.

B.M. Bird. Two specimens, cluster of stars.

B.M. Prinsep. One specimen, no stars.

Mr. Thomas observes that we have multitudes of specimens of this type, that is to say, of both varieties. Out of 65 coins found at Ahmadâbâd in Guzerât, eight belonged to variety *a* (J.Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol. vi. p. xlvii, 1861). A treasure of 1395 coins found at Sanand in the Satâra District of the Bombay Presidency consisted of about 1100 pieces of Kumâra Gupta's Winged Peacock type (variety not stated), and of nearly 300 coins of the kings of Valabhi (*ibid.* pp. li and lxxi). The Thâkur of Bhaunagar in Kâthiâwâṛ sent in nine specimens of variety *a* (J.Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. xiii, 1867).

Thirteen very perfect examples were found at Ellichpur in 1851, and presented to Sir H. M. Elliot. The average weight of these coins was 29 grains, and the highest weight 32 grains, but some specimens of the type weigh 33.

Mr. Newton's coin, a specimen of variety *β*, is supposed to have the date 90, or 90 with a unit, behind the head, the numeral being preceded by a character like an iota, which is commonly found on the coins of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, and is conjectured to be a mint-mark (J.Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

vii. p. 3, and fig. 12 of plate; Records, p. 7, No. x*, with woodcut of *obv.*). But I very much doubt the correctness of the reading of this solitary date, and suspect that the supposed numeral is only a corrupt Greek letter.

Some specimens of variety β sent from Kâthiâwâṛ by Major Watson to Mr. Burgess are described and figured in Records, pp. 44, 45, and figures 11–16 of autotype plate.[1] None of these have any date, nor has any specimen of the type, which I have seen.

Of Mr. Burgess' coins, No. 11 has cluster of stars in lower rev. r. field; Nos. 12 and 14–16 have similar clusters in upper r. field, the stars varying in number. No. 13 is a larger coin than the others, and the king is depicted with a thick neck, and a form of earring different from that on the other coins.

It may reasonably be conjectured that the variety *a* coins with the inferior title *râjâdhirâja* were struck earlier than the variety β pieces, and it is possible that Kumâra Gupta struck the former as Viceroy for his father, but there is no independent evidence that he ever was Viceroy. The supposed tradition published by Major Watson is known to be a forgery.

Mr. Fleet reads the concluding word of the legend as *Mahendrâditya*, and this reading is no doubt correct for many coins. But the earlier reading *Mahendrasya* is supported by three coins in the British Museum. The use of the genitive agrees with the form of legend on Chandra Gupta's Vikramâṅka coins. The title *Mahendrâditya* has not yet been met with on the gold coins.

In addition to the references given above, notices of coins of this type will be found in A.A. pl. xv. 17, 18; J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 505; J.R.A.S. vol. XII. (o.s.) p. 65, Pl. II. 39-42; and P.E. vol. ii. p. 96, pl. xxxvii. 16, 17.

These coins seem to occur only in the Bombay Presidency. The coins figured by Prinsep came from Kachchh.

[1] Mr. Burgess has recently presented these coins to the B.M.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

Trident Type.

Obv. King's head to r., as usual, rudely executed. Traces of ? Greek legend.

Rev. Trident (*triśûl*) in centre of field. Star cluster and crescent.

Marginal legend, as read by Mr. Newton, परम भागवत [राजाधिराज] श्री कुमार गुप्त महेन्द्रस्य, *parama bhâgavata* [*râjâdhirâja*] *Śrî Kumâra Gupta Mahendrasya*, '[coin] of Śrî Kumâra Mahendra, [sovereign of Râjas], most devout worshipper of the holy one.'

References and Remarks.

Newton. From Kâṭhiâwâṛ (J.Bo.Br R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 10, and fig. 11 of plate).

This type is known only from the coin published by Mr. Newton, and rests on his authority. The trident, as engraved in his plate, is distinct. It is possible that the title ought to be read *Mahendrâditya.* Similar tridents are found on the coins of Senapati Bhaṭârka, and the other princes of Valabhi, who succeeded the Guptas in Kâṭhiâwâṛ (Saurâshṭra).

There are three trident coins in the Bodleian collection, but I did not make out the legends, and the coins probably belong to the Valabhi series.

Fantail Peacock Type.

Obv. King's head to r., as usual, but rather larger than in preceding types. No Greek legend. Date in ancient numerical symbols arranged vertically in front of face.

Rev. Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings, and outspread tail, clearly designed and executed. Sometimes a cluster of stars in lower field.

Marginal legend, with vowel-marks in full, विजिता-वनिरवनिपति कुमार गुप्तो देवो (or देवं, or देव) जयति, *vijitâvaniravanipati Kumâra Gupto devo* (or *devaṃ*, or *deva*) *jayati*, 'victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, Kumâra Gupta, who has conquered the earth.'

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.

B.M. **Mayhew.** Date ? 135.

B.M. **Prinsep.** Three specimens in poor condition. The king's name is illegible, but the coins seems to be Kumâra's.

B. At least one specimen.

A.C. Nine specimens (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 24, pl. v. 6, 7; Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 66).

The Fantail Peacock coins, both of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta, were evidently, like the gold and copper coinages, minted in Northern India. They are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces, but are rare elsewhere. Sir. A. Cunningham informs me that they are most commonly obtained at Benares, Ajodhya, Mathurâ, and places near those cities. A considerable number have been found near Sahâranpur, and at Bûriyâ on the Jumna. The late Mr. Thomas possessed six specimens of Kumâra's coinage, procured mostly at Kanauj (Records, p. 50, figs. 22, 23 of autotype plate); Colonel Stacy had six, and Mr. Freeling seven, all probably collected within the North-Western Provinces (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 512).

The type is also described and illustrated in P.E. vol. i. p. 338, pl. xxvii. 10–12; and J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. (o.s.) Pl. II. It is very poorly represented in the British Museum collection, but I have no doubt that numerous specimens exist in private cabinets.

The Greek legend is altogether wanting in all the coins with this Fantail Peacock device. The peacock is represented much in the same way as in variety β of Kumâra Gupta's gold Peacock coins. The device on the silver coins of Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta, Bhîmasena, Toramâṇa, and Iśâna Varman (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pp. 25–27), is a repetition of that on the silver coins of Kumâra Gupta, and the reverse legend on all these coins also is substantially the same.

The weight of the best-preserved specimens is between 35 and 36 grains, but ordinary specimens weigh about 30 grains.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA—*continued.*

The dates are recorded in the ancient Indian notation, which employed separate symbols for each of the hundreds, tens, and units, the meaning of which was independent of position. But on the coins the symbol for 100 is always placed first, then the symbol for the decade, and then the unit, and they are arranged vertically thus, $\begin{smallmatrix}100\\40\\4\end{smallmatrix} = 144$. The forms of the numerals do not agree exactly with those used on stone and copper inscriptions, or on the coins of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, but the symbols on the Gupta coins can be read by the aid of Pandit Bhagvanlâl Indrajî's table in Ind. Ant. vol. vi. p. 42.

The dates refer to the so-called Gupta era, of which the year 1 corresponded to A.D. 320–21, old style.

The dates hitherto recognized on the coins of Kumâra Gupta are 121, 124, 128, 129, and 130. The Mayhew coin in the B.M. seems to me to be dated in 135, and a coin from the Prinsep collection, wt. 35·8 (Fig. 56 of Pl. II. J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s.), seems to bear the same date.

SKANDA GUPTA.

Winged Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to r., as usual, but rudely executed. Two crescents on cap. Remains of corrupt Greek legend either before king's face, or at back of his head. No date.

Rev. Device in a few coins is the same as that of the Winged Peacock coins of Kumâra Gupta, and is plainly a bird. Much more commonly it is a rude diagram, which is probably intended for the outline of a bird standing on a pedestal, but is so obscure that it has been called an altar.

Marginal legend, vowel marks above line being omitted;

Variety α.—परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य, *parama bhâgavata mahârâjâdhirâja S'rî Skanda Gupta Kramâditya,* 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, sovereign of Mahârâjas, S'rî Skanda Gupta Kramâditya.'

Variety β.—As above, substituting विक्रमादित्य, *Vikramâditya,* for क्रमादित्य, *Kramâditya,* and omitting *mahârâjâdhirâja.*

Variety γ.—As above, substituting परमादित्य, *paramâditya,* for क्रमादित्य, *Kramâditya.*

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

References and Remarks.—Variety α. With title Kramâditya.

B.M. Prinsep. More than sixty specimens. A few of these (at the end of tray No. 3) have a fairly distinct peacock, as on the coins of Kumâra Gupta. The rest (comprising the fifty-one pieces in tray No. 2, and part of tray No. 3) have the corrupt device, which Thomas calls an altar. (Pl. IV. 7.)

A.C. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 25, pl. v. 11, and Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67.)

Variety β.—With title Vikramâditya.

B.M. Ten specimens in tray No. 3. (Pl. IV. 6.)

Variety γ.—With title Paramâditya.

B.M. The last two coins in tray No. 3.

This type is also described in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. pp. 65, 67, Pl. II. 43, 44, 49–51, all three varieties; J.A.S.B. vol. vii. pl. xii. 18–21; J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. 507; Records, Nos. 18–21 of autotype plate; A.A. p. 412, pl. xv. 20 (with the reverse upside down); and P.E. vol. ii. p. 96, pl. xxxvii. 18, 19.

The coin figured in A.A. pl. xv. 20, and as No. 18 of Records, and the coins Nos. 43, 44, of J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Pl. II., have the bird as in the coins of Kumâra Gupta. The others have the degraded device which Thomas describes as "a small altar, which may be intended for the Mithraic altar of the gold coins, or for the conventional shrine of the sacred *Tulśi* of the Hindus." The same writer observes that this device "may be traced as the distinctive emblem of the Gurjjara successors of Skanda Gupta, and may be followed in its course on the copper-plate grants of Prasânta Râja, a monarch devoted to the worship of the sun" (J.R.A.S. Vol. I. N.S. p. 262). I have not been able to verify the allusions made by Mr. Thomas, but I prefer to follow Sir A. Cunningham in regarding the obscure device in question as a corruption of the winged peacock, while admitting that the so-called altar retains little or no resemblance to a bird of any sort.

The Winged Peacock coins of Skanda Gupta of all

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

varieties are remarkable for their extremely rough execution. Few of them approach a circle in form, and many are little more than fragments. The letters of the legends, however, are in high relief, and easily legible, though formed in a very irregular and careless fashion. The weight of these coins is necessarily very uneven, and varies from 22·5 to 33 grains.

The occurrence of the title Vikramâditya in association with the name of Skanda Gupta is interesting, because that title was more specially appropriated by Chandra Gupta II. But there is no doubt whatever as to the reading of the word Vikramâditya on the ten coins in the British Museum. The specimen figured has the legend *Śrî Vikramâditya Skanda Gupta.* The *k* in the conjunct character *Sk* is formed by a loop like a *v* attached to the lower limb of the *S.*

Eight coins in the B.M. are labelled as having the title *Paramâditya,* but six of these (in tray No. 3) are ordinary *Kramâditya* coins, the word *parama* belonging to the epithet *parama bhâgavata.* The last two coins in tray No. 3 appear really to have the title *Paramâditya* (incomplete), as well as *parama bhâgavata.*

As already noted, the Kramâditya coins at end of tray No. 3 have the reverse device distinctly in the form of a bird, as on the coins of Kumâra Gupta.

One is noteworthy for expressing medial *m* twice by three dots (•.•), and another twice expresses the same character by a single dot (.). This last coin seems to bear the legend *Parama bhâgavata mahâkshatrapa* [? *Skanda*] *Gupta Kramâditya.* The word *mahâkshatrapa* appeared to me to be distinct. This title, which means 'Great Satrap,' has not yet been found on any other Gupta coin, but Kumâra Gupta perhaps used the title *kshatrapa,* or Satrap, on his Horseman to Left gold coins.

Prinsep's specimens are said to have come from Kachchh, Kâṭhiâwâṛ, and Guzerât. Newton observes that "The coins

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

of the Guptas do not appear to have been found in any part of the (Bombay) Presidency except Guzerât and Kâṭhiâwâr" (J Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 35); but Kachchh should be added. Out of 236 coins sent in by the Rao of Kachchh, 235 belonged to the so-called 'altar' type of Skanda Gupta, with the legend *Para .... Śrî Skanda Gupta Kramâditya* (*ibid.* vol. vi. p. lxxviii).

The title Kramâditya occurs on the heavy (*suvarṇa*) Archer type gold coins of Skanda, on the gold coins of Vîra Sena (?), and on certain gold coins of Kumâra, which are supposed to belong to Kumâra Gupta of the local Magadha dynasty.

BULL TYPE.

Obv. Head of king to r., as usual, executed rudely, as in the Winged Peacock coins. Sometimes traces of corrupt Greek legend before face. No date.

Rev. Recumbent bull to r.

Marginal legend परम भाग वतश्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य, *parama bhâgavata S'rî Skanda Gupta Kramâditya*, 'the most devout worshipper of the holy one, S'rî Skanda Gupta Kramâditya.'

References and Remarks.

B.M. **Prinsep.** Two poor specimens. (Pl. IV. Fig. 5.)
B.M. One poor specimen.
A.C. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 25, pl. v. 12.)

The type is also described in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. p. 66, Pl. II. 45, 46; A.A. pl. xv. p. 19; Records, fig. 19 of autotype plate; J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 506 (class *d*); and P.E. vol. ii. p. 98. The execution of these coins is as rude as that of the Winged Peacock coins, and the legends and weights are equally irregular. The weight varies from 21 to 30 grains.

The recumbent bull device is found on the seals of the kings of Valabhi, who succeeded the Guptas in Guzerat and Saurâshṭra, and also on the coins doubtfully assigned to

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

Krishṇa Râja Rashṭrakûṭa of the Dakhin, who seems to have flourished at the end of the fourth century A.D.[1] It also appears on the coins of Brihaspati Nâga, and on one type of the coinage of Deva Nâga, who lived at about the same time, and seems to have belonged to the Nâga dynasty of Padmâvatî, the modern Narwâr in the Gwâlior State.[2] The Nâga coins seem to me to be a little later in date than the Gupta.

UNCERTAIN.

Chaitya Type.

I quote verbatim Sir. A. Cunningham's description of a coin in his cabinet, which he doubtfully assigns to Skanda Gupta. It does not agree either in reverse device or legend with the Gupta coins, and seems to me to belong to the Saurâshṭran Satrap series, but I have not minutely examined the coin itself, although I have seen it:

> "*No.* 8.—*Obv.* King's head with moustaches, to right.
>
> "*Rev.* Chaitya symbol. Legend in old Gupta characters very much crowded together: *Mahârâjâ Kumâraputra Parama Mahâditya Mahârâjâ Skanda Gupta*?

"Mr. Newton has published a similar coin (J.Bo.Br.R.A.S. vol. vii. p. 12, and fig. 13), of which he remarks that the title of Mahârâja refers it to the Gupta series, while the addition of the father's name forms a connecting link with the coins of the Satraps of Surâshṭra. Mr. Newton reads the name of the king as Rudra or Nanda. I think, however, that it is intended for Skanda Gupta, the letters being so crowded together, that only portions of them could be delineated on the coin. I should like to have read Deva Gupta; but there is a tail to the second letter on both coins, which points to *nd* or *ndr*. Perhaps the name may be *Chandra Gupta III.*, which would be a natural appellation of Kumâra's eldest son, as it has

[1] Cunningham's Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 29, pl. v. 26, with reference to J.Bo. Br.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 214.

[2] Coins of the Nine Nâgas, by Cunningham (J.A.S.B. vol. xxxiv. p. 122, with plate). Figures 5 and 6 of the plate represent the coins of Brihaspati Nâga, and 13 and 14 those of Deva Nâga. See also Arch. Rep. vol. ii. pp. 307–310, and vol. vi. p. 178.

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

always been a Hindu custom to name one child after its grandfather, just as Kumâra's own father Chandra Gupta II. was named after *his* grandfather Chandra Gupta I."[1]

A name which can be read Rudra, Nanda, Skanda, or Chandra, may fairly be regarded as illegible. Mr. Fleet examined the coin (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67), but could not make out the legend with any certainty. He marks nearly every letter as doubtful.

Fantail Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to r., apparently without moustaches. Date in front of face in ancient numerical symbols. No corrupt Greek legend.

Rev. Peacock facing front, with expanded wings and outspread tail, as in the similar coins of Kumâra Gupta.

Marginal legend, with vowel marks complete, in variety *α* विजितावनिरवनिपति श्री स्कन्द गुप्तो देवो (or देवं) जयति, *vijitâvanir avanipati S'rî Skanda devo* (or *devaṁ*) *jayati*, 'victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, Srî Skanda Gupta, who has conquered the earth'; and in

Variety *β* विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति देव स्कन्द गुप्तोयं, *vijitâvanir avanipatir jayati deva Skanda Guptoyaṁ*, 'victorious is his majesty, this same Skanda Gupta, lord of the earth, who has conquered the earth.'

References and Remarks.—Variety α.

B M. Date ? 16[–]. (Pl. IV. Fig. 4.)

A.C. Two specimens. (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67.)

Variety β.

B. No. 785.

A.C. 12 specimens (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67). Of these one with date 144 is shown in Pl. IV. Fig. 3, and this coin and another dated 145 are figured in Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pl. v. 9, 10.

The type is also described in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Pl. II. 52, 53; J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 512; P.E. vol. i. p. 335; and Records, Nos. 24, 25 of autotype plate.

[1] Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 24, pl. v. 8.

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SKANDA GUPTA—*continued.*

The dates read are 144, 145, [1]48, 149 or 147, and ? 16[–].

Mr. Freeling had one specimen, and Colonel Stacy and Mr. Thomas each had four specimens of the type.

The coins are found in the same localities as the similar coins of Kumâra Gupta, but seem to be less abundant.

The highest weight noted by Thomas is 35 grains. Eight fair specimens showed an average weight of 31·7, and none, I think, will be found to exceed 36 grains.

Sir A. Cunningham was inclined to attribute one of his specimens to Dâmodara Gupta of the Later dynasty, but Mr. Fleet shows that the supposition is untenable (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67).

BUDHA GUPTA.

Fantail Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to r., without moustaches.

Date in ancient numerical symbols, in front of face. No corrupt Greek legend.

Rev. Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail.

Marginal legend, with vowel marks complete, **विजिता-वनिरवनिपति श्री बुध गुप्तो देवो जयति**, *vijitâvanir avanipati S'rî Budha Gupto devo jayati*, 'victorious is his majesty, Srî Budha Gupta, lord of the earth, who has conquered the earth.'

References and Remarks.

B. One specimen. Date 174.

A.C. One specimen. Date 174. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 25, pl. v. 13.)

Dr. Swiney. One specimen. Date 174. Wt. 32. (J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Pl. II. 55.)

A.C. One specimen. Date? 18[–]. From Sârnâth. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pl. 25, *note* and verbal communication; Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 67.)

Six specimens only of this type are known. Five, all dated in 174, were obtained at Benares in 1835 by Sir A. Cunningham, and the first three coins above enumerated

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BUDHA GUPTA—*continued.*

belong to that batch. I do not know what became of the other two. The sixth specimen, which is now in Sir A. Cunningham's cabinet, was obtained at Sârnâth near Benares. Mr. Fleet reads the date on the Benares coins as 175, and it was wrongly read by Mr. Thomas as 155, but Sir A. Cunningham observes (*loc. cit.*) that "the value of the decimal is known from my Jayanâth inscription, which is recorded in words as well as figures."

The inscription of Budha Gupta dated 165 is at Eraṇ in Mâlwâ, and his territory lay between the Jumna and Narbadâ.[1] It is scarcely possible that Benares should have been subject to his authority, and the coins obtained there were probably brought by pilgrims. If carefully looked for, other specimens ought to be obtainable in Central India.

SUPPLEMENT.

I have described in detail all the known silver coins which can be ascribed to the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty. Sir A. Cunningham has described coins of certain successors of the dynasty, with similar devices and legends (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pp. 26–31, pl. v. pp. 16–28); and in order to render my account more complete, I shall give a brief notice of these coins.

BHÎMA SENA.

FANTAIL PEACOCK TYPE.

Obv. As in coins of Budha Gupta, but head to l. Date illegible.

Rev. As in Budha Gupta's coins, substituting the name of Bhîma Sena for that of Budha Gupta.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Procured by Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac at Ajodhya, and presented by him (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pl. v. 16). Fig. 17 of same plate seems to be similar, but the coin is much worn.

Nothing is known concerning Bhîma Sena. The legend, as published by Sir A. Cunningham, was not quite correctly read.

[1] See Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 88, No. 19.

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TORAMÂṆA.[1]

Fantail Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to l. Date in front of face.
Rev. As in coins of Budha Gupta, substituting name of Toramâṇa for Budha Gupta.

References and Remarks.

B.M. **Bush and Baring.** (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pl. v. 18, 19.)

These are the only two known specimens. I agree with Mr. Fleet in reading the date on both as 52. Sir A. Cunningham reads 53 on his No. 19, but the 3 seems to me to be a blurred 2.

There are three similar coins with head to l. in B.M., presented by Miss Baring, on two of which the date seems to be 54, but I could not decipher the king's name. It did not appear to be Toramâṇa. I attach no importance to the circumstance that the king's head is turned to l. The Gupta gold series proves that it was a matter of indifference which way the king's effigy was turned.

ÎS'ÂNA VARMÂ.

Fantail Peacock Type.

Obv. Head of king to l. Date in front of face.
Rev. As in coins of Budha Gupta, substituting Îśâna Varmâ for Budha Gupta.

References and Remarks.

A.C. Procured at Râmnagar, the ancient Ahichchhatra in Bareli District, N.W.P. (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. pl. v. 20).

C. Two specimens, procured at Ajodhya (Ibid. pl. v. 21, 22).

All these specimens are, according to Sir A. Cunningham, dated 55, of which the interpretation is doubtful. The name was at first wrongly read Śânti Varma (Arch. Rep. vol.

[1] For the Eraṇ inscription of the reign of Toramâṇa see Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 158, No. 36. He is also mentioned in the Gwâlior inscription of his son Mihirakula (Ibid. p. 161, No. 37.)

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ÎSÂNA VARMÂ—*continued.*

xvi. pp. 79, 81). Îśâna Varmâ was one of the Maukhari, or Mukhara, dynasty, who ruled in part of Magadha, and were the rivals of the later Gupta dynasty, which ruled in another part; and he was the contemporary and opponent of the Later Kumâra Gupta, who flourished about A.D. 550. See l. 5 of Aphsaṛ inscription of Âditya Sena in Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 206.

Mr. Fleet examined two specimens, and observes that "on the obv. of the coin figured by General Cunningham as No. 22, in front of the king's face there are two marks, which may perhaps be the numerical symbols for 40, 60, or 70, and 5. But they are very imperfect and doubtful." "On the dated coins," he says, "the head and neck of the peacock are turned to the proper right, as in the early Gupta coins; in the coin without a date, they are turned to the proper left" (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 68).

COINS OF KINGS OF VALABHI.

TRIDENT TYPE.

Sir A. Cunningham gives a brief account of these coins in Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 28, pl. v. 23, 24, but they require more exhaustive examination than they have yet received. As I am not prepared to discuss them at length, I content myself with a mere reference to the published accounts. Prinsep notes that several hundred of coins of this class were found buried in the ruins of Puragaṛh, twenty miles west of Bhoj in Kachchh (J.A.S.B. vol. iv. p. 687). These coins were discussed by Mr. Thomas in J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 508; in his paper on the so-called Sâh kings in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. (o.s.); and in P.E. vol. ii. p. 100.

The reverse device is similar to that of the unique Trident coin of Kumâra Gupta published by Mr. Newton.

The three Trident coins in the Bodleian probably belong to this class.

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? KRISHṆA RÂJA RÂSHTRAKÛṬA.

Bull Type.

Obv. Rude head of king with moustaches to r.
No trace of either legend or date.

Rev. As in Bull type of Skanda Gupta. Legend in modified Gupta characters, read by Cunningham as *Parama Maheśwara, Mahâditya* (or *Mahâkshatra*) *pâdânudhyâta S'rî Krishṇa Râjâ.*

Coins from the Nâsik District, Bombay, supposed to belong to Krishṇa Râja Râshtrakûṭa, a king of the Dakhin, *circâ* A.D. 375–400 (Arch. Rep. vol. ix. p. 30, pl. v. 26). The legends require further examination. Mr. Fleet reads *parama mâheśwara-mâtâpitṛi-pâdânudhyâta Śrî Krishṇa râja,* and translates, 'The glorious Krishṇa Râja, who is a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Maheśvara, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents' (Ind. Ant. vol. xiv. p. 68).

Chapter X.—Catalogue of Copper Coins.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.

(I.) Umbrella Type.

Obv. King standing to l., 'kitcat' figure, the feet not being shown. An attendant (? female) holds over his head an umbrella with streamers or fillet attached. King bareheaded; with r. arm raised, the elbow being sharply bent, and the hand open and empty. No legend.

Rev. Garuḍa, with wings and human arms, facing front, standing on thick horizontal line, running across coin, in or near the centre. In exergue the legend महाराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः, *Mahârâja S'rî Chandra Guptaḥ.*

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

References and Remarks.

B. Elliott. No. 752. One of three coins of this type collected by Tregear. The word *Guptaḥ* forms a second line below *S'rî Chandra*, and the letters of the legend have a peculiar curve to l. One of the Tregear coins was figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 11.

W.T. Bought in the bazaar at Pânîpat in the Panjâb. Much worn, but the umbrella is distinct. Wt. 70·8. Diameter ·82. (Pl. IV. Fig. 8.)

A.C. No. 1. Human arms of Garuḍa distinct. Wt. 75·5. Diameter ·9. (Pl. IV. Fig. 9.)

A.C. No. 2. Much worn. Wt. 102. Diameter ·8.

(II.) Standing King Type.

Obv. 'Kitcat' figure of king, as in Umbrella type, but, owing to smaller size of this type, less of the legs is shown. No attendant or umbrella. In one coin the king's l. hand is seen to rest on a sword. No legend.

Rev. Device as in Umbrella type. The human arms of Garuḍa are not distinctly shown. Legend श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः, *S'rî Chandra Guptaḥ*, or चन्द्र गुप्तः, *Chandra Guptaḥ.*

References and Remarks.

B.M. Two specimens. Wt. 37 and 47. (Pl. IV. Fig. 10.)

B.M. I.O. One specimen. Wt. 29.

B. Three specimens; viz. **No. 750** in Elliott collection, in fair condition. Legend *Chandra Guptaḥ.*

No. 753, ditto, in inferior condition. Legend *Srî Chandra Guptaḥ.*

Not numbered, in fair condition. Legend as on No. 753. Two of these coins are probably the Tregear coins figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 12.

A.C. No. 1. Wt. 53·5. Diameter ·68.

A.C. No. 2. Wt. 51·5. Diameter ·66.

A.C. No. 3. Wt. 49·0. Diameter ·67. King's l. hand rests on sword. *Srî* of legend wanting.

A.C. No. 4. Wt. 45·0. Diameter ·61.

A.C. No. 5. Wt. 35·5. Diameter ·67.

A.C. No. 6. Wt. 26·0. Diameter ·57. Garuḍa stands on a pedestal formed of two horizontal lines.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

A.C. No. 7. Wt. 22·0. Diameter ·61. Pedestal as in last. Figure of king rounded off at hips. No sword. (Plate IV. Fig. 11.)

A.C. No. 8. Wt. 13·5. Diameter ·50. Small, much worn.

A.S.B. One specimen.

H. One specimen, from Ajodhya.

It appears plain that the coins of this type comprise at least two different values. It is impossible that the specimens weighing 53·5 and 13·5 grains respectively should belong to the same denomination. But most of the extant specimens are in such bad condition, and the original weights are therefore so uncertain, that I do not know where to draw the line.

(III.) VIKRAMÂDITYA BUST TYPE.

Obv. Bust of king to l., on horizontal line, distant about one-third of diameter, or less, from lower margin.

King's r. arm bent, as in Umbrella and Standing King types, but a lotus-flower is held between finger and thumb.

Legend in exergue श्री विक्रमादित्य, *S'rî Vikramâditya.*

Rev. Garuḍa to front, on pedestal. Legend below चन्द्र गुप्तः, *Chandra Guptaḥ.*

Diameter ·6 to ·7.

References and Remarks.

B.M. Stacy. Figured in P.E. pl. xxx. 13. Wt. 44. (Pl. IV. Fig. 12.)

B.M. Hay. Wt. 40·5. In good condition, except obv. legend. A rayed crescent above king's head. (Pl. IV. Fig. 13.)

Swiney Collection. P E. pl. xxx. 14. Also figured in A.A. pl. xviii. 15.

The breasts are strongly marked in the Stacy coin, and this circumstance led Thomas (J.A.S.B. vol. xxiv. p. 514) to describe the obv. bust as that of a female. The obv. device seems to be derived from that of the gold coins of Ooerke (Huvishka).

The three specimens referred to are the only ones I know of, and I do not know what has become of the Swiney coin.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

(IV.) Chandra Head Type.

Obv. Head of king to l., occupying whole field. No legend.

Rev. Bird with expanded wings (Garuḍa) facing front, standing on horizontal line. Human arms not distinctly shown. Legend चन्द्र गुप्तः, *Chandra Guptaḥ.* In at least two sizes.

References and Remarks.—(1) *Larger size.*

B.M. Prinsep. In poor condition. Wt. 27·0. Diameter ·62.

B.M. Eden. In poor condition. Wt. 20.

B.M. No. 3. In poor condition. Wt. 18·0.

B.M. No. 4. In poor condition. Wt. 18·0.

H. From Ajodhya. This specimen has lines below the wings of the Garuḍa, which may be intended for human arms.

B. No. 754. In bad condition.

A.C. No. 1. In fair condition. Wt. 28·0 Diam. ·55. (Pl. IV. Fig. 14.)

A.C. No. 2. In poorer condition. Wt. 25·5. Diam. ·57.

A.C. No. 3. In poorer condition. Wt. 21·5. Diam. ·54.

A.C. No. 4. In poorer condition. Wt. 20·5. Diam. ·52.

A.C. No. 5. Much worn. Wt. 18·0. Diam. ·47.

A.C. No. 6. Very much worn. Wt. 17·5. Diam. ·54.

A.C. No. 7. Worn, small. Wt. 16·5. Diam. ·43.

A.C. No. 8. Worn, small. Wt. 16·5. Diam. ·43.

(2) *Smaller size.*

B.M. Two specimens. Weight 9·5 and 11 respectively.

H. Three specimens from Ajodhya, one of which is now in author's possession.

B. Not numbered. In bad condition.

A.S.B. Many specimens; no details stated.

Lucknow Museum. Several specimens; no details stated.

A.C. No. 9. Worn. Wt. 13. Diam. ·42. (Pl. IV. 15.)

A.C. No. 10. In very bad condition. Wt. 12·5. Diam. ·53. In this coin the king seems helmeted.

A.C. No. 11. In very bad condition. Wt. 12·5. Diam. 40.

A.C. No. 12. In very bad condition. Wt. 12·5. Diam. 41.

A.C. No. 13. In very bad condition. Wt. 10·5.

A.C. No. 14. In very bad condition, very minute. Wt. 9·5.

A.C. No. 15. In very bad condition, very minute. Wt. 6·5.

A.C. No. 16. In very bad condition, very minute. Wt. 4·5, but doubtful, and may belong to Vase type.

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CHANDRA GUPTA II.—*continued.*

It is obvious that all these coins, the weights of which range from 6·5 to 28 grains, cannot possibly be of one denomination, but the particulars above given show that the gradation in size and weight is so gradual that it is very difficult to draw a line anywhere. The coins are all in more or less bad preservation, and the weights consequently give very uncertain guidance. It is, however, certain that the extant specimens belong to at least two denominations. I am unable to come to any certain conclusion as to what these denominations were. The coins of this type are common, when compared with the other Gupta copper coins. I suspect that many exist in private collections, for such minute and ill-preserved coins are not readily recognized. I found one among the unclassed coins in the Bodleian cabinet.

KUMÂRA GUPTA.

Umbrella Type.

Obv. As in Umbrella type of Chandra Gupta II.

Rev. Ditto, but the initial letter of the king's name appears to be *K*, the rest of the name is lost.

References and Remarks.

The existence of this type of Kumâra Gupta's coinage is perhaps doubtful, and rests on a single very imperfect specimen in the possession of Sir A. Cunningham, who procured it at Ahichchhatra (Râmnagar) in the Bareli District, N.W.P. The last letter of the defaced legend is the first letter of the king's name, and certainly seems to be a *K*, and nothing else. I have examined it several times, and do not see how it possibly can be a damaged *Ch*. If the initial letter of the name was *K*, as it apparently is, the name must have been Kumâra. The syllables *râja S'rî* before the damaged name are quite plain.

The coin is in such bad preservation that I have not attempted to have it photographed.

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KUMÂRA GUPTA.

Standing King Type.

Obv. Device as in Standing King type of Chandra Gupta II. The king wears a *dhoti*, or waistcloth, the folds of which are indicated. No legend.

Rev. Bird (Garuḍa) as in coins of Chandra Gupta II. Legend in exergue श्री कुमार गुप्त, *Śrî Kumâra Gupta.*

References and Remarks.

B. No. 751. Collected by Tregear, probably at Ajodhya. Unique. Note the modern form of *d*. An eye-copy of the legend is given in the annexed woodcut :

This is the only copper coin which we can affirm with certainty to have been struck as such by Kumâra Gupta. Sir A. Cunningham's specimen of his Umbrella type is doubtful. The copper coins of Kumâra Gupta and Skanda Gupta found in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, which resemble the silver coinage, and are noticed subsequently, may be ancient forgeries.

CHANDRA.

Vase Type.

Obv. The name चन्द्र *Chandra* inscribed horizontally across the field. In the smaller coins a crescent above the name.

Rev. A short-necked broad vase, with streamers proceeding from it, or vertical lines on each side. No legend. In two sizes.

(1) *Larger size.*

A.C. Wt. 13. (J.A.S.B. vol. xxxiv. p. 125, pl. xviii. 20.)

(2) *Smaller size.*

A.C. No. 1. A flower? above vase, and a vertical line on each side of vase, in lieu of streamers. Crescent above name. Wt. 7. Diameter ·42. In poor condition. (Plate IV. Fig. 16.)

A.C. No. 2. Similar, but in worse condition, and indistinct. Wt. 5·5.

A.C. No. 3. Very minute, in bad condition. Wt. 3·5. Diameter ·3. This coin and No. 2 seem to have streamers from mouth of vase. One is figured as figure 21 in J.A.S.B. *loc. supra cit.*

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CHANDRA—*continued.*

The identity of the Chandra named on these coins is uncertain. He may be the Chandra, who recorded the inscription on the Iron Pillar at Delhi.[1] Sir A. Cunningham supposed him to be Chandra Gupta II., but the coins in question are quite different from those of the Guptas, and are related to the coins of the Nâga dynasty and of Paśupati of Nepâl (described in J.A.S.B. *loc. sup. cit.*). The Paśupati coins with similar vases are found in Nepâl.

The Chandra coins are in poor preservation, and I cannot determine their standard, but they certainly occur in two sizes. Some specimens of the smaller size are in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

SUPPLEMENT.

UNCERTAIN.

Mr. Theobald has a small copper coin, weighing 25 grains, with the legend -न्द्र [or द्र] महाराज श्री, *-ndra* [or *-dra*] *Mahârâja Śrî*, which may possibly belong to Chandra Gupta II., but the coin is in very bad preservation, and it is impossible to assign it.

A copper coin, with traces of gilding, in possession of Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, appears to be an ancient forgery of the common variety of the Archer gold coins of Chandra Gupta II.

COPPER COINS OF KUMÂRA GUPTA AND SKANDA GUPTA, AGREEING IN DEVICE AND LEGEND WITH THE SILVER COINS.

The following notes record all that I can discover concerning the copper Gupta coins, which resemble the silver coinage. They may all be ancient forgeries, but, if they are, it is odd that such a considerable number of them should be found. The question of their genuineness deserves fuller examination than I have been able to give it. Some are certainly forgeries.

[1] Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. The name used to be read Bhâva or Dhâva.

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Coins presented by the Thakur of Morvi, and exhibited at the meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 11th July, 1867, by the President, the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton.

"Four copper Gupta coins. Scarcely any portion of the legend is visible, but I recognize the coins as SKANDA GUPTA'S" (p. xiv).

At the same meeting Mr. Newton also exhibited the following coins:

"Presented by the Chief of Walla.

Twenty copper coins of one of the Gupta kings, probably KUMÂRA, though scarcely a letter of the legend is left on any of them. The thin film of silver, with which some of them were originally covered, is still to be seen, and they thus add to the evidence which we already possess that the introduction of coinage did not long precede the idea of making it a means of fraud" (p. xv).

"The President also presented to the Society, on behalf of Captain Watson, Political Agent in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, fifteen small copper coins, on which he remarked that sufficient of the legend remained to enable him to identify them as the coinage of KUMÂRA GUPTA, the complete legend being *Parama Bhâgavaṭa, Râjâdhirâjâ Kumâra Gupta Mahendrasya.*"

These coins, he added, were evidently a portion of the same hoard as those sent by the Chief of Wallâ, and Captain Watson stated that they formed part of a number dug up on the site of the ancient city of Valabhi.

Captain Watson's letter accompanying the coins was as under:

"I send you herewith some small copper coins found at Wallâ—a tolerably large hoard was dug up on the site of the ancient city of Valabhi. I have got eight besides those I send you, which I have given to two natives of Kâṭhiâwâṛ, to see if they can decipher any of the marks. I will send you the eight referred to shortly. Five of those I send are in pretty good preservation for copper coins. The rest have scarcely any marks left to decipher—a crescent or moon is very distinct on some of them. I trust during the rains to be able to procure more" (p. xviii).[1]

In the same volume Mr. Newton describes a copper coin

[1] Bo.Br.J.R.A.S. vol. ix. pp. xiv, xv, xviii.

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of Swâmî Chashtana, father of Jaya Dâmâ, which belonged to Dr. Bhau Dâjî.[1] The coin resembles the earlier ones of the so-called Sâh kings. The obverse head is more finely executed than usual, and the legend, which ran all round the margin, as in some of the Bactrian hemidrachms, though illegible, caused Mr. Newton to "think that some at least of the Greek letters were correctly cut." The reverse devices consist of a wavy line with three-lobed *chaitya* emblem, a sun of sixteen rays, and two crescent moons.

"The weight of the coin is twenty-three grains, but several grains have been lost by chemical change and cleaning. The legend on the reverse is accurately copied in the figure, but I regret that I am unable to decipher it entirely. The whole, however, with the exception of the four letters enclosed below in brackets, may be read with certainty:

"*Râjno Mahâkshatrapasa* (*Syamo?*) *tika putrasa Chashtanasa* (*dala?*) *rumna*" (*sic*).

Cunningham points out (*ibid.* p. cix) that on the right half of the coin the ruler's name is repeated in Ario-Pâlî, as *Chashtanasa.* "The Indian and Aryan names are brought together."

Cunningham and Newton were certain as to the Arian name on a coin of Nahapana, but were not quite certain about the name of Chashtana in the Arian character.

I presume that this copper coin of Chashtana was the model of the copper coins of Kumâra and Skanda Gupta referred to above, if they are not merely forgeries of the silver coinage. Dr. Bhau Dâjî also possessed two copper coins of Jaya Dâmâ (*ibid.* p. xxv).

The British Museum has several specimens of minute copper coins resembling the silver in type. All are in bad condition. The only one at all decipherable has on obv. the usual head, rudely executed, and on rev. remains of a (?) trident, and distinct legend *Gupta Mahendrâ-d*[*itya*]. It must be assigned to KUMÂRA. The copper is good colour, and shows no sign of plating.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 4, and fig. 4 of unnumbered plate, 'On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India.'

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Contents of the Plates of Coins.

Plate.	Figure.	Metal.	Reign.	Type and Variety.	Reference.
I.	1	AV	Chandra Gupta I.	King and Queen	B.M., purchased
,,	2	,,	Samudra Gupta	Tiger	,, Eden
,,	3	,,	(?) Samudra Gupta, Kâcha	Standard	,, Prinsep
,,	4	,,	Samudra Gupta	Aśwamedha	,, Eden
,,	5	,,	,,	Lyrist, var. α	,, ,,
,,	6	,,	,,	,, ,, β	,, I.O.
,,	7	,,	,,	Javelin, var. 1	,, Prinsep
,,	8	,,	,,	,, ,, 1	,, Eden, *obv.* only
,,	9	,,	,,	,, ,, 3	,, Bush ,,
,,	10	,,	,,	Archer, ,, α	,, Eden
,,	11	,,	,,	Battle axe, var. α	,, Bush
,,	12	,,	,,	,, ,, β	,, Eden, *obv.* only
,,	13	,,	Chandra Gupta II.	Couch	,,
,,	14	,,	,,	Archer, Cl. I., var β	,, I.O.
,,	15	,,	,,	,, Cl. II., var. α	,, Eden
,,	16	,,	,,	,, ,, ,, β	,, I.O., *obv.* only
II.	1	,,	,,	,, ,, ,, δ	,, ,,
,,	2	,,	,,	,, heavy	,, Marsden, mlvi
,,	3	,,	,,	Horseman to r.	,, Prinsep, No 1
,,	4	,,	,,	Lion-Trampler, var. α	,, Swiney, No. 5
,,	5	,,	,,	Combatant Lion	,, Swiney, No. 4
,,	6	,,	,,	Retreating Lion	,,
,,	7	,,	,,	Umbrella, var. α	,, Eden, No. 1
,,	8	,,	,,	,, ,, β	,, ,, No. 2
,,	9	,,	Kumâra Gupta	Swordsman	,, Prinsep
,,	10	,,	,,	Archer, Cl. I., var. α	,, Eden
,,	11	,,	,,	,, Cl. II.	,, I.O.
,,	12	,,	,,	,, heavy	,, P. Knight
,,	13	,,	,,	Horseman to r., var. γ	,, Bush
,,	14	,,	,,	,, l.	,, No. 1
III.	1	,,	,,	Peacock, var. α	,, Lind
,,	2	,,	,,	,, ,, β	,, I.O.
,,	3	,,	,,	Combatant Lion	,, ,,
,,	4	,,	,,	Two Queens	,, R. Carnac
,,	5	,,	,,	Aśwamedha	A.C.
,,	6	,,	Skanda Gupta	King and Queen	B.M., Prinsep
,,	7	,,	,,	Archer	,, I.O., No. 2
,,	8	,,	,,	Archer, Kramâditya	,, Prinsep
,,	9	,,	Prakâs'âditya	Lion and horseman	,, R.S.
,,	10	,,	,,	,,	,, I.O. No. 1
,,	11	,,	Nara	Archer	,, Yeames
,,	12	,,	Kramâditya	Bull	,, R. Carnac
IV.	1	Æ	Chandra Gupta II.	Vikramâditya	,, Bird
,,	2	,,	Kumâra Gupta	Winged peacock	,, Prinsep
,,	3	,,	Skanda Gupta	Fantail peacock, date, 144	A.C.
,,	4	,,	,,	,,	B.M.

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CONTENTS OF THE PLATES OF COINS—*continued.*

PLATE.	FIGURE.	METAL.	REIGN.	TYPE AND VARIETY.	REFERENCE.
IV.	5	Æ	Skanda Gupta	Bull	B.M.
,,	6	,,	,,	Vikramâditya	,,
,,	7	,,	,,	Kramâditya	,,
,,	8	Æ	Chandra Gupta II.	Umbrella	W.T.
,,	9	,,	,,	,,	A.C.
,,	10	,,	,,	Standing king	B.M.
,,	11	,,	,,	,,	A.C.
,,	12	,,	,,	Vikramâditya Bust	B.M.
,,	13	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	14	,,	,,	Chandra Head	A.C.
,,	15	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	16	,,	Chandra	Vase	,,

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The following Comparative Tables of Weights and Measures are reprinted, by kind permission of the Trustees, from those appended to the several volumes of the Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum.

TABLE

FOR

Converting English Inches into Millimètres

AND THE

Measures of Mionnet's Scale.

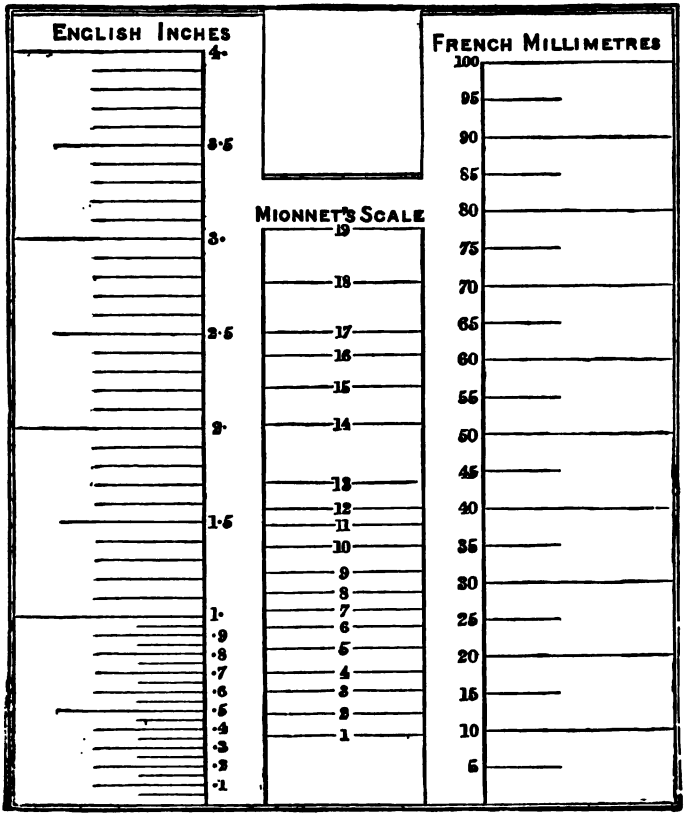

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TABLE

OF THE

Relative Weights of English Grains and French Grammes.

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	·064	41	2·656	81	5·248	121	7·840
2	·129	42	2·720	82	5·312	122	7·905
3	·194	43	2·785	83	5·378	123	7·970
4	·259	44	2·850	84	5·442	124	8·035
5	·324	45	2·915	85	5·508	125	8·100
6	·388	46	2·980	86	5·572	126	8·164
7	·453	47	3·045	87	5·637	127	8·229
8	·518	48	3·110	88	5·702	128	8·294
9	·583	49	3·175	89	5·767	129	8·359
10	·648	50	3·240	90	5·832	130	8·424
11	·712	51	3·304	91	5·896	131	8·488
12	·777	52	3·368	92	5·961	132	8·553
13	·842	53	3·434	93	6·026	133	8·618
14	·907	54	3·498	94	6·091	134	8·682
15	·972	55	3·564	95	6·156	135	8·747
16	1·036	56	3·628	96	6·220	136	8·812
17	1·101	57	3·693	97	6·285	137	8·877
18	1·166	58	3·758	98	6·350	138	8·942
19	1·231	59	3·823	99	6·415	139	9·007
20	1·296	60	3·888	100	6·480	140	9·072
21	1·360	61	3·952	101	6·544	141	9·136
22	1·425	62	4·017	102	6·609	142	9·200
23	1·490	63	4·082	103	6·674	143	9·265
24	1·555	64	4·146	104	6·739	144	9·330
25	1·620	65	4·211	105	6·804	145	9·395
26	1·684	66	4·276	106	6·868	146	9·460
27	1·749	67	4·341	107	6·933	147	9·525
28	1·814	68	4·406	108	6·998	148	9·590
29	1·879	69	4·471	109	7·063	149	9·655
30	1·944	70	4·536	110	7·128	150	9·720
31	2·008	71	4·600	111	7·192	151	9·784
32	2·073	72	4·665	112	7·257	152	9·848
33	2·138	73	4·729	113	7·322	153	9·914
34	2·202	74	4·794	114	7·387	154	9·978
35	2·267	75	4·859	115	7·452	155	10·044
36	2·332	76	4·924	116	7·516	156	10·108
37	2·397	77	4·989	117	7·581	157	10·173
38	2·462	78	5·054	118	7·646	158	10·238
39	2·527	79	5·119	119	7·711	159	10·303
40	2·592	80	5·184	120	7·776	160	10·368

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TABLE

OF THE

Relative Weights of English Grains and French Grammes.

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
161	10·432	201	13·024	241	15·616	290	18·79
162	10·497	202	13·089	242	15·680	300	19·44
163	10·562	203	13·154	243	15·745	310	20·08
164	10·626	204	13·219	244	15·810	320	20·73
165	10·691	205	13·284	245	15·875	330	21·38
166	10·756	206	13·348	246	15·940	340	22·02
167	10·821	207	13·413	247	16·005	350	22·67
168	10·886	208	13·478	248	16·070	360	23·32
169	10·951	209	13·543	249	16·135	370	23·97
170	11·016	210	13·608	250	16·200	380	24·62
171	11·080	211	13·672	251	16·264	390	25·27
172	11·145	212	13·737	252	16·328	400	25·92
173	11·209	213	13·802	253	16·394	410	26·56
174	11·274	214	13·867	254	16·458	420	27·20
175	11·339	215	13·932	255	16·524	430	27·85
176	11·404	216	13·996	256	16·588	440	28·50
177	11·469	217	14·061	257	16·653	450	29·15
178	11·534	218	14·126	258	16·718	460	29·80
179	11·599	219	14·191	259	16·783	470	30·45
180	11·664	220	14·256	260	16·848	480	31·10
181	11·728	221	14·320	261	16·912	490	31·75
182	11·792	222	14·385	262	16·977	500	32·40
183	11·858	223	14·450	263	17·042	510	33·04
184	11·922	224	14·515	264	17·106	520	33·68
185	11·988	225	14·580	265	17·171	530	34·34
186	12·052	226	14·644	266	17·236	540	34·98
187	12·117	227	14·709	267	17·301	550	35·64
188	12·182	228	14·774	268	17·366	560	36·28
189	12·247	229	14·839	269	17·431	570	36·93
190	12·312	230	14·904	270	17·496	580	37·58
191	12·376	231	14·968	271	17·560	590	38·23
192	12·441	232	15·033	272	17·625	600	38·88
193	12·506	233	15·098	273	17·689	700	45·36
194	12·571	234	15·162	274	17·754	800	51·84
195	12·636	235	15·227	275	17·819	900	58·32
196	12·700	236	15·292	276	17·884	1000	64·80
197	12·765	237	15·357	277	17·949	2000	129·60
198	12·830	238	15·422	278	18·014	3000	194·40
199	12·895	239	15·487	279	18·079	4000	259·20
200	12·960	240	15·552	280	18·144	5000	324·00

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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10, 2, Saurâshṭra. The form Surâshṭra is also used. I have followed Mr. Fleet's authority.

16, 9, etc. The name of the queen of Chandra Gupta I. is written Kumâra, not Kumârî, in the inscriptions.

19, n. 2. *For* Panjab *read* Panjâb.

20, 9. An alto-rilievo representing Herakles strangling the Nemean lion was discovered in 1882 by Sir A. Cunningham at Mathurâ. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and is fully described in Dr. Anderson's admirable Catalogue of the Archæological Collections in that institution, Part I. page 191.

23, 31. I hope to show in another place that plastic art in India was considerably influenced by the school of Pergamon.

24, 25. The impress of the school of Scopas of Paros can be traced on early Buddhist sculpture.

26, 32. For *ambujâsinâ* read *ambujâsanâ*. The epithet occurs in Daśakumâracharitam, I. p. 27 (Bombay ed. 1883).

27, n. 2, *add*. Dr. E. W. West, in his Notes on Indo-Scythian Coin Legends (*ibid*. pp. 236-239), supports Dr. Stein's interpretation of the names of the deities on the coins, and shows that the second P in APΔOXPO should probably be read as having the value of *sh*. A paper on the subject by Mr. Rapson is in the press.

29, 6. *For* Senapati *read* Senâpati.

29, 19. *For* Kodes *read* Hyrcodes (YPKWΔOY), and add reference to Gardner's Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 117, plate xxiv. 8-13.

37, 22. Mr. Rapson has pointed out to me that the epithet *pratiratha*, like *pratihasta*, is used simply in the sense of 'opponent,' and that *apratiratha* should be translated as 'he who has no rival.' This correction is to be applied wherever the word *apratiratha* occurs.

56, n. 2, *add*. In Wilson's trans. of act ii. of the Mudrâ-Râkshasa the three names Kusumapura, Pushpapura, and Pâṭaliputra are used indifferently. (*Specimens of Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed. ii. 178-179.)

81. Dr. Hoernlé informs me that he has seen a Class II. A. Archer coin (apparently one belonging to Mr. Rivett-Carnac), on which the reverse goddess, instead of having her legs crossed in the usual way, has the l. knee raised with her elbow resting on it. Mon. a variety of 8*a*.

89. Dr. Hoernlé informs me that a Combatant Lion coin of Chandra Gupta II. obtained by Mr. Rivett-Carnac either in Oudh or a neighbouring district, has on the l. obv. the legend [भ]ट्ट सिंहघ्नाभिज्ञ, [*bha*]*ṭṭa siṅhaghnâbhijña*, 'the valiant, who is clever in the slaying of lions.' The portion of the legend, about half, on the r. obv. is lost. Mon. 8*a*. I presume that the nasal in *siṅha*, which Dr. Hoernlé gives as *anuswâra*, is really the guttural *ṅ*, as in the case of other coins.

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Art. II.—*Indian Names for English Tongues.* By W. F. Sinclair, Bomb.C.S.

A glance at the List of Members of this Society shows a number of Oriental names from every country between the Danube and the Pacific, which is, in itself, a matter for congratulation. A second will suggest a doubt as to the proper style in which to address one or two of their owners; and a detailed examination is enough, like Colonel Bowie's tooth-pick, "to give a timid man the colic." The fact is, that we have not yet acquired a system by which we can index these names so as to know at a glance the proper written or spoken address of an Oriental.

I can, myself, guess at some of the Indian names; and I propose to record some rough observations on the personal nomenclature of Western India; especially of the Maratha-speaking races; illustrating the same by a fancy history of *Gomaji bin Timaji Powar*, who fills up blanks in the same way as John Doe and Richard Roe did in English law (or law-English).

To begin with, this gentleman's personal name—Christian name as we should say—is *Goma*. He has only one; the practice of heaping up names, so familiar to the Royal and noble families of Europe, is not Indian. Like nearly all true Maratha names, it ends in a vowel, and this vowel is subject to inflection, for the purpose of tacking on to it little respectful tails. If *Goma* be born in a low caste, he will probably become at once *Gomyá*, and may remain so all his life.

We will suppose him, however, to adopt a step which (in India) at once raises his position, namely, to "take the belt," or, as we should say, "take the Queen's shilling." Having done this, he is a soldier and a gentleman, in a modest way, and only great intimacy will justify any one

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in calling him *Gomyá* any longer. If he is, as above suggested, a Parwárí, that is, belongs to a caste obliged by custom to live outside the walls of the village (most Maratha villages are walled, and all have a known boundary), he becomes *Gomnak*; as *nák* is the proper addition of respect for a Parwárí.

Gomnak may rise to a commission and a title, always in a modest way. The Bombay Army list is full of him, and he can stand fire beside the descendants of gods and luminaries; but it is not his way to join learned Societies, and no further courtesy is available for him in his own language. So we may leave him for the present, and attend to *Gomaji bin Timaji*, who is, *ex supposito*, a true Maratha.

If above the very poorest class, he is already in enjoyment of the respectable particle *ji*; if a little better off, or known, though poor, to be of a good house, he is as likely to be *rao*. This is one of the innumerable forms of the root that we find in Raja, etc. It is sometimes the title of a sovereign prince, as in the case of the Rao of Kutch. In certain places where true Marathas are scarce, and hold their heads up as a peasant nobility, the word *Rao* becomes a synonym for "Maratha." This is particularly the case in the North Konkan, where, if you want baggage coolies, you may be told "this is a village of *raos*," *i.e.* of gentlemen who, though in poor circumstances, will not carry your kit on their heads.

Although, therefore, *ji* and *rao* are a good deal mixed up, and even interchanged, the latter is the more respectable handle; and if *Gomaji* gets on in the world, he will probably become, at least in courteous correspondence, *Gomajirao*. Besides the terminations mentioned, there is a fifth, *ba*, which has much the same force as *ji*.

To sum up. If you hear a man called *Goma* or *Gomya*, you know that he is a poor devil to whom it is not worth while to be civil; *ba* and *ji* are respectable in a "plain but honest" sort of way, and may often get into very good society; but *rao* implies good blood or improved circumstances.

The choice of names is determined in various ways. Well-

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to-do people and high-caste men, however poor, have a horoscope drawn at their birth; and the name or its initial letter is apt to be fixed by the presiding clergy or astrologers (who are a branch of the clergy). In such families, too, it is usual to find at least as much theology as enables its head to say whether he is a Saiva or a Vaishnava, *i.e.* whether he considers Siva or Vishnu to be the chief form of Omnipotence; and in that case the boy's name will be one of the thousand aliases of the favourite god.

Thus, in the Royal house of Bhonsla, who are Saivas, you find such names as *Sivaji* and *Sambhaji;* in a Vaishnava family you will find *Vitoba* and *Lakshman.* Commonly, two names will alternate, the eldest son being named after his grandfather, so that *Balwantrao* (as good a name as Percival or Lancelot) begets *Pandoba,* who begets another *Balwantrao.* This last, to avoid confusion, may very likely be called *Baloba,* as we modify a second Alexander in a house into Alick, or Horatio the second into Horace, and so on.

Another way of distinguishing people is to give them mere conversational names; they are not nicknames, that is, they are not disrespectful. I know a man whose real name is *Manajirao Raghojirao Angré,* but he is always addressed as *Dada Saheb*; and Maratha history shows us three famous *Nana Sahebs,* not one of whom had a real name which could by any process be twisted into anything like that shape.

These 'sobriquets' are easily recognized by generally containing the word *Saheb,* or a term of relationship, like *Kaka, Mama, Dada, Nana,* more rarely *Bhau.* They are used in conversation and familiar correspondence. If imported into serious writing for the purpose of distinction, the word *urf* (=alias) is used to indicate their nature, thus, *Manajirao Raghojirao* urf *Dada Saheb Angré.*

To return to *Gomaji.* The second word of his name, *bin,* simply means 'son of,' and is borrowed from the Musalmans, like the *urf* just quoted. It is very often omitted, especially in the case of good families and high

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castes, and is sometimes replaced by the equally Musalman *walad*, meaning the same thing. Very particular clerks use *bin* for Marathas (rarely for Brahmans), *walad* for Musalmans and low castes, in official documents; but in writing a native name in English the best way is simply to make the father's name follow the son's. In this case *Timaji* is the father's name, and requires no further remark, except, perhaps, that some castes do most perversely reverse the order, and put the father's name first. Such a case, however, is altogether outside of our line of business.

The fourth word *Powar* is very important, being the surname, and in the present case also the name of the *kul* or clan. Marathas, and most people who speak Maratha, always use such surnames, and very often, as here, the surname is that of the clan, as in Ireland or Scotland we have Gallagher or Cameron. But a Maratha may use a surname quite distinct from the clan-names, just as in a purely Gaelic community *Shemus Roe* might be a 'boy of the Gallaghers,' or *Callum McIan* 'A man of Lochiel's.' The clan-name in such a case underlies the accidental surname; and among the Marathas its memory is often revived in every generation, especially at marriages, as the race is exogamous, and marriage within the *kul* is wrong.

The particular clan now in question, that of *Powar*, claims identity with one of the best Rajput tribes, and many of its members are well able to 'look the part.' Its best family in the Deccan, however, goes by the surname of *Nimbalkar*, whose terminal syllable *kar* at once marks it as a local or professional name, in this case (and commonly) the former. Sometimes there are two surnames of different origin, but this is rare. The best-known instance is that of the house of *Ghatge* of Kágal (Kágalkar), which may be paralleled in Scotland by such a term as 'Cameron of Lochiel.' This family has again a title attached to its chieftainship, *Sharza Rao*, which may be translated 'Lord Lyon,' as a *Sharza* is a sort of conventional lion, known chiefly to sculptors. Such titles belong only to a few great families, and are

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traced to ancient royal grants, or held by mere prescription, corresponding, in some degree, to such Gaelic honours as those of the O'Conor Don and Mac Callum More, or more closely to the Scottish *Mhor-ar-chat*, said to be translateable as 'Big Tom.'

Usually they are so very like common personal names as to create great confusion. A former *Sharza Rao*, who played a great figure in the Maratha history of the early Eighteen Hundreds, did confound his historians nearly as much as his enemies; and I was long perplexed myself by a living gentleman whose personal name is *Anandrao Putlaji*, but his proper style *Dalpatrao Sardeshmukh*. It is as if we should make 'Sir John' or 'Lord Thomas' an hereditary title. But so natural does it seem to a Western Indian mind, that the first Parsee baronet, whose own name was *Jamsetji* and his father's name *Jijibhai* (*Jeejeebhoy*), got those two names entailed with his title, so that each successor adopts them, abandoning, on accession, his own name that has answered him up to that time. It may have been *Cursetjee* or *Jehangir*. Whereby not only is the memory of the founder kept green, but the family have got nearly rid of their real surname, which is *Bottlewalla*, derived from the skill and honesty wherewith their ancestors did put beer into bottles. A good many Parsi surnames are characteristic enough. *Bottlewalla* is closely followed by *Bottlebhoy* (meaning presumably the same thing) and *Ginwalla*. The 'Gin' in this last, however, is not drinkable, but a cotton-gin. There is a fine old commercial flavour about '*Ready-money*, and *Antia* means an exchange broker. Some families have adopted English surnames, such as *Ashburner*, presumably those of old patrons. This last custom is by no means confined to the Parsees. Not only do the lowest castes adopt the most dignified tribal names, but even Brahmins will take up those of princes of lower caste than themselves. A Brahman family named *Biwalkar*, in the service of the Pirate Dynasty of Angre, adopted their name, and I could multiply instances. This is the more convenient to Brahmans, as they cannot well use the names of their

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gotras, or tribes, for this purpose. A Western Brahman, though his *gotra* be no secret, will not knock its name about in ordinary conversation or correspondence. It is too sacred a thing for that. Sometimes there is a touch of totemism about the tribes. Many are named after animals or plants, and at least one clan, the *Shelars*, are said to abstain from the meat of the she-goat (*Shela*), though the connection of the words is probably an afterthought. *Sálunke*, the Maratha equivalent for the ancient *Chalukya*, and modern Rajput *Solanki*, means a maina-bird (*Acridotheres tristis*), and *Sinde* (commonly called *Sindia*) means a wild date palm.

In addition to these old family names and titles, we have a lot of more or less official handles to names.

Rajas and *Maharajas* are not very common in Western India; and no native Government has adopted the northern practice of bestowing these titles on subjects, which the Government of India has to some small extent continued in Upper India, from Mogul and Sikh times. Only in one case perhaps has such a thing been done on the Bombay side, when the title of *Maharaja* was conferred on the *Thakur of Bhaunagar*, whose original status was very nearly that of Freiherr under the old German empire.

A good many of the old Maratha chiefs, called *Deshmukhs* and *Desais*, or 'lords of districts,' survive. Some of these have become *Rajas;* most of them are now mere country nobles, and of these last some are Musalmans, descendants either of invaders or of old stocks that saved their position by changing their faith. In the same way many of the hereditary managers of districts, called *Deshpande*, remain in the same condition, associated with their downfall, as once with their power.

It was the highly centralized Maratha kingdom that broke them down, substituting the rule of royal prefects, and we found them long past cure as a governing agency. They still, however, exercise some social sway by consent and courtesy, and are always addressed by their titles, which have, moreover, become surnames for the branches of their families, more common than such names as Duke,

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Mayor, or Earle amongst us, or Le Comte and Le Duc in France.

The British Government, as we know, distributes orders in European fashion, and the use of them is regulated by European custom. Besides this, it defines the proper use of the term Esquire, with a liberality that has removed it from the list of things worth quarrelling about, and its University degrees, again, follow English rule.

The titles of *Rao Saheb* and *Rao Bahadur* (in Upper India *Rai Saheb* and *Rai Bahadur*) are bestowed upon deserving Hindus, generally official, or attached to particular offices. If the person to be honoured is a Musalman or Parsi, the word *Khán* is substituted for *Rao*. In either case these titles precede the rest of the name, and are commonly used in addressing their owner. But when a native soldier receives the title of *Bahadur* or *Sirdar Bahadur*, it is written *after* his name, and is well worthy of note, for these military honours contain no perversion of words. *Bahadur* means 'a hero,' and *Sirdar* a 'commander,' and the appropriate style and implied honourable service, render them alone, of all Indian honours, secure from the scoff of the least reverent joker.

As an illustration, we will suppose our friend *Gomaji* to have attained to one of these, and index him under P, as *Powar, Subadar* (captain) *Gomaji Timaji, Sirdar Bahadur;* and below him, to show the difference, we will enter a Brahman magistrate by an imaginary but possible style, *Puntámbekar, the Rao Bahadur Krishnarao Lakshmanrao,* M.A. Bombay, C.I.E.; then a lesser light in the same way of business and caste, *Ráste, Shankarrao Mahadeorao, Esq.,* B.A. Bombay; and a scholar, *Sáne, Pandit Ramchandra Trimbak.*

It will be seen that the military rank, the civil title, and the native term *Pandit,* all exclude the 'Esquire'; the last has pretty nearly the original and correct meaning of Doctor; and although it is not protected by any law, native scholars would not recognize the right to it of any person who had not been properly trained, and admitted

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to it by an older *Pandit* or *Pandits*, pretty much as in the Middle Ages any Knight could confer knighthood upon good cause shown and with due ceremony.

The styles of ladies are simple enough. They generally take the name of a goddess, as the men do of a god; and one goddess, *Bhowání*, gives names to both sexes, in the same way as we sometimes find the names *Marie* and *Anne* amongst those of men in France and Spain. They have, too, a choice amongst stars, flowers, and gems, and some names: *Tárá*, *Hírá*, *Ailá*, *Jiwá*, are very pretty.

To these is added the syllable *bai* (=lady), and in some families a detestable suffix *aw*, which turns the sweetest name into a sound fit only for the mouth of a cat, and is happily rare. To the proper name is added the husband's name and surname, with the connective *kom*, as *Tarabai kom Gomaji Powar*. Sometimes the *kom* is displaced by the Musalman form *aurat*, or in the case of widows (and by very punctilious scribes) by *Aya*.

Children have no distinctive styles. In a country where all young ladies are married almost in the cradle, there is of course no word for 'Miss,' and indeed, above the gutter, there are no children in India, only little men and women, preternaturally solemn, and (before company) well-behaved and pretty. The way in which they fall off when they stop growing makes me never see them without thinking of Charles Lamb's lamentation over the Eton boys; but it is to be said in their favour that they have no legs-and-wings stage.

The above remarks apply, generally, to all persons speaking Maratha, although they are far from exhausting the subject even in that language. A person conversant with it will generally make a pretty good guess, from the personal and surnames, at their owner's caste and family religion, or rather sect, and often at a good many other details. If you want his local habitation, you should define it by village (or rather parish), *taluka* (subdivision), and district. Post towns are not yet sufficiently abundant to suffice for this purpose; but with name, father's name, and surname, village, *taluka*, and district, you can find any man. We will suppose

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Gomaji to be wanted by the military authorities when on furlough, and they will request the collector of the district to communicate with "*Gomaji bin Timaji Powar*, (village) Pali, (*taluka*) Mhád, in the Kolaba District." At least that is what they ought to do. What they do in fact is very often to send one a kind of conundrum made up of nick-names and impossibilities, but as the causes of error are limited, and known to old hands, some single recognizable word generally furnishes a clue to the riddle, and it is a very rare thing for *Gomaji* not to be found or accounted for in the long run.

Living amongst these Maratha-speaking races are a vast number of immigrants, and on their borders are two other great languages, the Gujarati and the Canarese. Amongst these the personal nomenclature is by no means so well fixed as in Maratha, but they do all generally use one personal name, and add that of the father. Surnames, though not unknown, are in much less common use in the Canarese districts, and the polite terminations are different. The commonest perhaps is *appa*, so that here *Gomaji Timaji* becomes *Gomappa Timappa*. I have not sufficient knowledge of this region to pursue the subject further.

In Gujarat, amongst the trading and purely agricultural classes, you still find the *ji*, but it is on its promotion, and stands as high as *rao* amongst Marathas. The commoner terminations are *ram*, *chand*, and *das*.

Surnames are hardly used by these people, although the father's name still follows the son's; the connecting particle *bin* is very rare, so that our friend becomes, probably, *Gomaram Timaram*, or *Gomchand Timchand*; the consonant before *chand* dropping its vowel, or slurring over it.

Beside the settled races there are a great number of Rajputs, Kattis, aboriginal Kolis, and half-breds. These use tribal or subtribal names, the hybrid races invariably adopting those of the nobler stock, and 'making believe very much indeed' to be Rajputs. They have a singular practice of putting the tribal name first; the personal name very often ends in *sing*, which in the local Doric becomes

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sang, and the *ji* has here become the most honourable of small handles, as in *Solanki Jaswantsangji Ramsangji*. Here the first word is the tribal name, the second the personal, and the third the father's name. Accidental surnames are here rare, except amongst graduates of the Bombay University, which insists on or encourages their adoption for the facility of indexing its lists; consquently they are got up for the occasion. I knew one gentleman who adopted that of 'Truth-teller.'

There are, however, a considerable number of small titles; the commonest of these, perhaps, is *Girassia* or *Grasia*, which has been derived from the Latin *grassare*, but really means that the bearer has received or inherited a royal grant of a village to stop his *mouth* (*grás*), and is, in short, a feudal tenant, probably a tribesman of the grantor. If he be a near kinsman, he is called both in the singular and plural *Bhayad*; the word, however, is properly plural, meaning 'the brotherhood,' or, as we should say, the 'Blood Royal.' The terms *Girassia* and *Bhayad* overlap, and where used as titles precede the personal name; however, they are inherited by every male, and the former has almost come to be synonymous with the caste-name *Rajput*, because almost every Rajput in Gujarat is, or thinks he should be, a *Girassia*, and every *Girassia* is, or thinks himself, a Rajput. They are, therefore very inconvenient words, and breed much confusion, but are too common to be passed over.

Thakur, a very common title, may be translated 'Baron.' In the same way as *Girassia*, it has, in part of Upper India, come to be almost synonymous with Rajput; and in Gujarat (usually under the form *Thakardá*) it is applied to a set of half-Kolis who would like to be thought Rajputs. It is also the name of a forest tribe further south. But, taken as a title, it does mean the lord of a small territory, who is as independent as he can make himself, and, under favourable circumstances, may, as in the Bhaunagar case, be compared to the old German Freiherr, whose territory was a "poor thing, but his own." In such a case, however, the natural thing is for the petty sovereign either to be swallowed

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up, or to become something bigger, and take a bigger title. The smaller Thakurs, who have altogether failed in maintaining a sovereign condition, are called Talukdars in Gujarat, but this is the name of their tenure, and not a title used in addressing them. (In other parts of India it is an official title.) I gather that most persons addressed as 'Thakur' in Upper India belong to this class. Perhaps the Scottish term 'Laird' would be a better translation than 'Baron.'

The title-list of Gujarati, however, is heraldry run mad, or enough to drive a herald mad. One chief is called a *Raj*, and addressed as *Raj Saheb*. Another is a *Rao;* the next a *Jam;* and then follow *Ranas*, *Rávals*, and *Rawats*, 'et omne quod incipit in Rá.' To mend matters there are a couple of *Nawabs*, one *Diwán*, and a ruler commonly known as the *Bábi*. No rules can be laid down for this confusion, the only thing to do is to learn them off by heart.

Outside of these Hindu systems and chaoses stands the Musalman nomenclature, which, when not complicated by titles, is simple enough. A Musalman, when admitted to the faith, receives commonly one name, which may be simple, as *Ali* or *Muhammad*, or a compound expressing generally his devotion to Allah (under one of his 99 names), to the Prophet, or, especially if he be a *Shia*, to *Ali*. There will be some local variety in pronunciation, especially in the 'joints,' so to speak, of a compound name. For instance, *Abd* is a very common beginning, and means 'servant.' If you want to call your son 'the servant of the Merciful' he may be *Abd'al Rahmán* or *Abdu'l Rahimán*. But he is pretty sure to be addressed by Hindus, Christians, and unlearned Musalmans as *Abdul* tout court, which is absurd, and lucky for him if it is not shortened into *Abbu*. However, in good Arabic writing, he will get his full name, and then his father's, connected with a *bin* or *Ibn*, and so on for as many generations backward as time and knowledge stretch to. The genealogy in the first chapter of St. Matthew is the best example; but most Arabs have to stop some way on this side of Adam; and when they do, they top off the pile of ancestors with the tribal name.

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In Indian official writing of a common Moslem we give his own name and his father's name, and then stop, as Indian Musalmans do not usually deal much in surnames.

When you get into Persian court titles, there is nothing for it but to put your knuckles in your eyes and run to the nearest Munshi. There are, however, a few short ones in common use that I may take up here.

Khan was originally the title of an hereditary Chief of a Tartar tribe, and is still correctly so used by the Osmanli Turks, who have only one *Khan*, whom we commonly call 'The Sultan.' The further east you go, the lower in the mud does this title sink; until, in India, any one above the degree of a horse-boy may use it. In that country, however, it usually implies a claim to Pathán (Afghan) descent. This title always follows the personal name, like the Hindu *ji*, *rao*, etc., but is written separately. So does *Beg*, which is rare, confined to a few families, generally respectable, having more or less claim to a Persian or Tartar origin.

Sheikh, though originally the proper title of an Arab chief, is now even cheaper than *Khan*; and, though people talk of "the Sheikhs being descended from the Khalif Umar," it really means in India that the bearer is respectable enough to require some small handle to his name, and cannot grab a better one.

Sayad, *Saiyyid*, or roughly *Syad*, means that the bearer is descended from the Prophet, or would like to be thought such. But the term has got so vulgarized that there is nothing surprising in finding the name given to a domestic servant or messenger. The names *Shekh* and *Sayad* always go *before* the personal name, as *Khan* and *Beg* after it. All four are hereditary. A full address would be *Umar Khan walad Ali Khan*, or *Shekh Husen walad Shakh Hasan*, the *walad* being in India usually substituted for *bin*, but the use of the father's name in addition to one's own is much less general in speaking of Musalmans than in respect of Hindus.

Mirza once meant 'Prince.' It is now used by a few

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families in India, generally of good standing and Persian descent, before the *personal* name, and implies an hereditary claim to be a gentleman and a scholar. I never knew a *Mirza* who was below the caste of a schoolmaster or clerk; but of course there is no knowing what even a *Mirza* may come down to.

Mir is short, I suppose, for *Amir* (a commander). It is prefixed to personal names in a few families, generally noble, though not necessarily rich, and especially by all persons belonging to the late ruling clan of Sind, the Talpur Baluch. Both *Mir* and *Mirza* are used in addition to other titles, as *Sayad Mir Jamal Ali walad Sayad Mir Imam Ali;* or, *Mirza Kasim Beg walad Mirza Tugral Beg.*

Nawab, which was simply a polite plural of *Naib* (=deputy) has got up in the world, while the previous titles were tumbling down. It is now the commonest title of a Musalman sovereign prince in India, and in fact the highest, with the exception of the prince whom we call the *Nizam*, but who is, correctly speaking, the representative of the Viceroys of Southern India, whose *Nawabs* or deputies all the others in that region were. There are some families in which the title *Nawab* is hereditary by courtesy, and is given to every male, though they have no possessions, and are, in fact, private gentlemen. The following, however, is the address of one who is a sovereign prince (though so far down in the list that he is not called His Highness), taken from a semi-official letter: "To the *Nawab Saheb Sidi Ahmad Khan Sidi Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Janjira.*" Here the strange title *Sidi* is that applied more or less throughout Islam to African Moslems. It has got down in the world so far as to be applied, under the form 'Seedy boys,' to the African stokers employed on the mail steamers. *Sidi Ibrahim Khan* is the name of the father of the addressee, who, upon a complimentary despatch, would have a string of Persian titles, wound up with Lord Strangford's favourite "dam Altafhoo." His most remarkable epithet, however, is 'the Habshi,' or Abyssinian *par excellence*, and his territory is commonly called 'Habsan' or Ethiopia, being in fact a

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bit of India annexed to Africa by the unconquerable pluck of a handful of 'Habshi' Vikings, who established a tiny Jomsborg on the coast two centuries ago, and have held on to it with desperate tenacity ever since. I think that there is only one other *Sidi*, or African family of rank in India now, that of the *Nawabs* of Sachin, a branch of the house of Janjira.

Shah, besides meaning a king, is used as a termination of the names of Fakirs, perhaps as indicating that "their mind to them a kingdom is."

One noble family in Western India adds this syllable to every name. This is the house of *Aga Khan*, the representative of the Old Man of the Mountain, now represented by the second generation born in India. The head of it is always called *His Highness Aga Khan*, and each other member *Aga Husen Shah*, *Aga Ali Shah*, and so forth. No other Indian house, that I know, uses the Turkish title *Aga*. *Kazi*, as an official title, precedes the name of the bearer. But like all Indian offices, that of *Kazi* has a tendency to become hereditary, and to be used as a title by all members of the privileged family, and in some such cases it becomes a sort of surname, and follows the personal name. I know one person who called himself *Ajm u'd din Kazi*; which was more than his neighbours would be bothered with getting round, so they called him *Aju Káju*, and do still, no doubt, if he is alive.

The same remarks apply to *Munshi*, wherever it does not mean simply 'a clerk.' Respectable Musulmans are often addressed as *Miya*, which may be translated 'Sir'; and old ones as *Bare Miya*, which may be called a courteous way of saying 'Old Gentleman!' I knew this latter phrase to be applied regularly to an old Musalman prince by his own family (who went in fear for their lives of him), but I have not seen either term used in writing.

The border tribes of Pathans, Baluch, and so forth, have a style of their own. The tribal name is here very important. A man is *Ahmad Khan Saduzai*, *Ismail Khan Magzi*, or so forth, the second word being the tribal name,

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and the father's name rarely quoted. Many of the tribes are subdivided, and in that case the second name is that of the subdivision, that of the great *gens* underlying it, as in the Maratha or Rajput practice. Only, as the Afghans and Baluch are Musulmans, and endogamous, it is easy amongst them for a subdivision to get separated from the main tribe, and set up on its own account. They have, indeed, genealogies, but very poor and untrustworthy, compared to those of Hindus, or even of Arabs, *carent quiâ vate sacro*, because they have no bards or family priests of much importance, and are, on the whole, an illiterate set of noble savages. Titles of any kind are scarce and simple among them, and are nearly always prefixed to the personal name. Almost the only one peculiar to them (as opposed to India proper) is *Malik*, meaning only a chief, as *Malik Ahmad Khan Alizai.*

The particles *zai* and *khail*, in composition, mean tribe or clan, but are not very definitely used, nor universal in application; that is, the *Ahmadkhail* and *Usmánzai* may both be subdivisions of a third *khail* or *zai*, or either may be a subdivision of the other, without any reference to the termination; or you may have a tribal name that does not include either, as *Otak* or *Waziri*. Baluch tribal names end in anything you like, but most commonly in the vowel *i*. Any community big enough to resist external hammering, and cohesive enough to enforce some shadow of internal administration, will be found to have at least a pretence of common origin, and to call itself an *Ulus*, though this word is Mongol, or North-Eastern Turkish.

Finally, of Musulman names, it may be observed that all their appendices are written as separate words, having a distinct meaning, and where these occur, it is almost necessarily absurd to prefix 'Mr.' or add 'Esquire.'

Parsis write first their own name and then their father's without any connecting word, and add a surname, as already noticed; and the same is the practice of the Indian Beni-Israel, whom we, in spite of their teeth, call Jews. These 'Beni-Israel' of the Bombay side claim to be descended

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from the survivors of a shipwreck near Bombay, which happened at some remote period. For details of them see Bombay Gazetteer, Kolaba and Janjira volume, which is in our library. They have nothing whatever to do with the Cochin 'Jews' of any colour.

Hindu ascetics do not ordinarily use the common terminations, but have special ones of their own, as *gir*, *bharti*, etc.; but without reference to the termination, the full name of one of these will show his profession, as his own name is followed by his present or original instructor's, linked to it by the word *guru* 'teacher,' thus, *Haridwargir guru Khemgir Gosai.* It is worth while here to observe that the term Fakir is purely Musalman, and its application to any Hindu a solecism of the first magnitude. The word *Gosai* in the quotation indicates that the bearer is a Saiva ascetic, and the peculiar termination *gir* the order to which he belongs. There are others, but I have not space here to give more than an example. Like ascetics elsewhere, they take 'names of religion,' and drop those received from their parents after the flesh. They have therefore no tribal nor surnames.

Natives of India do not as a rule use initials of proper names when writing their own languages. It is not that they might not do it if they liked, for the Maratha and Gujarati printed and cursive alphabets possess initial syllables, which are called *Sanksheps*, and are, I believe, derived from Sanskrit practice; but these are only used for complimentary titles and phrases, which happen to be a matter of course. The address of a letter, for instance, from one of my clerks to another would run like this: *Ra. Ra. Narayanrao Krishnarao Phadke.* Here the first *Ra.* stands for *Rajmanya*, and the second for *Rajashri*, the rest being the personal name, father's name, and surname of the addressee.

When a Maratha has to write in his own language the name of an European with initials, he adopts the extraordinary futility of spelling the names of the initial letters, thus: *Me. dabalyu yeph Sin Kler, Sahib bahadur*, goes to

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represent W. F. Sinclair, Esq. Here the *Me.* is a *Sankshep* representing an adapted Persian adjective *Meherban*, which, preceding the actual name, and taken with the *Sahib bahadur* after it, indicates that the addressee is a gentleman by position or office. Amongst Marathas luckily the ceremonial address stops with these three words. In some other Indian languages the complimentary phrases at the start of a letter amount to a serious nuisance.

If the European addressed has any tail to his name, indicated by initial letters, these are also spelt out phonetically by name, as *Ké si bi*, or *Yel yel di*. I have often endeavoured to persuade my own clerks to adopt the rational use of *Sanksheps* for initials; but it was throwing words away, for still those mild Hindus would have their will, neither would they ever write the full names, which would have been just as easy as their own abominable practice. A local government, and nothing less, could reform this.

In connection with this subject one can hardly help noticing the various forms of vulgarism or solecism which go in India by the general name of *Chee-chee*. It is not easy to define this, but when you get an Anglo-Indian word that is not in any Asiatic language, though supposed to be Indian by the European using it, nor in any European language, though supposed to be English by the native using it, you may call that word *chee-chee*. I hope that you will do so, with an accent to impress upon the speaker the necessity of not using that word again.

A much more venial offence is that of merely giving a manageable English pronunciation to a native name. Many of these are now practically English words, as *Bombay*, *Calcutta*, *Madras*, *Nizam*, and *Purr-tab-Sing* (read as a music-lesson to a cat), and *Dew-leap-Sing* will doubtless die out presently.

A good piece of "chee-chee" in names is in one of this month's magazines, which quotes *Sir Tanjore Madhavarao* as making a speech in India. To equal this, an Indian paper must report a temperance joke by *Sir Law Wilfrid*, for the personal and surnames are transposed, and the latter shorn

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of a significant syllable. The proper style of the knight is *Sir Madhavarao Tanjorkar*, in which the *Sir* is the English title, *Madhavarao* his personal name with the civil tail due to a Brahmin of good family, and *Tanjorkar* is the surname of his family, earned by service under the now extinct Bhonsla dynasty of Tanjore. The use of the father's name is, of course, unnecessary in identifying a man who bears an unusual title; but if this statesman has a grandson of his own sort, it would be quite natural that he should both own the name *Madhavarao* and win the honour of knighthood (one cannot say 'the spurs,' as the proper shoeing of his race is in slippers). It is an attenuating circumstance that *Sir Madhavarao's* name has often been turned upside down before, which is said to have been caused by a misapprehension of its entry in the Madras University lists, *Tanjorkar, Madhavarao*; but this only makes it a better example of "chee-chee."

In another magazine article some time ago the writer introduced an imaginary *Babu Muhammad Das* as worshipping Her Majesty's picture, or something very like it, every 1st of January, since her assumption of the title of Empress. Now *Babu* is a title used by many Hindus on the Bengal side, and a few in Western India; and it may be here and there applied to a Musalman, probably a good deal against the grain. But *Das* is a regular Hindu word, meaning 'servant,' and in a name implies the dedication of the child so named to a god; so, if *Sir Madhavarao* had been born of one of the trading castes of Gujarat, he might reasonably have been called *Madhaw Dás*; but it is as sure as anything of the sort can be that no Musalman ever called his son *anything Das*,[1] and that no Hindu ever called his son *Muhammad anything*; and, moreover, that no one with *Muhammad* in his name ever was caught playing such fantastic pranks before the portrait of Her Majesty, or of any one else now on earth. I dare say some Hindus may do it, that would not be at all surprising. This, therefore, is

[1] The Musalman rendering of this idea would have been *Abd u'l Rasul* or *Abd e'n Nabi*.

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what Lord Strangford would have called "chee-chee *in excelsis.*" Another form of it is the translating of native names for greater glory, usually wrong. The unlucky hill-station of Mahabaleshwar has had its not very mystical name travestied as 'the great strength of God,' and 'the Lord of great strength,' on the ground that *Maha*='great,' *Bal*='strength,' and *Eshwar*='Lord.' As a matter of fact, *Mahabali* is here a proper name; and *Mahabaleshwar* simply asserts the dominion of *Eshwar* (in this case Siva) over the said *Mahabali.* The best bit of "chee-chee" in this line is the famous rendering of *Parbutty* (a temple-crowned hill near Poona) as 'the mountain of light.' This rests upon *Pahar* ='a hill,' and *batti*, which is a word for a lamp reduced to its simplest expression, 'a wick floating in oil,' and therefore 'a light'; but *Parbutty* is only "chee-chee" for *Parvati* ='the mountain maid,' which is a name of a goddess, the daughter of the god of the Himalaya, or, if you prefer it, of the mountain itself looked on as a god.

One can only realize the value of such blunders by supposing Max O'Rell to introduce Mr. Gladstone to the French public as *Monsieur de la Roche Joyeuse*, and to describe the Mendip Hills as *Les montagnes de l'illumination des hommes* (from 'men'=hommes and 'dip'=illumination).

As a matter of prudence it is usually well to avoid diving into the meaning of Hindu names. Those of places have constantly been much corrupted, and convey little idea, or a wrong one, to most people not being regular scholars. The words in the more striking names are often in a dialect not understanded of the people; and the explanations of local priests and Pandits are more apt to be wrong than right. What those of unlearned Europeans are like may be guessed from the samples given above. *Pratápgarh*, the name of a fortress near Mahabaleshwar (in chee-chee *Purr-tab-gurr*) means very nearly *Chateau Gaillard*, but to the natives around this means about as much as *Joyous Gard* would mean to the first gunner of the first garrison battery. And although a Rajput may well be called *Jay sing*, it will seldom occur to him that that means the Lion of Victory, or

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something like it; and if he meets a lion, he probably will not call it *sing* at all, but *untia bagh*, or *camelish tiger*, to indicate that its shape reminds him of a tiger's, and its colour of a camel's. We are apt to credit the Oriental with a good deal more imagination and romance than he has, because he and his surroundings are striking to our minds, early trained to such impressions.

The truth is that, at least in Western India, he is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred chiefly occupied with the question of earning a living, and in the hundredth case his romance is probably artificial and but skin-deep; the big words of his language are only the echoes of feelings never common, and now long gone out of fashion, and owe much of their force to our own enthusiasm, itself not very long ago come into fashion. It is not under such circumstances that scientific etymology has much chance of progress. It comes to pass in another way altogether, and that is why these noble sentiments commonly turn out to be chee-chee.

Finally, to return to personal names, whose confusion in our lists has suggested the remarks above recorded, it appears to me that where there are surnames, they should be treated in lists as our own are. Where there are none, the principal name, that is, the one in common use, should begin the entry. Initials should not be used at all, except for European titles and degrees; they are only useful where they represent common words easily guessed at.

Long strings of Oriental titles should be avoided as far as possible. The few persons whose dignity really requires them all possess private secretaries.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Valāha Jātāka.

Sir,—With reference to my translation of the Tibetan version of this legend, I wish to add that the story is also found, as Dr. Serge D'Oldenburg kindly reminds me, in the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha (ed. Calc. pp. 52–59), being essentially the same version as ours, though not all the particulars occur, and certainly older than either Tibetan or Chinese. The horse-king here is called vālāha. With the Chinese version agrees the 'iron city' (*āyasa-nagaram*), perhaps the name of the tree (*campaka*), see above, p. 474 notes 2 and 3, and the herb with name *sarvaçveta* ('all light'), which the horse-king eats, see above, p. 475 note 3. When the captain starts for his search in the night (see above, p. 474), he takes his sword 'shining as the moon' (*candrāvabhāsa*).

H. Wenzel.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July-December, 1888.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

17th December, 1888.—Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The election by the Council of Srī Rāja Mutinjaya Nissanka, of the Rev. L. C. Casartelli, and of Mr. Divarka-dās Lallabhai, as Non-Resident Members of the Society, was announced in accordance with Rule No. 6.

The following list of donations to the Society, since the last meeting, was read:

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—Alberuni's India, edited in the Arabic original by Dr. Edward Sachau. London, 1887. 4to.—India Office, Catalogue of the Library of. Vol. i. 1888, and Index to the same. 2 vols. 8vo. 1888.

From the Madras Government.—Archæology. Report of Progress for the months of July, August, September, 1888. By Dr. Hultzsch.—Catalogue of the Batrachia Salientia and Apoda (Frogs, Toads, and Cœcilians) of Southern India. By Edgar Thurston. Madras, 1888. Thin 8vo.

From the French Government.—Barbier de Meynard (A. C.), Dictionnaire Turc-Français. Vol. ii. pt. 3. Paris, 1888. Imp. 8vo.—Dapontes (C.), Ephemerides Daces ou Chronique de la Guerre de Quatre Ans (1736–1739), publiée, traduite et annotée par Emile Legrand. Vol. iii. Paris, 1888. Imp. 8vo.—Nozhet-Elhadi, Histoire de la Dynastie Saadienne au

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Maroc (1511–1670), texte Arabe publié, par O. Houvas. Paris, 1888. Imp. 8vo.

From the Government of the Netherlands.—Hurgronje (Dr. C. Shonck), Mekka. Haag, 1888. 8vo. Mit Bilder Atlas zu Mekka. 1888. Folio.—Schlegel (Dr. G.), Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek. Vol. iv. pt. i. Leiden, 1888. Roy. 8vo.

Court (Major Henry), History of the Sikhs; or Translation of the Sikkham de Raj de Vikhia. Lahore, 1888. 8vo. *From the Translator.*

Malcolm's History of Persia (modern). Edited and adapted to the Persian translation of Mirza Hairat, with notes and dissertations by Lieut.-Col. M. H. Court. Lahore, 1888. Folio. *From the Editor.*

Mann (Dr. G.), Features of Society in Old and New England. Providence, R.I., 1885. Sq. post 8vo. *From the Author.*

Tales of the Panduas. By a Wandering Cimmerian. 1884. Post 8vo. *From the Author.*

Lane Poole (Stanley), Catalogue of the Mohammedan Coins preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Oxford, 1888. 4to. *From the Clarendon Press.*

Rapson (E. J.), The Struggle between England and France for Supremacy in India. 1887. Post 8vo. *From the Author.*

Salah ed-din Imâd ed-dîn el-katib el-isfahânî. Conquête de la Syrie, et de la Palestine. Publiée par le Comte de Landberg. Vol. i. Texte Arabe. Leyde, 1888. *From the Comte de Landberg.*

Van der Berg (L. W. C.), De Inlandsche Rangen en Titels op Java en. Batavia, 1887. Roy. 8vo.

The Secretary read an abstract of a paper by Mr. Howorth, M.P., on "Prester John." The paper will appear in full in the April Number of the Journal.

21*st January*, 1889.—Sir WILLIAM HUNTER, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

The following list of donations since last meeting was read by the Secretary:

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From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—Hooker (Sir J. D.), Flora of British India. Part 15. London, 1888. 8vo.

From the Panjab Government.—Panjab Customary Law of the Rawalpindi District, drawn up by F. A. Robertson. Vol. VI. Lahore, 1887. Imp. 8vo.

Piry (A. Théophile), Le Saint Edit. Etude Litterature Chinoise. Shanghai, 1879. 4to. *From the Author.*

China. Imperial Maritime Customs Service. Shanghai, 1888. 8vo. *From the Commissioner.*

Jeanes (Anna T.), The Sacrificer and the Non-Sacrificer. Philadelphia, 1886. Post 8vo. *From the Author.*

Dinkard (The), edited and translated, with a Commentary and a Glossary, by P. D. B. Sanjana. Vol. V. Bombay, 1888. 8vo.

Bühler (G.) and Th. Zachariae, Ueber das Navasâhasânkacharita des Padmagupta oder Parimala. Wien, 1888. Pamphlet 8vo.

Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, translated into Hindi Prose by Arya, Benares. Jubbulpur, 1888. 8vo. *From Sir Edwin Arnold.*

Alberuni's India. An English Edition, with Notes and Indices, by Dr. Edward Sachau. London, 1888. 2 vols. 8vo. (Trübner's Oriental Series.) *From the Translator.*

Sâdi, The Gulistân, or Rose Garden, faithfully translated into English. Benares (Kama Shastra Soc.), 1888. Sm. 8vo.

Jâmi, The Behâristan (Abode of Spring), a literal translation from the Persian. Benares (Kama Shastra Soc.), 1887. Sm. 8vo.

Hakluyt Society. The Voyage of François Pyrard Laval, translated and edited by Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell. Vol. ii. pt. i. London, 1888. 8vo.

Anderson (Graham), Forest Trees in the Coffee Lands of South Mysore. Bangalore, 1888. Fol. *From General R. P. Anderson.*

A Chinese Stationery Cabinet. *From Mr. T. Watters.*

The Secretary gave a summary of a paper by Professor de Lacouperie, on the Djurtchens of Manchūria. The paper

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will appear in full in the July Number of the Journal. A discussion followed, in which Prof. Douglas and Mr. Watters took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Vol. xlii. part ii. 1. Ernst Leumann. Suggestions as to a Regular System of Citation for certain Sanskrit works.

2. Hermann Oldenberg. On the Authors of the Hymns of the Rigveda.

3. M. Grünbaum. Assimilations and Popular Etymologies in the Talmud.

4. M. Grünbaum. The Two Worlds in Arabic-Persian and Jewish Writers.

5. Rudolph Pischel. On Rudraṭa aud Rudrabhaṭṭa.

6. W. Bacher. Abul-walid wrote in Hebrew, not in Persian Characters.

7. W. Bacher. Corrections of Neubauer's Edition of the Kitāb Aluṣūl.

Vol. xlii. pt. iii. 1. A. Sprenger. The Table-land of Arabia.

2. J. Barth. Semitic Philological Studies.

3. J. Fürst. Review of Buber's edition of R. Samul Gama's Additions to the Aruch of R. Nathan.

4. H. Oldenberg. Further Notes on the Divisions of the Rigveda.

5. O. Böhtlingk. On the Impersonal Use of certain Participles in Sanskrit.

6. S. Reckendorf. The Aramaic Portion of the Customs Duty Inscription in Palmyra.

7. R. v. Stackelberg. On the Ossetes.

8. F. W. E. Roth. The Revenue of Acre in 1294.

9. H. Jacobi and R. Pischel. Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa.

10. M. Schreiner. On the Korān ii. 261.

11. L. H. Mills. The 43rd Yasna.

12. C. Kayser. The use of Palm-leaves in Sorcery.

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2. Journal Asiatique.

Vol. xii. part i. J. Darmesteter. Annual Report.

Vol. xii. part ii. 1. Léon Feer. Etudes Bouddhiques. Nāṭaputta and the Nigaṇṭhas.

2. H. Camussi. Arabic Medicine (continued).

3. Clermont-Ganneau. Arabian Epigraphy (continued), The Bridge of Lydda, etc. (with plates).

4. E. Senart. Indian Epigraphy (continued), The Edicts of Girnar (with plates).

III. Journals of Associated Oriental Societies.

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Vol. lvii. 1. H. Beveridge. The Era of Lachman Sen.

2. W. H. P. Driver. Kolarian Notes.

3. Charles J. Rodgers. Couplets on Jahāngīr's Coins.

4. Charles J. Rodgers. Couplets on Coins after the time of Jahāngīr.

5. H. Beveridge. Father Jerome Xavier.

6. Sarat Chandra Dās. Writing in Tibet (with plates).

7. A. Rea. Prehistoric Burial-places in S. India (with plates).

8. Shyāmal Dās. The Mother of Jahāngīr.

9. H. Beveridge. The Mother of Jahāngīr.

10. A. Führer. Kudarkoṭ Inscriptions of Takshadatta.

IV. Notes and News.

International Oriental Congress.—The next Congress will be held at Stockholm and at Christiania from the 2nd to the 13th September, 1889. Intending members can receive prospectuses, or purchase tickets from the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society. Very full and carefully planned arrangements have already been made by the local organizers of the Congress, both as to the hours and places at which papers will be read, and as to the varied series of hospitalities which have been offered by his Majesty (King Oscar II., the

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especial patron of the Congress), and others, to the members of the Congress. The programme gives full details as to the journey, the hotels to be recommended, and other details of importance to intending members.

Epigraphia Indica.—We have received the first part of this new Journal devoted to Indian inscriptions, antiquities, and archæology. It is to appear quarterly and is under the editorship of Dr. Burgess, assisted by Dr. Führer, Dr. Hultzsch, Mr. Rea, and Mr. Cousens, all connected, in one way or another, with the Archæological Survey, of which the new Journal announces itself, in its secondary title, as the official record. Being in folio size, it is particularly suitable for the reproduction of inscriptions, and it will be no doubt convenient for the officers of the Archæological Survey to have a Journal of their own appearing at regular intervals. These reasons have doubtless led to the establishment of yet another Journal, though there are three others in existence in which the eight inscriptions here published might have appropriately appeared. Dr. Burgess says very rightly in his few words of preface that "The great importance of Indian inscriptions as a means of illustrating and completing our knowledge of the history of the country, fixing the eras of its dynasties, the character of its peculiar land tenures, the derivation and development of its various alphabets, and other subjects of like importance, has long since been recognized by . . . . all Orientalists." When we add that half the present issue is the work of Professor Bühler, and the other half that of Professor Kielhorn, it will be seen that the deciphering of inscriptions for the new Journal has been entrusted to the very best possible hands. The subscription is eight rupees per annum, if paid in advance, and the price to buyers is three rupees a quarter.

The Tod MSS.—Professor Bühler and Dr. Zachariae have published in Berlin an account of the Navasāhasānka-Carita, a unique MS., hitherto overlooked, in this collection of Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. The author's name is Padma-gupta, or Parimala, and he lived in the last quarter of the 10th and in the beginning of

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the 11th century A.D. The work contains a poetical account, doubtless based on historical realities, of the adventures of Sindhu-raja or Navasāhasānka, King of Malwa, during the earlier part of the author's life. The brochure contains a complete view of all that the poem affords of possible historical value. It gives additional proof of the importance of having this rare collection brought more fully to the notice of scholars—a want which we hope to meet, at least partially, by the publication in an early issue of the Journal of a handy and complete catalogue.

History of the Sikhs.—Under the above title Lieut.-Col. Henry Court has published at Lahore a translation of the Sikkān de Rāj dī Vikhiā, together with a short Gurmukhī grammar and a glossary of technical terms. The work translated being prescribed for examinations in Panjābī, this book will be found very useful. The author refers in his preface to the fact that his translations of verses quoted from the Ādi Granth often differ from those of Dr. Trumpp. It is the greater pity that he omitted in some cases to quote the pages of the learned German's work, where the former versions can be found.

Shakespear's Merchant of Venice has been translated into Hindī prose by a lady of Jubbulpur, by name Āryā, a pupil of Sūrya Prasād Miṣra of the Benares College. Sir Edwin Arnold has added a preface in which he pays a graceful tribute of praise to this very interesting result of female education in India. The work is published at the 'Amar' press in Benares.

Kālidāsa's Ṣakuntala has been translated into French from a Tamil version by M. Gerard Devèze (Paris, Maisonneuve). As the version differs from the known recensions of the Sanskrit text, it is to be regretted that the translator gives no particulars at all of the Tamil author. But in the dearth of our knowledge of Tamil literature, we can nevertheless welcome this useful work of a promising student.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. III.—*Notes on the Early History of Northern India.* Part II. By J. F. HEWITT, late Commissioner of Chota Nāgpur.

IN a paper printed in the Journal of this Society in July, 1888, I adduced reasons for believing that there existed adequate evidence to prove the truth of the following statements with regard to the early history of Northern India, (1) That Northern India was peopled by Kolarian and Dravidian tribes long before the Aryans came into the country. (2) Of the two races who preceded the Aryans, the Kolarians were the first immigrants. (3) The Dravidians, when they assumed the government of countries originally peopled by Kolarian tribes, retained the village communities established by their predecessors, but reformed the village system. They made each separate village, and each province formed by a union of villages, more dependent on the central authority than they were under the Kolarian form of government. (4) Under the Dravidian rule, all public offices, beginning with the headships of villages, were filled by nominees appointed by the State instead of being elective as among the Kolarians. (5) The Dravidians set apart lands appropriated to the public service in every village, required the tenants to cultivate these public lands, and store their produce in the royal and provincial granaries; this being the form in which the earliest taxes were paid. (6) They also in the Dravidian villages made

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every man and woman bear his or her share in contributing to the efficiency of the government, but this process was not followed out in the same completeness in Kolarian villages, where the people were not so ready as the Dravidian races to submit to the same strict discipline, to which the Dravidians had been accustomed long before they entered India. (7) The Dravidian religion was evolved out of totemism, but was a much higher form of belief than the totemistic fetishism which preceded it. (8) The object of their worship was the earth, as the father and mother of all things, and therefore the parent of the totems, which had previously been considered to be their tribal ancestors. (9) They worshipped the earth under the symbol of the snake or phallus representing the central generative power of nature. (10) This still continues to be the popular form of religion throughout a large part of the country under the guise of Ṣiva-worship. (11) The chief opponents of Aryan progress were the Dravidian races, who had covered the country with a network of strongly-centralized and well-established governments. (12) The leading position the Aryans ultimately obtained was gained not so much by direct conquest as by alliances with native tribes, intermarriages with powerful chiefs and their most distinguished subjects, and by the great moral and political influence secured by the excellent organization, self-denying earnestness, perseverance, and tact of the Aryan Brahmins.

In the present paper I do not intend to deal directly, but only inferentially, with the greater number of these propositions, which I have tried to prove in detail both in the paper I have named above, and in two other papers of mine which I have there referred to.[1] What I hope now to show is (1) That a careful examination of the Rigveda and Mahābhārata gives additional reasons to those already adduced for believing the above statements to be in the main correct. (2) That a fairly accurate outline of the history of Northern India in

[1] Chota Nāgpur, its People and Resources, Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1887; and Village Communities in India, Journal of the Society of Arts, May 6, 1887.

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Vedic times, and for some centuries after the close of that period, can be deduced from evidence furnished chiefly by these authorities. (3) That the statements taken from the Mahābhārata and Rigveda can be supplemented, and their historical significance more clearly shown, by corroborative evidence taken from other Indian authorities, and from the Greek and Latin authors who have given accounts of India which are for the most part taken from information recorded by Megasthenes, ambassador at the court of Chandragupta of Pātāliputra (Patna) between 315 and 291 B.C. Besides Megasthenes, the principal authorities used by these writers were works written by persons who had accompanied the expedition of Alexander the Great.

I shall, in working out this attempted sketch of the history of the country, try to trace out the early Indian history of the more important tribes mentioned in the Rigveda. I will try to show what part they each took in the leading historical events of the Vedic period, and that of the Mahābhārata. Two of these tribes are only mentioned in the Rigveda, and are there distinctly said to be Aryan tribes. These are the Arṇa and the Tṛtsus. Besides these there are the five tribes of the Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, and Turvasu, said to be descended from the sons of Yayāti, who were called by these names. The Vaikarna, Nahusha, Bhārata, Matsya, Gandhāri, Chitraratha, Sṛṇjaya, Ṣiva, and Tugra, Chedi, Suvarṇa, and Ṣambara. As to these last, the Ṣambara, all that I can say about them is, that they appear to be the early inhabitants of Kashmir. They are only mentioned in connexion with the conquests of the Tṛtsu king Divodasa.

Arṇa and Chitraratha.—These tribes are, I believe, only once mentioned in the Rigveda.[1] They are there said to be Aryans, and the passage gives an account of their defeat by the Yadu Turvasu. The name Arṇa seems to be connected with the Araṇi or fire-stick, the sacred stick which produced fire by friction, and which is so well known in the history of fire-worship as the Swastika. The name therefore probably

[1] Rigv. iv. 30, 18.

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means the fire-worshippers, and it is apparently the name of the most distinctly Aryan of the two tribes named. The Chitraratha are almost certainly the charioteers or the people of the gaudy chariot (*chitra* 'variegated,' *ratha* chariot'). I shall give their history in full when I come to speak of the Gandharvi, whose king in the Mahābhārata is called Chitraratha, and I shall then discuss the further question as to whether the Chitraratha are a pure Aryan tribe or not.

Tṛtsus.—These are, I believe, the same people as the Arṇa, the latter being a different name for the Tṛtsu tribe. The Tṛtsus are throughout the whole of the Rigveda the most prominent of the people spoken of as Aryans. The greater part of the historical hymns in all the Maṇḍalas except the eighth are full of accounts of deeds done by their great leaders Divodasa and his son Sudas. They seem to have come into India from the north, most probably like other invaders from the same quarter, by the Kabul Valley, and to have fought their way down to the upper waters of the five rivers of the Punjab where they leave the hills. They made no permanent settlement in the country watered by these rivers, but went southward till they reached the Sarasvatī. They settled themselves on both banks of the Sarasvatī at a very early period, and made the comparatively small area they there acquired their central stronghold, where they formed their plans for the moral and material conquest of India. In one hymn Vadhriaṣva, the father of Divodaṣa, whose name seems to show a connexion with the charioteers or the people of Aṣva, the horse, is said to have received his celebrated son from the Sarasvatī.[1] But before they succeeded in making themselves complete masters of the banks of this river, and attained an influential position in the councils of the country through which they passed to reach this territory, they must have gone through a period of severe fighting. This is shown by the constant allusions to the conflicts with the Ṣambara, who lived among the

[1] Rigv. vi. 61, 1.

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mountains, and to their hundred citadels which Divodasa took.[1] Divodasa seems also to have been successful in his campaigns against the Yadu Turvasu in spite of the defeat of the Aryan Arṇa, and the Chitraratha alluded to above. We find in one hymn Indra praised for the aid which enabled Divodasa to conquer the Yadu-Turvasu,[2] and the victory of the Tṛtsu (here called Atithigva) over the same tribes is also mentioned in a hymn of Vasishtha.[3] The chief allies of the Tṛtsus in the early stages of their progress through the country seem to have been the people called the Purus. But these Purus are named among the tribes who fought against Sudas and the Tṛtsus in the great battle of the ten kings.[4] The Tṛtsus seem in that battle to have temporarily annihilated the confederacy opposed to them; but after the time of Sudas they are no more mentioned in the Rigveda, nor does their name appear in the Mahābhārata. They seem to have remained in their ancient settlements between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī. This country was called, for reasons to be explained later on, the Kurukshetra, and afterwards became the holy land of Brahmāvarta created by the gods,[5] the one spot where the people were pure Aryans. They seem to have become a colony of religious enthusiasts, and their leaders at all events held aloof from further projects of conquests by war. The object of their ambition seems to have been to work out the ideal form of religion of the strictest Brahminical schools who looked up to Vasishtha, the great bard of Sudas and the victorious Tṛtsus, as their original teacher. Under their system all power spiritual and temporal centred in the Brahmins, and it was from this holy land of Brahmāvarta that the teachings of this school were disseminated through the country in the form of the law-books. There were many other Brahminical schools which took their rise elsewhere,

[1] Rigv. ii. 19, 6; i. 26, 3; iv. 30, 20; vi. 26, 5, and many other places.
[2] Rigv. ix. 61, 1.
[3] Rigv. vii. 19, 8. The term Atithigva is used directly to mean the Tṛtsu, Rigv. i. 130, 7, and occurs in many other places in connexion with the victories over the Śambara.
[4] Rigv. vii. 18, 13.
[5] Manu, ii. 17.

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such as those of the Kanva who are said to have written the eighth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, and who were especially attached to the Yadu Turvasu.[1] Those of the Bhāradvāja who wrote the sixth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, and the Gautama, who wrote the fourth, were specially connected with the Bhāratas, and besides these there were many others. But all of these schools seem to have been much more liberal and open-minded than those which claimed to be derived from that of the puritanical Vasishtha and his successors, and it was by these more liberal schools, as I shall show further on, that the doctrine of sun-worship was taught throughout the country by the missionary Brahmins, and it was they who altered the native snake and nature-worship into that of Ṣiva. South of the Brahmāvarta, and distinct from it as stated by Manu,[2] was the country of the Surasena, whose capital was the celebrated city of Mathura. The Surasena and their city are mentioned by Arrian,[3] and Mathura is said in the Mahābhārata to be the capital of the Yādavas or Vrishṇis.[4] The Yādavas, and more especially their priests, belonging to the Kanva family, with the Bhāradvāja and Gautama, seem to have been the leaders in the contest which gained political and military supremacy for the tribes which accepted Aryan guidance. The reputation of the Yādavas as soldiers is shown in Manu's advice to kings to take their warriors from the Surasena country, as well as from those of their most intimate allies and nearest neighbours the Matsya, Panchālas, and people of Kurukshetra.[5]

Purus.—This people seem to have been the earliest allies of the Tṛtsus. An elaborate account[6] of the birth of Puru, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe and of that of his four brothers, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, and Anu, is given in the Mahābhārata. They all are said to have become the

[1] Rigv. viii. 4, 1 and 7; viii. 7, 18.
[2] Manu, 11, 19.
[3] Arrian, Indika, chap. viii.
[4] Mahābhārata, Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 47. This and all other citations from the Mahābhārata in this paper are made from Pertāp Chundur Roy's translation, published in England by Williams & Norgate.
[5] Manu, vii. 193.
[6] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, sect. lxxxii. to lxxxv.

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fathers of tribes called after them. They were said to be the sons of Yayāti, by his two wives Devayana, daughter of the Rishi Sukra, and Sharmishthā, daughter of the Asura king Vrishaparva. Yayāti was the son of Nahusha, called elsewhere the great serpent. According to the story in which Nahusha is thus described,[1] he is said to have contended with Indra for supremacy in heaven, to have been vanquished in the contest and changed into a serpent.

The discussion of the many questions connected not only with these five tribes, but also with the others who will be treated of in this paper, will be greatly simplified by considering the point of view from which Indian history is regarded in the Mahābhārata, as it is from this source that almost all the information given as to ancient India by Sanskrit authors is derived. I shall then proceed to give a sketch of the trade carried on in early times from the western ports of India, as it will be shown in the sequel of the paper that a thorough appreciation of the great and very early importance of this trade is necessary for the understanding of the history of the country. For India in former times, no less than at present, owed a great part of its prosperity to foreign commerçe, and political and ethnological changes in the population were caused chiefly by contests for trade supremacy.

The *Mahābhārata* may be described as a great epic narrative poem containing a continuous story, which sets forth in the dramatic form called epical a fairly consecutive series of events in the early history of Northern India. The history thus recorded is, as I hope to prove, based on real occurrences; but the actual facts have in the process of reduction to the form in which they appear in the poem been greatly distorted, partly to meet the proposed requirements of a poetical narrative, but also because the story is written entirely from an Aryan point of view. It was evidently composed after the Aryan supremacy had been universally acknowledged throughout the central and most populous, fertile, and prosperous parts of the country, and long after Aryan dialects had become the

[1] Udyoga (Samyodyoga) Parva, sect. viii. to xvii.

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popular language of all classes of the people except the rude dwellers in the forests and mountains.[1] One great difficulty in identifying tribes named in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata is caused by the writers being either Aryans or persons who claimed to be Aryans. These writers always looked upon other tribes as outsiders, and did not therefore speak of them as they would be spoken of by those belonging to the tribe. In naming them they more often than not called them by names given to them by Aryans, and not by those used by the people themselves; sometimes when the correct name is given, it is that of a clan which does not tell that of the tribe to which the clan belongs. Sometimes numerous tribes are included in one common name, which has been given to them by the Aryans. The difficulties of identifying tribes spoken of in this way are very great, especially when the Aryan writers distort tribal names so as to give them an Aryan meaning. This, as I shall show in the sequel, has been frequently done.

The story of the Mahābhārata is interspersed with innumerable digressions and later additions which make up by far the greater part of the eighteen lengthy cantos into which it is divided. Some of the sedigressions are mythical and legendary tales, some half-historical, while others embody long ethical, metaphysical, and ritualistic discussions. Many of these are of great value for historical purposes, and among those which may be mentioned as especially bearing on the present inquiry are the long accounts of the holy places pilgrims are advised to visit, and of the journey made by the Pāṇḍavas to the different shrines.[2]

Most scholars, I believe, now agree that the Mahābhārata was put together nearly in its present form about 400 B.C., but some parts must be very much older. Many of the digressions, especially the legends and genealogies, appear in a number of different forms evidently composed at various

[1] We find Vidura speaking to Yudishthira in the Mleccha language, Ādi (Jatu-Grīha) Parva, clxvii. p. 433, and in Vedic times all people except Aryans or those taught by Aryans spoke their own languages. Non-Aryans are called Mṛdhravāc, a term which implies speaking a foreign language.

[2] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, sects. lxxx-clvi.

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times and from various sources, but the actual groundwork of the poem must be very much earlier than the later forms of the legends contained in it. To judge from the tone of its contents it would seem to have been written during the time the Brahmāṇas were composed, when Brahminism was purely ritualistic, sacrificial, and ascetic, and the idea of the supremacy of the Brahmins was in its infancy. The snake-gods of the Dravidians were still objects of universal reverence, and the descent of the leading tribes from snake ancestors is openly asserted. The strongest proof of the great hold that snake-worship had on the minds of the people is shown in the statement that the Pāṇḍavas and Krishna have descended from a snake king. A new snake-god Āriaka was invented as the father of the Aryans, and this Āriaka is said to be the great-grandfather of Pṛitha or Kunti, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, and of the father of Krishna, the sun-god of the black (Krishṇa) races.[1]

We find the worship of the snake-gods, especially in the West, becoming subordinate to that of Indra and the sun, the snake-gods being held to be inferior deities; while in the East it was being diverted from the several tribal snake-gods, and concentrated on the Dravidian and Kolarian god Ṣiva, who was the father, first of all snake-born races, and afterwards of all living beings. The Mahābhārata, though probably not much if at all older than the oldest Upanishads, is much earlier than those like the Brihadāranyika and Chāndogya Upanishads, in which Janaka, king of Videha, and Yajnavalkya play a prominent part, and where the centre of philosophic thought is placed in the East in the land of the Videhas and Panchālas, and not in the West, as in the Mahābhārata. The Ramāyana shows how intimately the Videhas of Mithila, the tribe to which Sītā, Rama's wife, belonged, and the Ikshvākus of Sāketa and Ayodhya were connected together. But when the older parts of the Mahābhārata were written, the Ikshvākus had not left Western India, and the Videha kingdom was not founded.[2] We find the son

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxviii. p. 377.
[2] Janaka, king of Videha, is said to have been conquered by Bhīma, but this

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of Suvala, the king of the Ikshvākus, living near the Indus as a vassal of Jayadratha, king of the Sindhu-Sauvīras, and acting as one of his principal generals.[1] As he plays a somewhat prominent part in the battle in which Draupadi was rescued from the Sauvīra, the writer of the story must have thought of the Ikshvāku as a clan living near the Indus, and not in the far east in Ayodhya.

The general tone of philosophical and ethical thought is less Brahministic than in the Upanishads, as it is the kings and heroes like Krishṇa and Yudishthira, and not the Brahmins, who lay down ethical rules and answer the doubts of their interrogators.[2] Though the divine lay of the Bhagavadgītā is evidently much later than the first rise of the doctrines and speculations contained in it, yet it is distinctly earlier than the writings of the later Brahmin philosophers, and of the Buddhistic and Jainist schools, as it contains the undeveloped germs of all three systems. Vishnuism in its later forms, and also sun-worship in its successive stages, are continually recurring in the Mahābhārata; but the Vishnuistic passages must be very much later than the main body of the poem, which treats Krishṇa, who became later on the embodiment of Vishnu, as a living hero, almost but not quite a god. The asceticism which prompted pilgrimages and austerities is also apparently a later feature of the work, arising out of the development of the idea of sacrifice.

The idea of caste or caste rules is entirely unknown to the actors in the poem, and the continual intermixture of castes which takes place throughout the story creates little or no remark. Yudishthira in his discourse with the snake Nahusha[3] says: "In human society it is difficult to ascertain one's caste because of the promiscuous intercourse among the four orders. Men belonging to all the orders have children by women of all the orders." This is

is evidently a later interpolation, as Videha is mentioned as being conquered directly after the southern Mallas of Mallarāshtra, or Mālava, and before the Sākas who lived close to the Mālava country (Sabha Digvijaya Parva, p. 86).

[1] Vana (Draupadi-harana) Parva, cclxiv p. 782.

[2] See the conversation of Yudishthira with the Yaksha (Vana (Aranya) Parva, cccxii. and many other places).

[3] Vana (Ajagara) Parva, ccxxx. p. 531.

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almost certainly a later passage, and in the earlier parts of the poem caste had evidently not been thought of. The exact date at which the original poem was written is very difficult to fix; but as it was composed before the Ikshvākus thought of emigrating to Ayodhya, and the Videha kingdom was founded, it must be several hundred years earlier than the Chāndogya and Brihadāranyika Upanishads, which are, I believe, thought to have been written about 500 B.C. This would give about 800 or 900 B.C. as the original date of the poem, though I believe it may even be earlier than that.

The poem is said to have been composed by the Brahmin Rishi Vyāsa, otherwise called Krishna-dwaipayana.[1] Vyāsa is said to have been the son of Satyavatī, a Matsya princess,[2] who afterwards became the wife of Ṣantanu the Kauravya king. His father was the Rishi Paraṣara mentioned in the Rigveda as one of the Tṛtsu's bards.[3] The Matsya or fishermen were, as will be shown in the sequel, a branch of the great tribe of the Bhāratas, who were near neighbours of and generally in alliance with the Yādavas, though they fought against the Tṛtsus and Yādavas in the great battle of the ten kings.[4] Satyavatī's sons by Ṣantanu died without male heirs, and the Rishi Vyāsa, at his mother's request, raised up seed to the Kauravya line from the widows of Vichittra Virya, her younger son.[5] Vichittra Virya had succeeded his elder brother Chitrangada[6] on the death of the latter without heirs. Dhritarāshtra, father of the Kauravya leader, was born of this union, and also Paṇḍu (the fair prince), reputed father of the Pāṇḍavas, the opponents of the Kauravyas.[7] The real fathers of the Pāṇḍavas,

[1] Ādi Parva, i. p. 4.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cv. p. 318.
[3] Rigv. vii. 18. 21.
[4] Rigv. vii. 18. 6.
[5] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cv. and cvi. pp. 319 to 323.
[6] Chitrangada was the snake god, the dominant of the moon. See Appendix B. His death without heirs, and his being succeeded by a dynasty of which the Rishi Vyāsa was the real father, signifies the substitution of Aryan sun-worship for that of the Lunar and snake-worshipping races. This was carried out, as will be shown in the sequel, under the guidance of the Aryan Brahmins, the Matsya or Bhārata, and the Gandhāri tribes, who led the Panchāla confederacy.
[7] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxiii. and cxxiv. pp. 359 to 366.

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according to the poem, were Dharma, the god of justice, father of Yudishthira; Vayu the wind, father of Bhīma; Indra, the father of Arjuna; and the twin Asvins, the fathers of Sahadeva and Nakula. The mother of the first three was Pṛitha or Kunti, the daughter of Sura, a Surasena chief,[1] and the great-granddaughter of Āriaka, the Aryan snake-god. She was brought up at the court of her aunt's son Purujit,[2] king of the Kuntibhojas.[3] The two youngest Pāṇḍavas were the sons of Madri,[4] daughter of the king of the Madras, whose capital was the celebrated city of Ṣākala or Sangala, on the Apaga, now the Ayak, a little south of the Chenāb river.[5]

The Madras were a non-Aryan tribe, and according to Hemachandra a branch of the Takkas or Takshakas. At the time when the events of the Mahābhārata took place, it would appear that Ṣākala was the Takka capital, as we hear very little in the parts of the poem dealing directly with the history of the Kauravyas and Pāṇḍavas of the people or city of Takkasilā, so celebrated in later times. It was Ṣalya, king of the Madras, who with the Gandhāri king were the ruling powers in the Northern Panjab.

The ostensible story of the Mahābhārata is the rivalry between the Kauravya sons of Dhritarāshtra aided by Ṣalya, king of the Madras, and the king of the Gandhāri of the Kabul valley, on the one side, and the Pāṇḍavas, aided by the kings of Panchāla and the Matsya, on the other. The real history underlying this legend is that of the gradual advance of the Southern and Western tribes against those of the North and East. What both sides really fought for was the control of the rivers, the great natural highways of the country and of the routes leading to the sea.

This was not a contest between Aryans and non-Aryans, but between indigenous races more or less intermixed with foreign

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxi. p. 366.
[2] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 45.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxviii. p. 377.
[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxiv. p. 366.
[5] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 180.

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and Aryan elements. The Aryans were for the most part on the winning side, but there were also many chiefs who had intermarried with Aryans in the other party. The ultimate result of the war was to place the Surasena and Bhārata and their intimate allies the Panchālas in command of the country, and to consummate the attainment by the Aryan chiefs of what had been the great object of their ambition since they first aspired to the supreme rule. The leaders of the confederacy of semi-Aryan Bhoja tribes, of which the tribe called Surasena became the head, had seen that those who secured the control of the trade must be the chief rulers of Northern India; and it was to attain this purpose that they allied themselves with the tribes of the south-west. They first aided the Bhāratas in the conquest of the valleys watered by the Nerbudda and Tapti; helped the Suvarṇa[1] in their progress eastward; and last of all effectually prevented the northern tribes from gaining the control of the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges.

Early trade and commerce.—There is ample evidence to show that it was not the Aryans who made India a great exporting country. The Kolarian and Dravidian settlers had founded and maintained a flourishing inland and foreign trade long before the advent of the Aryans, and this trade could only have been begun and kept up by a people who had made great advances in civilization. For the maintenance of a large foreign and inland trade, there must be cities like those so frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, in which merchants could live and store the minerals, forest and agricultural products, and the manufactured articles in which they dealt. These cities could not be built without carpenters and masons. The weavers of the coarser cottons and the fine muslins, which formed so large a part of the exports, must have congregated into the towns, to be near the merchants to whom they sold their goods. There must

[1] The Suvarṇa, *i.e.* the class (varṇa) of the Sus or Saus, *i.e.* the traders. The name Sau is still preserved in Saudāgur, a merchant, and Saukar, one who does a Sau's or merchant's business. Their first move eastward from Pātāla was into the country called by their name Saurashtra, the kingdom of the Saus, the modern Guzerāt.

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have been workers in iron[1] to make spears and weapons of war, axes to cut down forest trees, hoes and agricultural implements, and carpenters' and mining tools. Jewellers must have lived in the cities, to prepare for export the precious stones, of which such large quantities were sent to foreign countries. And there were also dyers among the manufacturing artisans, who, besides being conversant with other dyes, had learnt the difficult and recondite process of extracting dye from the indigo plant, indigo being in very early times, as it is now, a most valuable item among the Indian exports. Besides these classes, there were also necessarily in the cities potters, workers in leather, and petty shopkeepers and retail dealers. None of these occupations have ever been taken up by Aryans, but were in former times, as now, left in the hands of the Sudras or native races who originated them. The mines, which supplied so large a part of the wealth of India, and were the chief attractions to foreign merchants, give valuable evidence of the high stage of civilization to which these people had attained. These were not mere surface diggings in alluvial gravels, but were, as the old workings still extant show, made by following the lodes of metalliferous ore to considerable depths in the rocks which they permeated. The working of these mines required practical mechanical skill as well as the scientific aptitude and perseverance necessary to discover the proper method of treating the ores so as to extract the precious metals.

The large population of merchants, traders, artisans, miners, and collectors of forest produce, could not have been maintained unless agriculture had been in a flourishing condition. And that this was the case, is shown by the fact that pepper, saffron, oil, and clarified butter (ghee) furnished a very considerable part of the exports.

Though the rivers supplied means of carriage throughout a large part of the country, the only rivers which reached

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 52, thinks that Ayas means brass, while Roth and Grassmann both believe it to be iron. Considering that iron ore is exceedingly common in all the rocky parts of India, and copper, tin, and zinc rare, it is probable that iron was smelted long before the compound metals were used.

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the harbours of the Western coast were the Indus, Nerbudda, and Tapti. These, however, were of little use to the miners of Rajputana, and the trading and agricultural population on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. Land carriage was necessary to bring produce to the western ports from the central plains, and this must have been provided at a very early period. The warriors in the Rigveda are all represented as fighting from chariots, and carts were invented long before war-chariots. The first two Jātaka stories, which are among the oldest in the collection, tell of the caravans of five hundred bullock waggons which merchants used to send to and fro between Benares and the sea-coast, and of the difficulties of passing through the desert.[1] There are many other stories of the same kind, and these must have been popular for ages before they were included in Buddhist literature, and the state of society they describe must have existed long before these stories were invented.

It was only a strong and well-organized Government which could maintain the conditions necessary for protecting in their avocations the persons required to carry on commerce on the scale I have sketched out, and this Government was provided in the system of Dravidian rule. Though very strong, it was popular, and its power was based not on outside force, but on the co-operation of all the people, who were trained from their earliest infancy to obey the orders of their rulers, and to give active aid in the maintenance of law and order. The working of the constitution and the protection of the citizens was insured by an excellent police-service and a system of village and town committees, each of which consisted of five persons. These committees and the police-service are fully described by Strabo, quoting from Megasthenes.[2] They are also spoken of in the Mahābhārata, where it is said that "the five brave and wise men employed in the

[1] Appaṇṇaka Jātaka and Vaṇṇapatha Jātaka; Fausböll, vol. i. pp. 98 to 103, and 107 to 109; Buddhist Birth Stories translated by Rhys Davids, vol. i. pp. 138 to 145, and 174 to 179.

[2] Strabo, xv. i. 47-62. McCrindle's Ancient India, pp. 83-89.

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five offices of protecting the city, the citadel, the merchants, agriculturists, and in punishing criminals, should always act in unison."[1] This passage, like that in Strabo, means that there was a separate board for each department. The police are spoken of a few lines after those mentioning these committees of five persons. Traces of these boards and of the former police system still remain in the Panchayats or councils of five, and the Chokidars or village or ward policemen still found everywhere throughout India. These Panchayats have under Mahommedan, and, till recently, under English rule, when they have been used for administrative purposes, occupied a very subordinate position to that they used to hold, and were chiefly employed as arbitration committees in disputes. The Laws of Manu and those of the other Sanskrit law-writers take little account of the popular form of government. With them the king is supreme, except where Brahmins are concerned. There can, however, I think, be no doubt that the system of the law-writers is for the most part ideal, and that in reality the country was governed in the manner stated by the Greek writers and those in the Mahābhārata, which quite agree with the indications of the old form of government we find still existing. As the system of government required each part of the state to be in constant touch with the central authorities, the kingdoms into which the country was divided were, especially where the country was populous, small. But these kingdoms were all linked together by a consciousness of mutual dependence, and by a knowledge of the necessity of common action for the promotion of trade. In the most prosperous periods, large numbers of these separate kingdoms were united for purposes of defence and offence under a common ruler, who controlled their foreign and military policy, leaving the internal government to the rulers of the several states. These united countries thus formed an imperial federation. In the Chota Nagpore villages and those of Chattisghur, in the Central Provinces, the old system still

[1] Sabha (Lokapala Sabhakhyana) Parva, v. p. 17.

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exists, and is for agricultural purposes and village organization but little altered. In a state constituted on these principles the people combined with the Government in keeping down predatory bands and fostering trade by every means in their power; the inducement being that, as long as they discharged the light duties required by the State, kept the king's granaries full, and provided for the support of the soldiers and police, they retained all the profits that they made. They therefore united with the authorities in securing the undisturbed collection of the gold, jewels, and other property exported, in taking care that agriculturists, artisans, and traders were allowed to work in peace and quiet, in insuring the safe conduct of goods to and from the ports, and in protecting the possessions of foreign and native merchants. The commerce thus fostered was free, hampered by no transit dues and restrictions, and all alike, both the Government and the people it ruled, shared in the profits. That the trade which was so carefully protected was regular and constant is proved by the accounts given of it in the books of Kings and Chronicles in the Bible. Solomon and his ally Hiram used to send every three years ships of Tarshish[1] to India, called Ophir by the Jews, and Sophir by the Coptic Egyptians, the names being probably derived from that of the trading Suvarṇa.[2] These ships used to bring back Indian produce, and the periodicity of the voyages shows that they could always rely upon finding a market well supplied with the goods they wanted. Their dealings in these expeditions must have been very large, as we read of at least four hundred and twenty talents of gold being brought to Solomon.[3] The text seems to say that this amount was brought in one voyage, but it may also mean that gold to this value was brought in several voyages. Four hundred and twenty talents of gold must be worth somewhat over £87,700

[1] 1 Kings x. 22.
[2] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 497-9 and 561.
[3] 1 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. viii. 18, where the amount is 450 talents.

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in modern money.[1] This must in the times I am now speaking of have been such an immense sum that one is tempted, if the amount be accepted as correct, to think it would not all have been brought in one voyage. The Phœnicians and Jews could not have sent enough goods in exchange to return so much gold in addition to the other goods they brought back. Whatever the exact interpretation may be, the whole account of the trade leaves little doubt that practically many millions of gold were brought from India to Palestine in Solomon's time. But the return cargoes in these triennial voyages were not made up of gold only, but also of silver, apes, ivory, peacocks, and algum or sandal wood. Silver is said to have been brought in such quantities that it was of no value in the days of Solomon,[2] and the ivory must have been worth a great deal.

But in considering the extent of the Indian trade as a whole, it must be remembered that Palestine was one of the smallest countries that imported goods from India. Many centuries before Solomon a large maritime trade was carried on between the Accadian-Semitic empire of Assyria and India. The early builders of Ur or Mugheir, who about 4000 B.C. brought teak from India,[3] also doubtless brought other goods. Though teak grew on the Kandesh hills, near Baragyza, or whatever other port on the Gulf of Kambay was resorted to by the importers, and was therefore easily obtained, yet the sending of it to foreign countries is strong evidence both of a large and varied trade, and of considerable civilization among the people of India. They could not, if mere savages, have learnt the value of teak timber and taught it to their customers.

Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that the early Chaldæan

[1] I have reckoned ten talents at about the value in round numbers of the Babylonian talent, which was doubtless the standard used by the Jewish reckoners. This, according to Herod. iii. 89, was to the Attic or Euboic talent, as 7 to 6. The Attic talent is considered to represent £243 15*s.* of our money, and I have taken the Babylonian talent at about £209. See Liddell and Scott, s.v. τάλαντον.

[2] 1 Kings x. 22.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 18 and 137.

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inscriptions frequently speak of the "Ships of Ur,"[1] and Prof. Rawlinson proves that gold, tin, silks, pearls, spices, and other articles of commerce had been brought by these ships from the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., the date he gives for the foundation of the first Assyrian Empire.[2] Prof. Sayce calls attention to the name Sindhu, evidently meaning from Sindhu or India, used in an old Babylonian list of clothes to mean muslin or woven cotton,[3] and compares this name with the Greek *σινδών*, and the Hebrew Sadin, used for muslin in the Old Testament. The Hebrew word Tarshish, occurring in the list of stones on the breastplate of the Hebrew High Priest, certainly means a stone brought by the ships of Tarshish, which traded with India. The Greek *βήρυλλος* shows that the beryl came from India,[4] as it is evidently the same word as the Pali Veḷurya.[5] *Kunkuma*, the Sanskrit for saffron, is the same word as *karkom* in the Song of Solomon, and *πέπερι*, used by Hippocrates, is the Sanskrit *pippali*.[6]

The Tamil word for rice, *arisi*, is the same as the Greek word *ὄρυζα*,[7] used simply by Theophrastus, who died 288 B.C., and also by Arrian, and in a compound form by Athenæus. Now dialects derived from the Sanskrit were spoken at all the Indian Western ports long before the time of the Buddha, and centuries before the Greek voyagers first went to India from Alexandria, which was founded during the lifetime of Theophrastus. The Tamil name used by him for rice must have come to

[1] India and the West in Old Days, by Prof. A. Weber, translated by Mrs. Hawtrey, p. 3, note.

[2] Rawlinson, Sixth Oriental Monarchy, p. 33.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 138.

[4] Ex. xxviii. 20. There are three names of stones in this passage, Tarshish, Shoham, and Jashpheh, all of which are translated Beryl by different authors. The first is translated Beryl in the Authorised English version, the second in the Septuagint, and the third in the Vulgate. Gesenius s.v. translates Tarshish as Topaz. Kiel as a brilliant stone of a golden colour like what is now called chrysolite, which is pale green with a double refraction. It is probable that all these three stones came from India, as beryls, topazes, and chrysolite are all found there.

[5] Chullavagga, v. 91, translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xx. p. 82.

[6] India and the West in Old Days, p. 4.

[7] Liddell and Scott, s.v. *ὄρυζα*.

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Greece at a very much earlier period, and was probably brought by the Phœnician sailors. Zimmer shows that rice was not known to the authors of the Rigveda, and the name used for rice in the Atharvaveda, where it is first mentioned by Sanskrit authors, is *vrīhi*,[1] which has nothing to do with the Tamil *arisi*. When the Tamil word *arisi* found its way westward, a Tamil-speaking, and not an Aryan population must have lived at the Western ports. There is still one more Indian export to be mentioned, which proves the existence of a very ancient trade between India and western countries; this is indigo. Sir Gardner Wilkinson gives among the list of things found in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty woollen goods dyed with indigo, and Pliny does not give indigo among the list of crops grown in Egypt. We shall also see further on in the list of exports to Greece that it was certainly an Indian export.[2] Now the Eighteenth Dynasty ruled in Egypt in the seventeenth century B.C.,[3] and the Indian indigo and the Indian muslin, which was also found in these tombs, must have been brought by sea, showing that the trade was then no less active than it was at a later period.

Before giving further details as to the trade, it is desirable to fix the ports from whence it was carried on. The principal ports mentioned in the Mahābhārata are Sūrpāraka and Prāgjyotisha, both of these being on the Gulf of Kambay. Sūrpāraka, the modern Surat, was on the Payoshni (Tapti), and we are told in the Mahābhārata that it was built by a Vidarbha king.[4] The neighbouring port of Prāgjyotisha, probably the Baragyza of the Greeks, and the modern Bharoch on the Nerbudda, was the capital of Bhagadhatta king of the coast races,[5] about whom I shall say a great deal more later on in this paper.

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 239.
[2] India and the West in Old Days, p. 3.
[3] Encyclopædia Britannica, new edition, art. Egypt, p. 736, vol. vii.
[4] Vana (Tīrtha-Yatra) Parva, cxx. p. 371.
[5] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxvi. p. 79. Prāgjyotisha or the Eastern Jyotisha was perhaps so called because it was on the east of the Gulf of Kambay, and lay to the east of the settlements of the Bhojas of Dwāraka in Kāthiāwāṛ, who gave the name. This name is clearly a Sanskrit name, and not one given

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The third port, Pātāla, near the mouth of the Indus, had apparently, when the Mahābhārata was written, been somewhat eclipsed by the more southern ports, as many of the Suvarṇa traders of Pātāla had moved eastward and occupied the kingdom they called Saurāshṭra; but it still doubtless did a large business and continued to do so till after the time of Alexander the Great's invasion. When the Periplus ascribed to Arrian was written, we find that the trading port of the Indus was no longer Pātāla, but Minnagura, which Arrian says was the capital of the Parthian kings of Sindhu Sauvira. He calls the country Scythia, which evidently refers to the nationality of the kings, and of the chiefs among the people, who it will be shown probably came from Scythia. General Cunningham identifies it with Thatha, which lies a good deal to the south of Pātāla.[1] Arrian gives elaborate lists of the exports and imports both from Minnagura and Baragyza, which agree to a great extent with the list of goods I have already given, but contain more articles. From Minnagura were exported kostos, an aromatic root, gums, spikenard (Sanskrit *narada*), topazes, and sapphires, silk, fine linen, silk thread, and indigo (*Ινδικὸν μέλαν*).[2] The imports are cloth, a few slaves (*νόθος*), many-coloured (Egyptian) robes, gold-stone, coral, styrak gum, frankincense, glass vessels, silver, coined money, and some wine.

From Ozene, the modern Ujjen, there were brought down to Baragyza onyxes procured from the jasper-yielding rocks of Gwalior[3] and the Aravalli hills, and murrina (a costly material from which vases were made, probably the Agra soapstone), Indian muslin, yellow-coloured cloths, and some coarse cotton. There were also gums and spikenard from Proklais on the river Swat in Kabul.

The other exports from Ozene to Baragyza are the same as those from Minnagura,[4] but from the Saurāshṭra country

by the people whom Bhagadhatta ruled, who were, as will be shown later on, principally of Kolarian origin.

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 289.

[2] Arrian, Periplus, chap. 38, 39. *Ινδικὸν μέλαν* is translated Indigo in the notes to Müller's edition of the Periplus.

[3] Manual of Geology of India, Medlicott and Blanford, pp. 46 to 57.

[4] Arrian, Periplus, chap. 48.

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between Baragyza and Minnagura, where the people had large herds of cattle, rice, sesame, (tila) oil, ghee or clarified butter (βούτυρον), cotton, both raw and woven, were sent.[1]

The imports of Baragyza were Italian, Laodicean, and Arabian wine, brass, tin, cloths of various kinds, slaves, many-coloured girdles, styrak gum, clover-honey (μελίλωτον), coarse glass, red sulphuret of arsenic (σανδαράκη), sulphuret of antimony (στίμμι), coined gold and silver for exchange with native money, and a little ointment. As special presents to kings costly silver vases, musical instruments, rich dresses, female slaves, excellent wine and unguents[2] were brought by the traders.

Besides the products here mentioned, Pliny speaks of the large quantity of gold and silver which was taken from the mines on the other (eastern) side of Mons Capitolia (Mount Abū),[3] and he estimates the capital expended every year in the purchase of Indian goods at fifty million of sesterces, a sum equal to nearly £443,000, and says that 120 ships passed yearly out of the Red Sea to India.[4]

[1] Arrian, Periplus, chap. 41.

[2] Arrian, Periplus, chap. 49.

[3] Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi. 23. The country in which these silver mines were situated must have been that of Guzerāt and the eastern slope of the Aravalli range. The silver now found there is always mixed with lead in the proportion of from ten to twenty or more ounces of silver to the ton of lead. The people who worked these mines for silver in ancient times must have been most intelligent and accomplished miners and mineralogists to be able to discover and apply the difficult process of separating the silver from the lead. This part of the country has only been cursorily examined by the Geological Survey, and the greater part of it is marked blank and unexplored in the Geological Survey Map. Among the mines mentioned in Medlicott and Blanford's Economic Geology of India the largest is that on the Taragurh hill in Ajmir, the country known to the authors of the Mahābhārata as that of Virāta or Matsya (Economic Geology, chap. vi. p. 299). There are also other ancient mines in Ulwar, Jawur in Udaipur, and the Panchmahal district in Guzerāt. At Joga, in the Hoshungabad district of the Central Provinces, south of the Nerbudda, near the Sonbhudra, or Golden river, there is an old mine of argentiferous lead (galena) known as the Chandi-Khadan, or silver mine. None of these mines are worked now, but the name of "silver-mine" shows the purpose for which they were formerly used. There is also a mine mentioned in Hunter's Gazetteer, vol. vi. p. 142, at Jaora, in the Western Malwa Agency, and others are found in Bundelkund. Gold, in early times, must have chiefly come from Kashmir, though the mines in the Wainad and Mysore were also worked.

[4] India and the West in Old Days, p. 12. I have reckoned the sestertium or 1000 sesterces at £8 17*s.* 1*d.* Prof. Weber attributes the extension of the trade between Alexandria and India to the discovery by Hippalus under Augustus of the trade winds, but these must have been known centuries before to the old Phœnician and Accadian navigators.

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The country from which the above exports, except the sandal wood and gold, were sent, must have been Sindh, Rajputana, Guzerāt, Malwa, and the country round the Gulf of Kambay, called in the Mahābhārata Kārpāsika,[1] and the trade from the interior to Ujjen must have brought the produce of the valley of the Jumna and the Gangetic Doab. The trade in muslins and cottons, which proves that a large number of the people were skilled artisans, must, as I have shown, date back to at least 1700 B.C., and that there is strong reason to believe that it existed at a very much earlier period. The evidence as to the antiquity of the trade given by the use in Greece of the Tamil name for rice is corroborated by the names of the Indian goods brought to Solomon. Similar names to those given to the apes, ivory, peacocks, and algum trees (sandal wood) in the Book of Kings, have been shown by Lassen and Max Müller to exist in Sanskrit, but Dr. Caldwell has shown that these were Tamil words before they became Sanskrit. Now the Aryans did not gain power in the Nerbudda and Tapti valleys till long after the Haihaya power was overthrown by Parasu-Rāma, who killed the Haihaya king Arjuna, and conquered the country.[2] This conquest had taken place very long before the Mahābhārata was written, as the history of the war had become legendary. Before that conquest the town of Sūrpāraka was, we have seen, built by the Vidarbha king, and he was a vassal of the Haihayas. If it had been built after the conquest, it would have been ascribed to the Bhojas, whom we find at the time of the Mahābhārata ruling the country. The early use of the word Sindhu shows that the dialects derived from the Sanskrit had become the common language of the people on the Indus at a very remote period. It is impossible to say with any approach to exactness how long after Aryan tongues were spoken by the people of Pātāla, they were used by the inhabitants of Ujjen; but it was probably the Suvarṇa of Pātāla and Saurāshṭra, the great Indian trading race, who

[1] Sabha (Dyuta) Parva, li. p. 141. The country which sent its produce westward was thus comprised in the divisions of the Sanskrit geographers, called Sindhu, Anarta, Avanti and Panchāla.

[2] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, cxv. to cxvii.

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brought Sanskrit speech southward after they had learned it from the Yādavas, who were connected with the earliest Aryan immigrants. Further evidence on these points will be given in the course of this paper, and here it must suffice to say that the evidence I have now brought forward appears to prove clearly: (1) That the early foreign trade of India with Egypt, Palestine, and the Accad-Semite empire of Assyria was nearly as active as that we find to have existed at the time of Arrian. (2) That the goods shown by the very earliest accounts extant to have been exported prove that the people had reached a very high stage of civilization. That they had established manufactures, worked mines, and grew crops, which showed they were skilful farmers. (3) That the people spoke Tamil dialects, and were Dravidians. And the evidence may also prove (4) that besides the trade with Western countries, they also traded with Ceylon and China. The pearls mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions must have come from Ceylon, and so must those mentioned in the Rigveda,[1] which must have been imported into the Vedic country when the ports were held by Dravidians, as the sea-board had not then been conquered by the semi-Aryan Bhojas. Much of the silk there spoken of was probably made from tusser cocoons which are still found in the Kandesh forests and those of Central India. The weaving of tusser silk is in Bengal one of the oldest of native industries, and the weavers must have learnt the art in the Western country, from whence, as will be shown, they came to Bengal.[2] The mention of Chins among the subjects of King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisha[3] makes it possible that there were some very early Chinese settlers on the Western coast, and they would probably trade in silk; but

[1] Rigv. i. 33. 8; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 53.

[2] Tusser silk, called by him Kausēya, is mentioned by Hiouen Tsiang as worn constantly by the people of the Northern and Southern Panjab. Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. i. pp. 75, 165, and 178. The name Kausēya for tusser silk made from the wild cocoons found in the forest, and the similarity of the names, seems to show that the Kāsāyaṁ, or yellow robes of the Buddhist monks, were originally woven from the tusser or forest silk. Unbleached tusser is of the reddish yellow colour which is prescribed for these robes.

[3] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxvi. p. 79.

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besides the Chinese silk, there was also, I believe, a considerable quantity of tusser silk exported.

The Mahābhārata shows that the dominant power in the country stretching from the Himalayas on the north-east to to the Western coast, was that of the Haihaya kings, and it is to them and the Suvarṇa that the organization of the trade is due. The earliest events referred to in the Mahābhārata are probably later than those recorded in all except the later Vedic hymns. They are those connected with the subversal of the Haihaya rule by the Bhāratas and semi-Aryan Bhojas. The Aryan, or rather the semi-Aryan, allies of the Bhāratas were the eighteen tribes of the Vrishṇis or Bhojas.[1] The next great event recorded in the Mahābhārata is the contest between the tribes of the East and West, which did not take place till the Bhoja supremacy over the western country was quite complete. The Eastern tribes, when attacked by those coming from the West, retaliated, and Jarasandha, king of Magadha, and his generals Hansa, king of the Kuṣikas of Benares, and Dimvuka, also called Chitrasena,[2] drove the Surasena out of Mathura and seized their territory.[3] This they recovered partly by the help of Krishna, the Yādava hero and demi-god, but chiefly by that of the Pāṇḍavas, who were the same as the Surasena, and who went with Krishna to kill Jarasandha.

The account of this war, though less legendary than that of the contest with the Haihayas, is still greatly obscured by mythical matter. The war, as shown by the account of the conquest of Mathura by Jarasandha, and of the expedition of Śiśupala, king of Chedi, against Dwāraka,[4] was a very long business, but we only have detailed accounts of the advance of the Eastern powers westward. The recovery of their dominions by the Western tribes is resolved into the expedition of Krishna, accompanied only by the five Pāṇḍavas, and the killing of Jarasandha in single combat by Bhīma.[5]

[1] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 48.
[2] Sabha (Jarasandha-badha) Parva, xxii. p. 69. Hansa is here called Kuṣika, and the Kuṣikas were the tribe to whom Benares of Kāśi belonged.
[3] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. pp. 46-48.
[4] Sabha (Śiśupala-badha) Parva, xlv. p. 122.
[5] Sabha (Jarasandha-badha) Parva, xxiii. pp. 70–73.

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The final contest in the Mahābhārata is for the command of the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and the possession of Indraprastha, the modern Delhi. This splendid military position provided those who held it with an excellent site for an encampment, from whence they could not only defend themselves against invaders coming from the north, but could also keep the turbulent tribes of the country of the five rivers (the Panjab) in order; control the Gangetic Doab, containing the largest extent of fertile and valuable land in Northern India, and command the routes leading to the sea.

The Purus.—Having in this long digression dealt with the questions relating to the antiquity and dimensions of the Indian trade relating to the purposes of this paper, and sketched the historical series of events recorded in the Mahābhārata, I will now return to the account of the Purus. Puru, said to be the ancestor of the tribe, is described as the son of Yayāti, but his mother was Sharmishtā, daughter of the Asura (Dravidian) king Vrisha-parva. In another account the younger brother of Vrisha-parva is said to have become on earth Ṣalya,[1] who was king of the Madras, whom we have seen were a branch of the Takshakas or Takkas of the Northern Panjab, and were probably the Ajas[2] mentioned in the Rigveda, for Ṣalya's name as an Asura is said to have been Ajaka.[3] Yayāti is said is said to have been accepted as her husband by Devayanī, daughter of the Rishi Sukra or Usana, also called Bhārgava, who was the son of Bhrigu.[4] Devayanī had two sons, Yadu and Turvasu. The mother of Druhyu, Anu and Puru, the remaining three sons of Yayāti, was Sharmishtā, who, though the daughter of a king, became waiting-maid to Devayanī.[5] The order of birth given in the long history of the relations between Yayāti and his wives is repeated again in the more elaborate of the two genealogies

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 194.
[2] Rigv. vii. 18, 19.
[3] The river flowing through the territory of which Ṣākala, the Madra capital, was the chief town, is still called Ajak, or Ayak.
[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 191.
[5] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxxv. to lxxxv. pp. 228 to 260.

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of the Purus given in the Mahābhārata.[1] It is especially insisted on owing to Puru being chosen as Yayāti's heir to the exclusion of his elder and better born brothers, because he gave his youth to restore his father's strength. In the list of the tribes given in the Rigveda, they are named in the same order as in the Mahābhārata,[2] and this is apparently a strong reason for believing that the same tradition as that recorded in the Mahābhārata was also present in the mind of the writer of the Vedic hymn, otherwise a race which attained such importance in Vedic times as the Purus would not have been mentioned as last in the list of the tribes. The account of the birth of the five brothers given in the Mahābhārata concludes by saying that the sons of Yadu are known by the name of Yādavas, those of Turvasu as Yavanas, those of Druhyu as the Bhojas, and those of Anu as the Mleccha or barbarous tribes, while the Purus were the Pauravas. I hope to show in the course of this paper that it is probable that the position of the several tribes in the list is not fortuitous, but involves an important historical statement as to the geographical position of the tribes in Vedic times. Thus the Yadu-Turvasu are the southern tribes which lived in the country between the Indus and the Jumna south of the desert, and who were most nearly connected with the Aryans on the Sarasvatī. The Bhojas, the cattle-herding tribes which lived along the five rivers, the Indus, and proceeded afterwards southward to the valleys of the Nerbudda and Taptī, while the Anu and Puru held the country north of the Purushṇī or Rāvī. From this account of the descent of the Purus one thing is clear, that the authors of the Mahābhārata did not think they had any claims to Aryan descent.

Their importance in Vedic times is shown by the prominent place they occupy in the Rigveda. While Divodasa, the great Tṛtsu king, is continually spoken of as conquering by the help of Indra the mountain tribes of the

[1] Adi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 283.
[2] Rigv. i. 108, 8. This hymn is said to have been written by Kutsa the Puru. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 122.

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Ṣambara, Kutsa, the Puru king, is not less frequently mentioned. He is called Kutsa, the son of Arjuna (the fair hero),[1] and Purukutsa or Kutsa the Puru.[2] He is the charioteer of Indra,[3] when the latter as the cloud-god goes forth to destroy Ṣuschna, the greedy fiend of drought, and in other passages he is united with Indra, they both going together in one chariot for the same purpose.[4] Kutsa is also mentioned in the Rigveda as commanding the Vetasu when they defeated the Tugra. This victory is referred to three times,[5] and all the passages seem to speak of the same event. In two of these passages Kutsa is called Dasadyu, or the ten-fold bright one, and the leadership of Kutsa seems distinctly to show that the Vetasu were either a clan of the Puru tribe, or another name for the whole tribe, but I can find no evidence tending to clear up the difficulty, or any identification of the clan in any of the authorities I have consulted.

It was through the country of the Tugra, who were certainly the same tribe as the Trigarta of the Mahābhārata, that the Aryans must have passed in their progress along the base of the Himalayas to the upper waters of the Sarasvatī. To do this they must have crossed the Julundhur Doab, between the Sutlej and Bias, after they emerged from the hills, and this was the country of the Trigarta.[6] The victory of the Vetasu over the Tugra may have been that gained by the advancing Aryans and their allies in their march to the Sarasvatī. It can hardly have been the repulse of one of the cattle-raids for which the Trigarta were afterwards so famous.[7] Throughout the Mahābhārata the Trigarta are one of the most powerful tribes of the northern Punjab, and the victory of the Aryans and Purus over them must have

[1] Rigv. i. 112. 23; vii. 19. 2; viii. 1. 2.
[2] Rigv. vi. 20. 10; i. 174. 2.
[3] Rigv. ii. 19. 6.
[4] Rigv. vi. 20. 5; vi. 31. 3; iv. 16. 10–12.
[5] Rigv. i. 33. 14 and 15; vi. 26. 4; x. 49. 4.
[6] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 137–139.
[7] See for instance the raid by the Trigarta into the Matsya country to seize their cattle. Virāta (Goharana) Parva, xxv. to lxvi. pp. 65 to 168.

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been considered well worthy of record in the battle-songs of the Aryan bards.

That the Tugra, who are called in the Rigveda the sons of the serpent,[1] did not always remain at feud with the Vetasus and Aryans, is shown in another passage,[2] where the Vetasus, the Daṣoni,[3] and Tugra are said to have been sent by Indra with all their followers to help Dyotana (the bright one), or in other words to help the Aryans. This mention of the Vetasus with other non-Aryan tribes seems to show that they were not considered Aryans by the authors of the Rigveda.

That Kutsa was not an Aryan, but was connected with the snake-worshipping tribes, appears likely from a tradition recorded in the Vishṇu Purāṇa,[4] where Purukutsa is said to have obtained power to conquer the Gandharva at the request of the snake-gods. This is evidently the same legend as that referred to in the Rigveda, where Kutsa, the son of Arjuna (the fair hero), is said by the help of Indra to have conquered the Gandharva.[5] Now in the Mahābhārata Gandharvī and Rohinī are said to have been the daughters of Suravī,[6] Rohinī being the mother of cows, and Gandharvī of horses. The Greek writers call the inhabitants of Gandhāra, which is the ancient name of the Kabul valley and the first Indian territory conquered by Alexander the Great, Assakīnoi,[7] and this name is evidently the same as the Aṣvaka or cavalry[8] of the Sanskrit geographers, and of the people described by Hiouen Tsiang as living in the north of India, and whose king he calls Aṣvapati, or the lord of horses,[9] Aṣva being the Sanskrit for horse. The conquest

[1] Rigv. i. 33. 15.
[2] Rigv. vi. 20. 8.
[3] The Daṣoni are in Atharva Veda 10. 4. 4, called powerful serpents, Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 95.
[4] Vishṇu Purāṇa, bk. iv.
[5] Rigv. viii. 1. 11.
[6] Adi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 193.
[7] Arrian, Indika, chap. i.
[8] Vivien de St.-Martin, Etude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, pp. 376-8.
[9] Beal, Records of the Western World, vol. i. p. 13.

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of the Gandharvi by Kutsa, spoken of in the Rigveda, and Vishṇu Purāṇa, therefore merely means the conquest of the Gandhārvi or horse-owning tribes of the Kabul valley.

In considering the nationality of Kutsa and the Purus there is another point which must be noticed. When the Purus are mentioned by Vasishtha in the account of the battle of the ten kings,[1] they are called "mṛdhravāc." This epithet literally means "speaking softly," and is so interpreted by Sayana, the great Vedic commentator, but, as shown by Zimmer,[2] it is used in all the places in which it occurs in the Rigveda in speaking of the Dasyus or people of the country, and seems to imply that they spoke a different language, and not, as Roth and Grassmann interpret it, that they spoke with women's tongues, or were abusive. The whole evidence is very conflicting. There appears to be little doubt that Kutsa and the Purus were not Aryans, but if not, who were they? The mention of Kutsa as the charioteer of Indra looks as if he was a Gandhārva, who were the charioteers *par excellence*; but against this supposition is to be set the fact that he conquered the Gandhārva. Again, when Kutsā is named as the charioteer of Indra, he is always spoken of as destroying Ṣuschna, the fiend of drought, and this seems clearly to mean that he and his fellow-tribesmen were especially skilled in irrigation, and this description is certainly applicable to the present representatives of the Gandhāri, who live in Kandahar,[3] which is called after them, and are especially good farmers. The whole question will be further considered again when I have concluded the historical account of the Purus, and all that I can say at present is that apparently Kutsa and certainly the Purus were not Aryans. Kutsa seems to have belonged to one of the agricultural tribes of Central Asia, who, in the thirsty lands of that country, had gained great experience in the best methods of

[1] Rigv. vii. 18. 13.
[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 114.
[3] India and the West in Old Days, by Prof. A. Weber, p. 6 note.

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supplying water to the crops, and who imparted that knowledge to the people of India. This would seem to imply a connection between Kutsa and the Kurus, who, as I shall show later on, were the ancestors of the chief agricultural tribes of North India, but who were certainly a race of very early immigrants belonging to one of the great families who trace their descent from the five chief Snake gods.

When we leave Kutsa and come to his successor Trāsadasyu, we find ourselves in the presence of quite a different personage. Trāsadasyu is not a demi-god like Kutsa, but a powerful monarch described as a Samraj or king of kings.[1] It appears from one passage that he was not, as he is elsewhere stated to be, the son of Kutsa, but the son of Kutsa's daughter, the feminine Purukutsī, and not the masculine Purukutsa, being used.[2] He was apparently without doubt the king of Gandhāra, and his capital seems to have been on the river Swat, as in Rigv. viii. 19, 36, the bard praises Trāsadasyu for the horse and cattle[3] he had given him, and which Chyava took across the ford of the Soastos or Swat, and brought to him. There can be little doubt that this capital was the ancient city of Hastinagur. General Cunningham interprets the name to mean eight cities, and shows that it is still applied to the eight towns of Tangi, Shirpao, Umrzai, Urmanzai, Rajur, Charsuda, and Parang,[4] on the north bank of the Swat. He identifies it with the great city called by the Greek writers Peukalaotis, Proklais, or Peukelas, and by the Sanskrit writers Pushkalavati, which held out for thirty days against the forces of Alexander the Great under Hephœstion. This city is said by Arrian to have been the capital of a chief called Astes,[5] and it was, I believe, the original Hastinapore of the Mahābhārata, which

[1] Rigv. viii. 19, 32 and 36; i. 112, 14.
[2] Rigv. vii. 19, 3.
[3] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 107, translates the word *vadhu* "maidens," but cattle is much the most probable translation. The bard would not send Çyava to bring him maidens.
[4] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 50. I shall show reasons in another part of this paper for doubting that Hashti or Hashtinagur means the eight cities. I believe it means the city of Ashti, Ashti being, as I shall show, pp. 307, 308, the sun.
[5] Arrian, Anabasis, iv, 22.

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is said to have been built by King Hasti.[1] The passage I have quoted above from the Rigveda gives strong grounds for believing that this city was the earliest capital of the Purus, and the Mahābhārata makes this conclusion almost a certainty. It is true that Hastinapore, the capital of the Kauravyas, is in the Mahābhārata placed on the Ganges.[2] This Hastinapore on the Ganges may be the city whose ruins are found on the banks of the old Ganges in the Mirat district, which is said to have once been Hastinapore. But this city was not the Kauravya capital, but may have been that of the Pāṇḍava kings after the Kauravyas had been finally defeated in the great war which forms the principal subject of the epic narrative. However true this may be, it is quite impossible that Hastinapore on the Ganges could have been the Kauravya capital before they had conquered Ahikshetra or northern Pançhāla. A long account of the conquest is given in the Mahābhārata,[3] and till it was effected the Kauravya rule did not extend beyond the limits of Kurukshetra, which was on the western bank of the Jumna, and they could not have made Hastinapore their capital, as it was in their enemy's country. Kurukshetra was the frontier outpost of the Kurus, from whence they and their Aryan allies kept guard against the snake-races encamped in the province of Ahikshetra, or the field of the snakes (ahi) on the opposite bank of the river. They too apparently had a snake city in their territory, for the town of Nāgapura, or city of the snakes, from whence the Trigartas and Kauravyas went forth to seize the cattle of the Matsya, and where the Kauravya forces assembled before the last great contest with the Pāṇḍavas,[4] seems to have been situated in Kurukshetra, on the west bank of the Jumna.

All the principal allies of the Kauravyas, Ṣalya, king of the Madras, and Suvala, the son of the Gandhāri king, lived in the Northern Punjab and far away from Panchāla, and

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 284.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxxiii. p. 375.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, p. 140.
[4] Virāta (Goharana) Parva, xxv. p. 65, Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cxlvi. p. 428.

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their capital must have been in the same part of the country. When we find in Hashtinagur or Hashtinapore, a city with the same name as the Kauravya capital, situated on the Swat, where the Puru capital is placed in the Rigveda, and in the middle of the nations most intimately allied with the Kuru-Purus, it is impossible not to believe that this is the original chief city of the tribe from whence the later town in the Mirat district took its name.

To return to the Rigveda, we find that in the time of Purukutsa the Aryans had made their way through the Tugra or Trigarta country, and had settled themselves on the Sarasvatī. We find that they were in strict alliance with Trāsadasyu, king of the Purus, Kutsa's successor, and we may fairly conclude that the Aryans and the rulers of the Gandhāra country had between them acquired supreme influence over all the districts intervening between Gandhāra and the Julundhar Doab, the land of the Trigartas. This was the territory of the Takkas or Takshakas of Takkasilā (the rock (silā) of the Takkas). In the time of Hiouen Tsiang this people were independent, and were ruled by their native sovereigns living in Kashmir.[1] Hiouen Tsiang says that the country was formerly governed by the king of Kapisa or Kabul. In the time of Alexander the Great, the Gandhāri of Kabul seem to have controlled the people of Takkasilā, which was then the capital of the Takka province. The Takkas made no resistance after he had conquered the Gandhāra country, and their prince, called Taxilus by the Greeks, became Alexander's active ally. When the Aryans entered India, the Takkas seem to have been independent, and it was their hill fortresses that Divodasa took from the Puru or Gandhāri king. After the Aryans reached the Sarasvatī, they apparently settled there as the advanced guard of the forces of the northern Gandhāri and Purus, while Trāsadasyu, the son of Kutsa's daughter, ruled the country from his capital on the Swat. Trāsadasyu consolidated and secured the conquests made by Divodasa and

[1] Beal, Records of the Western World, vol. i. p. 166.

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Kutsa, besides perhaps adding to his own dominions, as in a hymn of Vasishtha Trāsadasyu is said to have gained territory in his wars.[1] It is only in the time of Trāsadasyu's son Tṛkshi or Riksha, that we find an agreement between the Vedic genealogies and those in the Mahābhārata,[2] but as the earlier kings in the Mahābhārata lists were, as I shall show later on, Bhārata kings ruling over the country along the Ganges, it is not to be expected that the names of kings of the Kabul country should appear in them. Trāsadasyu's son is called Tṛkshi in two places,[3] but the name Riksha, the son of Arksha the sun, occurs in another hymn where he is called the father of Ṣrutarvan, also called Chavisthta.[4] From this last hymn, it appears that his dominions extended to the Purushṇī, as it is to this river that the bard sings the praises of Chavisthta. It would appear probable that the correct name of the son of Trāsadasyu was Tṛkshi or Taruksha, a name which appears in another hymn as that of a prince who, together with Balbutha the Dasu, or native of the country, gave the bard a hundred buffaloes.[5] The name Riksha was probably given to him after he had accepted the worship of the Ānava Agni which is mentioned in the hymn where he is called Riksha; but the whole subject will be discussed later on.

It was apparently in Ṣrutarvan's reign that the connection with the Bhāratas began; for that there was a close and intimate alliance between the families of the kings of the Eastern and Western Bhāratas and the Kuru kings there can be no doubt. Throughout the Mahābhārata both the Kauravya and Pāṇḍava chiefs are called Bhāratas, and addressed as belonging to the Bhārata race. The whole question is

[1] Rigv. vii. 19, 3. The name Trāsadasyu is generally translated as meaning he who makes his foes to tremble, but I would submit that Trāsa the Dasyu is much more probably the correct translation. He was to the Aryans the great Dasyu and their especial ally. His name, as he was not an Aryan, would not have had any meaning in Sanskrit, and just as the Greeks called the prince of the Takkas Taxilus, the Aryans would have called the great northern king the Dasyu, the representative of the native races.

[2] For these genealogies see Appendix A.

[3] Rigv. xiii. 22, 7; vi. 46, 8.

[4] Rigv. viii. 74, 4 and 15.

[5] Rigv. viii. 46, 32.

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one of great difficulty, arising from the evident distortion of the genealogies to make the Bhārata kings descendants of the sun-hero Riksha. The name Riksha occurs twice in these genealogies,[1] once as the first of a series of kings, which will be shown later on to be a list in the form of a genealogy of the races which united formed that called Bhārata. The sun-hero Riksha, king of the northern Kurus or Kauravyas, married Jwala, the daughter of Takshaka. In other words, the Kurus allied themselves with the Takshakas, and became, as I have shown they did, the rulers of the Takka country. Their son married the Sarasvatī, and the grandson of Matinara and the Sarasvatī was Ilina or Ila, who, as will be shown later on, was the original progenitor of the races descended from Yayāti.

The Riksha, whose name is entered in this part of the genealogy, is a wholly mythical personage, and the really intimate alliance between the Kurus, Bhāratas, and the Aryans on the Sarasvatī, did not take place till Samvaraṇa, the son of the second Riksha, who is a much more real person than the first, allied himself with the Aryans, or, as stated in the genealogies, married Tapatī, daughter of Vivaswan, the Sun, and became the father of Kuru. Riksha, Samvaraṇa's father, was probably Triksha or Rikṣha, the son of Trāsadasyu. There is no direct evidence to prove whether Samvaraṇa and Śrutarvan were one and the same person. The only mention of Samvaraṇa in the Rigveda is in a late hymn, where the successors of Samvaraṇa are spoken of.[2] It seems, however, exceedingly probable that the great war mentioned in one of the genealogies in the Mahābhārata, in which the Panchālas attacked Samvaraṇa and drove him and the Bhāratas back to the Indus, is the same as that in which the battle of the ten kings took place.[3]

War of the Ten Kings.—This war, in which the Tṛtsus were opposed to their earlier allies the Purus, occurred certainly long after the time of Trāsadasyu, as in the

[1] See Genealogies in Appendix A.
[2] Rigv. viii. 51. 1.
[3] Adi (Sambhava) Parva, xciv. p. 280.

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same hymn in which Vasishtha asks Indra to give Sudas, son of Divodasa, and leader of the Tṛtsus in the defeat of the ten kings, the same help he formerly gave to his predecessors, the conquests of Trāsadasyu are treated as an old story,[1] Neither Śrutarvan nor Samvaraṇa are mentioned as leaders among the tribes conquered by Sudas; the only leaders mentioned being Yakshu, chief of the Turvasus,[2] and Kavasha of the Vaikarna;[3] but the Kuru were apparently one of the two tribes called collectively Vaikarna, and Kavasha is probably much more like the real name of the Kuru king than the arianized Samvaraṇa; which appears to be a honorific title like Samraj, and to mean a king of a number of castes or races (*varṇa*) (collected) together (*sama*). In that sense it might be the Sanskrit term used for the king of the Vaikarna or two united tribes of the Kurus and Takkas. The Ajas, who are represented later on as paying tribute of horses' heads to the Tṛtsus, after the battle,[4] may perhaps, as I have before stated, be the Madra section of the Takkas.

There are in the Rigveda two hymns giving an account of the war from the victor's point of view. They are both written by Vasishtha, the priest and bard of the Tṛtsu. One is a hymn to Indra giving a graphic account of the battle,[5] and the other addressed to Indra-Varuna, not entering into details, but giving most important information as to the allies of the Tṛtsus.[6] The first verse of the latter of these two hymns, as translated by Roth,[7] runs as follows: "Those rejoicing in battle, advance with broad spears, looking to you (Indra-Varuna) and your friendship. You have overthrown opponents, oppressors and enemies. With your protection, Indra and Varuna, you have guarded Sudas." The words translated here "with broad spears" are "pṛthu-parsava," and those translated "opponents, oppressors and enemies,"

[1] Rigv. vii. 19, 3.
[2] Rigv. vii. 18, 6.
[3] Rigv. vii. 18, 12; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 127.
[4] Rigv. vii. 18, 19.
[5] Rigv. vii. 18.
[6] Rigv. vii. 83.
[7] Roth, zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda, p. 129.

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are "Dāsa, Vṛtra and Āriāni." With regard to this last translation, I will only remark that I cannot see why the words should not be translated according to the meaning they usually bear in the Rigveda, that is, Dāsus or people of the country, Vṛtra or the snake races (Indra is the great killer of Vṛtra, the snakes), and Āriāni Aryans.[1] There is considerable controversy as to the meaning of the words "Pṛthu parsava." Zimmer,[2] commenting on the passage, says that, according to Sayana, "parsu" means bill-hooks or axes, and "pṛthu" means broad. Roth in his translation merely follows Sayana. Ludwig, on the other hand, makes Pṛthu Parsu to mean two tribes, and thinks that Pṛthu means the Parthians, and Parsu the Persians. Zimmer, thinking it impossible that the Parthians and Persians should have done what Alexander the Great failed to do, and have penetrated into India as far south as the Sarasvatī, retains Sayana's and Roth's interpretation.

I must say that it seems to me that Ludwig's translation is much more in accordance with probability and historical evidence than the traditional translation. Why should the poet talk of broad spears and broad axes? Surely in speaking of the great war it is much more likely that he should mention the tribes engaged in it, and in doing so he would naturally name the two chief races of the Aryan confederacy. We know from the poem giving the detailed account of the battle that the Aryans had allies. If it can be proved that any tribes bearing the names Pṛthu and Parsu existed in Vedic times in the Vedic country, and that they probably took part in the war, it is surely more probable that the poet should name them rather than substitute an unmeaning and undistinctive epithet for the tribal names of the people referred to.

It can be proved from other passages in the Rigveda that there were two tribes called Pṛthu and Parsu; and that these

[1] Indra is throughout the Rigveda the warrior-god, and the victors in every contest, whether Aryans or non-Aryans, ascribe their success to Indra. Instances of this will be given further on in discussing the questions connected with religion.

[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 135.

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tribes took a part in the decisive battle of the war can be shown to be probable, both from the list of the tribes composing the Aryan forces given in Vasishtha's account of it, and also from the Mahābhārata. We read of a king Kānīta, who is called Pṛthuṣravas[1] (the glory of the Pṛthuṣ), and in another hymn the Sṛnjaya are called Pṛthu.[2] The bard calls the twenty pair of chariot-cattle with their equipments given to him by the leader of the Sṛnjayas the gift of the Pṛthu race, and throughout the Mahābhārata the Sṛnjayas are spoken of as one with the Panchālas.[3]

That these Pṛthu or Panchālas were Parthians is, I would submit, not by any means so improbable as it appears to be to Zimmer. There is in the Rigveda clear proof that the Aryan Tṛtsus had among their allies in this war a people closely allied to the tribes of horsemen called Parthians in Central Asia. In the detailed account of the battle of the ten kings the Paktha are named among the allies of the Tṛtsu.[4] The Paktha, as Zimmer shows,[5] are evidently the same people whom Herodotus calls *Πάκτυες*, whose capital was *Κασπαπύρος*. This city is called by Hecatæus a Gandaric city,[6] and the people are said to live near the Darda of Kashmir. Kāsyapa or Kāṣyakapura[7] was on the Indus, or rather on the Chenāb, one of its chief tributaries, as it was thence that Scylax, Darius's general, sailed on his voyage down the Indus in 509 B.C. Kaṣyapa or Kāsyapura is one of the names of Multan,[8] and it was there that a general, coming down the Indus with an army, would naturally embark on the river,

[1] Rigv. viii. 46. 21 and 24. A king called Pṛthuṣravasa is named in the Mahābhārata, Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, as the father of Kāmā, queen of Ayuta-Nayi, one of the Bharata. See Appendix A., No. 11, Genealogy II.

[2] Rigv. vi. 27. 8.

[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxl. pp. 408 to 413, and many other places.

[4] Rigv. vii. 18. 7.

[5] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 434.

[6] This means that it was conquered by the Gandhāri, for it was originally a city of the Malli. The name Kaṣyapura proves, as I shall show later on when I come to speak of the Gandhāri, that this tribe had acquired sufficient influence and power there to call the city of the Malli by their own name; but this probably took place long after the battle of the ten kings. At the time of that battle the Paktha or Paktues were probably the same people as the Chitraratha of the Rigveda, and lived in the Northern Panchāla country, close to the Tṛtsus.

[7] Weber, India and the West in Old Days, p. 6.

[8] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 232; Alberuni's India, edited and translated by Prof. E. Sachau, chap. xxix. vol. i. p. 298.

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as it would be easier to sail down the stream than march through the desert. Therefore, according to Herodotus and Hecatæus, the Πάκτυες, who lived near Kāṣyapura, were Gandhāri, and it is they who were the Paktha, the allies of the Tṛtsus. I have before spoken of the connection between the Chitraratha, whom we find fighting with the Aryan armies against the Yadu Turvasu, and the Gandharvi, and also of that between the Gandharvi and Gandhāri. And now we find the Paktha or Afghans, who were also Gandhāri, allied with the Aryans and fighting on their side, just as the Chitraratha fought on the side of the Arṇa. Surely the probability is that these Paktha, who as Gandhāri are also called Asvaka or the cavaliers, were the same tribe as the Parthians, who were the cavalry of Central Asia. When to these arguments are added the facts that the Panchāla or Sṛnjayas are said to be of the Pṛthu race, and that as sons of Pṛthu they would be called Pārtha, the identification becomes nearly certain. Throughout the Mahābhārata the hero Arjuna is continually called Pārtha, but this appellation is explained in the poem by stating that his mother's name was Pṛthu. But this supernatural birth was merely a legend, invented to make the Pāṇḍavas descendants of the Sun.

To sum up the arguments here adduced, I would urge that if it is admitted that the Paktha probably were the same tribe as are elsewhere called Gandhāri, Aṣvaka,[1] and Chitraratha, it is also exceedingly probable that they were the tribe called Partha, Srṇjaya or Panchāla. If it be further admitted that the defeat of Samvaraṇa, recorded in the Mahābhārata, and the battle of the ten kings, are one and the same event, the statement of the Mahābhārata that Samvaraṇa was defeated by the Panchālas would quite agree with the accounts in the Rigveda where the Pṛthu are named as one of the chief of the two victorious tribes. It is not by any means impossible that an Indian tribe should call themselves Pārtha, as their forefathers did in Central Asia. On

[1] In the Brihat Sanhita, 22. 23, they are spoken of as Asmaka, and are mentioned as living next to the Madras (translation by Prof. Kern, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. p. 85).

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the contrary, it is exceedingly probable that for a long time after entering India they would use the ancestral name to which they had always been accustomed. The name *Πάρθοι* was known to Herodotus,[1] and though the term was modified subsequently, it is evidently the oldest form of the name, and this would probably have been still retained by those sections of the tribe who emigrated south-west to India.

In another hymn[2] the Yadus are called Parṣu, and it would appear to be a general name for the Aryan people. There is strong evidence of the early and intimate connection between the Zoroastrian Persians and the people on the banks of the Indus, in the legend in the Bhāvishya Purāṇa, which tells how Ṣamba, the son of Krishna, brought Magi from Ṣakadvipa to officiate in the Temple of the Sun at Multan.[3] I cannot see any improbability in Aryan Sun-worshippers, who came from Irān, maintaining relations with those they left behind in their original home. The arguments as to their retention of their ancient name are exactly similar to those I have used in the case of the Parthians. *Πέρσα*,[4] the vocative of the Greek *Πέρσης*, used by Herodotus, is the same word as Pārṣu, and must have been the original name of the Persians. Their successors, the Pārsis, who came into India from Persia at the time of the Mahommedan conquest, have always continued to call themselves Pārsis or Persians, and I do not see why their predecessors should not have done the same thing. The difference in the case of the early Aryans is that their national name became obscured and forgotten when they became amalgamated with the aboriginal tribes. Up to the time of the battle of the ten kings, the Aryans had been a distinct people; but after this victory, and their subsequent alliance with the Kurus, the process of uniting the Aryans with the people of the country began, and the great Brahmin conception of a number of subordinate tribes ruled by a very small Aryan minority began to be evolved. The war in

[1] Herod. 101. 93.
[2] Rigv. 6. 46.
[3] Prof. A. Weber, India and the West in Old Days, p. 20.
[4] Liddell and Scott, Πέρσης.

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which the battle of the ten kings took place is traditionally supposed to have originated out of the religious differences between the schools of Vasishtha and Visvāmitra; but this seems to be exceedingly doubtful. The great dispute between the strict Brāhmins of Vasishtha's school and those who followed the more liberal doctrines identified with Visvāmitra, belonged to a much later time than that I am now writing about. The great quarrel only arose long after Aryan supremacy had been accepted, and the Brahmin conception that it is intellect, tact, and perseverance which rules the world, had been shown to be justified by results. It could not have occurred at an earlier period, nor before the Aryan doctrines had been formulated, consolidated, discussed, and preached throughout the country by successive schools of Brahmins, and it probably belonged to the time of the Brāhmaṇas, or somewhat after that date, as the Brāhmaṇas are more liberal than the law-books. When the battle of the ten kings took place, Brahmins and Brahminism were unknown. The Aryans were merely a tribe among others, who had, like their neighbours, their tribal gods. But there was an essential difference between their tribal gods and those of their neighbours who worshipped the earth under the symbol of the snake or phallus. The early form of this latter religion was very different from the later form of Ṣiva-worship, and was more immediately derived from the original totemistic ideas. The snake-worshipping races regarded the snake as their father, as they had previously thought their totemistic gods to be their ancestors; but the diversified ancestral species of totemism had now become one species, composed of individual snakes, each of whom was named and called the father of a separate tribe. With the Aryans the idea of the paternity of their god was also present, but it was the heaven which was their father and mother, and not the earth. This idea was derived from the totemistic phase of thought through which they, like all Asiatic tribes, appear to have passed in their progress towards civilization. It lay at the bottom of the Aryan religion, and its further development resulted in the worship of the most powerful of the

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offspring of the sky. These were the sun and the god of the clouds and rain. It was in these conceptions that dualism originated, but the dualism of the Indian Aryans was not that of the later Zoroastrians. The Zoroastrians held the two powers to represent the two spirits of good and evil, mutually opposed to and working against one another. The evil spirit working ill, while the good spirit counteracted its influence, and the evil spirit, on the other hand, tried to spoil the work done by the good deity.

The Aryan dualism was quite different from this doctrine. The sun and fire and the god of clouds and rain were, in certain aspects, the most beneficent, and in others the most destructive agents, and both were alike bad and good. It was the sun and fire which gave life, light, and heat; but it was also the sun which burnt up the pasturage, and made a rich pastoral country a desert. It was these latter evil influences which Indra, the rain-god, counteracted; but he again, if unchecked by the sun, produced floods, which destroyed both crops and cattle. Both gods were therefore asked for benefits, and both propitiated by sacrifices, to induce them to abstain from hurting their worshippers. In the next stage of development Indra, Sakra,[1] or in popular parlance Sakko, became the god of the warriors; but he then ceased to be a purely Aryan god. Aryan military prowess inspired all the neighbouring tribes with a great reverence for the Aryan war-god, and he accordingly became the god invoked by all the military tribes, whether Aryan or non-Aryan; and when they were successful, their success was ascribed to Indra. Thus we find in the Rigveda Indra praised for giving victory to the Yadu-Turvasu over the Aryan Arna and Chitrāratha.[2] Again, it was by Indra's help that the Sṛnjaya defeated the Turvasu and Vrishivants.[3] It was Indra who encouraged the Bhṛigus and Yatis (the sons of Yayāti),[4] and it was the Yatis and Bhṛigus who were dear

[1] Sakra was most probably the warrior god of the Sakas, Scythians or Bhojas, worshipped under the symbol of the sword. He became amalgamated with Indra, the Aryan god of the clouds and rain.
[2] Rigv. iv. 30. 18.
[3] Rigv. vi. 27. 5.
[4] Rigv. viii. 3. 9.

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to Indra.[1] But when Indra ceased to be the exclusively Aryan god, and came to be worshipped by non-Aryan tribes, a similar process was followed in the development of sun-worship. The Sun-god became Kṛishna, the sun-god of the black (Kṛshna) races, and it was this last movement which produced the conflict between the schools of Vasishtha and Viṣvāmitra. The school of Vasishtha, wishing to confine sun worship to those they considered Aryans, and to keep them as a class apart from the rest of the people; while the Brahmins of Viṣvāmitra's school wished all the people to become sun-worshippers like the Aryans. It is very doubtful if these or other religious differences ever caused war in India till a very much later period, and they certainly did not cause it at the time I am now discussing. The question at issue was a purely political one, as to whether the northern and western tribes should crush the confederacy of the Aryan Tṛtsu and their allies. The Aryan Tṛtsu and the Panchālas evidently dreaded the growing power of the Kurus and Takkas, when strengthened by their alliance with the Bhāratas, while the northern and western tribes were no less jealous of the central races, and perhaps saw the political consequences that would probably follow the Aryan missionary propaganda, which had already begun in Vedic times. It is, I believe, the Kuru-Takkas who are named as Vaikaṛna in the Vedic account of the battle. Zimmer[2] considers these people to be the Kuru-Krivi, afterwards the Kuru-Panchāla; but this appears to me not to be tenable. There is no evidence that the Panchāla, who were, according to the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, once called Krivi, ever ruled the country north of the Purushṇī, which, at the time of the war, we know belonged to the Kuru kingdom, and there is distinct evidence that the Vaikarna were a people living in the Kashmir country. Zimmer quotes Hemachandra as giving Kashmir as the translation of Vikarnika, and I have already shown the relations between the Takkas of Kashmir and the rulers of the Swat country, and how intimately they

[1] Rigv. viii. 6. 18.
[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 103.

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were allied at the time of the war. That the Bhārata joined the alliance is made certain by the Rigveda. One of the hymns of Vasishtha's Maṇḍala, referring to the battle of the ten kings, tells how the Tṛtsus there drove the weak Bhāratas before them like oxen,[1] and how the Tṛtsu enlarged their dominions at their expense.

The names of the tribes composing the alliance against the Aryans and Panchālas are given in full in the great hymn of Vasishtha celebrating the victory of Sudas.[2] They are the Turvasu, Matsya, Bhṛigu, Druhyu, Vaikarṇa, Anu, Puru, Ajas, and Chigru. The Turvasu, Matsya, and Bhṛigu were, as will be shown further on, tribes living on the banks of the Indus south of the Purushṇī, or in the hilly country of Western Rajputana. The tribes north of the Purushṇi were the Vaikarṇa, Anu, Puru, Ajas, and perhaps the Chigru, and also the Druhyu; if the Druhyu were, as I believe they were, the Kāmbhojas, the Matsya and Bhṛigu formed the Bhārata section of the confederacy; the Vaikarṇa, Anu, Puru, and Aja the Kuru section; while the Druhyu and the Turvasu, whose capital was afterwards if not then Multan, lived near the Indus and Purushṇī, and formed the connecting link between the two wings.

Opposed to these were the Tṛtsu, Paktha, Alinas, Bhalānas, Vishāṇin, and Ṣiva. I have already identified the Paktha with the Pṛthu and Panchāla, and I cannot find any clue as to who the Alinas and Bhalānas were. If they are merely clan names, it will probably be impossible to trace them, and the only chance of success is in careful local inquiry in the country near the Sarasvatī. As to the Vishāṇin and Ṣiva, I do not think there is the same difficulty. These two names are translated by Roth,[3] following Sayana, as epithets meaning the "spending" and the "fortunate" people; but Sayana translates all the names Paktha, Alinas, and Bhalānas as epithets; and if he is right in doing this in some cases, he must be right in all, or vice versâ.

The Vishāṇin must, I would urge, be the Yadava Vrishṇis

[1] Rigv. vii. 33. 1 to 6.
[2] Rigv. vii. 18.
[3] Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda, p. 95.

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in the form of the sons of Vishnu. The eighteen tribes of the Vrishṇis or Yādavas in the days of the Mahābhārata lived in the country round Mathura,[1] and were known to the authors of the Mahābhārata and to Arrian[2] as the Surasena. This country has always been noted as the headquarters of Vishnu worship, and as Vishnu was a god well known to Vedic writers, there is every probability that his worshippers would be known by a separate name among the early Aryan tribes, especially as they were certainly only half Aryans. It is they who are also called Parṣu, as I have before noticed, and they were especially sun-worshippers; hence their name Surasena, the army of the sun. Vishnu, if they were called by his name, must have been their special god, just as Indra was the god of the warrior tribes.

This people, who lived in such near neighbourhood to the Panchālas of the Gangetic Doab, the Tṛtsus on the Sarasvatī, and the Matsyas, must have been engaged on one side or the other in this great war. The balance of evidence is in favour of their being on the side of the Tṛtsus, as the names Vishāṇin and Parṣu both seem to refer to the Yādavas or Surasena, and there is no sign of them in the list of tribes on the other side. As sun-worshippers and semi-Aryans they would be more likely to take the part of the Tṛtsus than that of their enemies, while on purely political grounds they would probably rather act in combination with the Panchālas and Tṛtsus than against them. If the Panchālas and Tṛtsus were crushed by the northern and western tribes, they would be sure to suffer a similar fate at their hands. It therefore seems to me that under the names Paktha and Vishāniṇ, and the collective name Pṛthu-Parṣu the Panchālas and Yādavas must be represented as the principal allies of the Tṛtsus.

As for the Ṣiva, there can be no doubt that they were what Zimmer shows them to have been, the Σίβαι or Σίβοι of Strabo, Arrian, and Diodorus.[3] They were also the same

[1] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. pp. 46 and 47.
[2] Arrian Indika, chap. xvii.
[3] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 431.

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people whose eponymous ancestor Śiva, the son of Uṣīnara, is so frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The tribe of the Uṣīnara is spoken of in the Rigveda,[1] and they are said in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa to live in the middle country with the Kuru-Panchāla. They are, as I will show afterwards, included among the principal tribes of the east country in the legend of Gālava in the Mahābhārata, which gives the mythical story of the origin of these tribes.[2] The name Uṣīnara may perhaps be connected with Ushas, the dawn; and if so, it will give a further proof of their eastern origin. Uṣīnara is called in the Mahābhārata king of the Bhojas, a generic name of the race of cattle herdsmen, and these people were therefore the cattle herdsmen of the north-eastern countries of India. In the time of Alexander the Great's invasion, a section of the widespread tribe of Śiva-Bhojas had apparently settled themselves on the Jhilum, for it is there, close to Multan, that they are placed by Strabo.[3] We also find them in the Mahābhārata among the vassals of the king of Sindhu-Suvarṇa, at the time of the rape of Draupadi, which shows that a section of the tribe must also have lived on the eastern bank of the Indus near its mouth.

Before identifying the clan of the Śiva-Bhoja tribe, to which the allies of Tṛtsus belonged, it is necessary to consider the military situation carefully. A hymn of the third Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, attributed to the Bhārata bards, known under the common name of Viśvāmitra, has always been considered, and I think rightly, to give an account of the plan of campaign of the Bhāratas and their allies.[4] In it the bard addresses the Vipaś and Sutudri (the Bias and Sutlej), and prays them to give an easy passage to the Bhārata forces. From this it appears that the army of the Bhārata confederacy was encamped on the Purushṇī, the southern boundary of the Kuru-Takka dominions, that they intended to march southward across the Bias and Sutlej, and attack the Tṛtsus and Panchālas on

[1] Rigv. x. 59. 10; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 130.
[2] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cxvii. p. 344.
[3] Strabo, xv. 8.
[4] Rigv. iii. 33.

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the upper waters of the Sarasvatī beyond the Sutlej. This attack made by a route which would require them to cross both rivers would lead them directly through the Julundhar Doab country, belonging to the Tugra or Trigarta,[1] who were, as we have seen, a tribe of cattle-herdsmen. In order to do this peacefully it was necessary to ally themselves with the Tugra. But in forming this alliance they were anticipated by the Tṛtsu, who gained over the Tugra, called here by their generic name of Ṣiva, and secured for themselves the unopposed passage of the Sutlej and Bias. It was therefore the Ṣivas or Eastern Bhojas of Panchāla, who were the allies of the Aryans; while the Druhyu or Western Bhojas on the Indus, known later as Kāmbhojas, were on the Kuru Bhārata side. While the Bhārata and their allies were deliberating on the Northern side of the Purushṇī, the tribes they proposed to conquer wisely determined to take the initiative. As Indra according to the bard made the fords across the Sutlej and Bias[2] easy for him and his army, Sudas apparently surprised his enemies by unexpectedly placing his forces in battle array on the southern bank of the river on which the northern confederacy was encamped. The description of the battle given in Vasishtha's hymn makes its incidents perfectly clear. The Bhārata and their allies were evidently flurried and confused at the sudden appearance of the people they thought were awaiting their attack in their own country. They at once determined to punish them for their insolence, and the Turvasu, under Yaksha, their leader,[3] plunged into the Purushṇī, thinking, "fools as they were, to cross it as easily as on dry land; but the lord of the earth (Pṛthivi)[4]

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 137.
[2] Rigv. vii. 18. 5.
[3] Rigv. vii. 18. 6. Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda, p. 95
[4] Roth, following the Sanskrit commentators, makes Pṛthivi to be the female god of the space between the heaven and earth, but translates the word as I have given it in the text. Max Müller (Lectures on the Science of Language, second series, p. 432, ed. 1864) quotes Rigv. i. 131. 1, where both the Great Pṛthivi and Dyu are said to have bowed before Indra. Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, p. 134) shows that in the Atharvaveda, the origin of agriculture is ascribed to Pṛthu, and that in the Ṣatapatha and Taittareya Brāhmaṇas he is called the first king of the earth. It appears to me that the god of the powerful

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seized them in his might. Herds and herdsmen were destroyed." This description shows that the attack was made suddenly and unadvisedly. The attacking forces entered the river without carefully ascertaining where the ford was, the stream was stronger than they thought, and many were swept away by its force. The next three verses show that the attacking party could not, according to Sayana's interpretation, bring their horses and chariots into action owing to the violence of the current, and those who succeeded in crossing reached the other side in confusion "like cattle without a herdsman." Sudas took advantage of this, completely routed them, and slew great numbers. He did not delay to follow up his success, but crossed the river, stormed the strongholds of the enemy, "took their seven cities, divided the goods of the Anu among the Tṛtsus, and conquered the Purus,[1] and made the Turvasus, Ajas, and Chigrus pay tribute."[2] The result of this war gives even a higher proof of the political genius of the Aryan leaders than that afforded by the conduct of the campaign. Instead of attempting to complete the destruction of their enemies, they allied themselves with the Kuru king Samvaraṇa, who also showed political sagacity in accepting the alliance offered. He, as stated in the Mahābhārata, joined the Aryans, made Vasishtha his spiritual guide, and married Tapatī, the daughter of the Surasena (Vivasvat, the Sun). Their son was Kuru. After Kuru's birth the names Puru and Paurava disappear, and the people are always called Kauravya in the Mahābhārata. This alliance continued unbroken for a very long period, to the mutual advantage of both parties. The Aryans became the chief advisers of the Kuru kings, the leaders of their armies, and the real though not the ostensible rulers of their country. The Aryan settle-

tribe of the Pṛthus is the original meaning of the expression and not the metaphysical interpretations of Brahmin commentators. I shall show that the Panchāla country of the Pārthas was the principal centre of Ṣiva-worship, and we know its northern province was called Ahikshetra (the field of snakes), and therefore the lord of the earth would be a right translation of an expression which meant the god of the earth-worshippers. The expression is exactly similar to those so frequently found in the Bible.

[1] Rigv. vii. 18. 13.

[2] Rigv. vii. 18. 19.

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ments on the Sarasvatī became incorporated in the Kurukshetra before alluded to, and the province remained as the eastern boundary of the Kauravya territory till the united Aryans and Kurus conquered Ahikshetra and advanced to the Ganges. This advance probably took place during the reign of Ṣantanu, who is said to have married the Gungā,[1] meaning that he was the first Kuru king who extended their rule to the Ganges. He is probably a real person, as his name is found in the Rigveda,[2] where he is spoken of as a king, while Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu, the reputed fathers of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, are certainly mythical. From this period the Gangetic Doab, which before belonged entirely to the Panchālas, became known as the country of the Kuru-Panchālas. But though the rule of the Kauravya kings before the conquest of Ahikshetra ended on the Western bank of the Northern Jumna, yet large numbers of the great Kauravya people had probably emigrated southwards and eastwards long before. It was their emigration which probably prepared the way for the Kuru conquest of Northern Panchāla. On their first advent to the Panchāla country, they were probably accepted as most desirable immigrants by the ruling powers, who belonged, as I shall show subsequently, to the race known in ancient times as the Irāvata or Haihayas, and who are the ancestors of the modern Gonds. They would have been welcome colonists anywhere, as they are the most skilful farmers of all the agricultural races of Northern India, who can trace their history back to the days of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata. These people are still found under their original name of Kaurs in Chattisghur in the Central Provinces and the adjoining states of Chota Nagpore. These districts all formed part of the great country known as Mahā Kosala,[3] which was ruled up to the time of the Mahratha conquest in 1741 A.D. by kings of

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxl. p. 408.
[2] Rigv. x. 98. 27.
[3] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, places the capital of Mahākosala at Chanda, in the District of that name in the Central Provinces, but the kingdom extended far to the east of Chanda to the borders of Orissa, and is coterminous with the ancient Gondwana. The capitals have been successively placed at Mandla, Chanda, and Rutunpore in the Belaspore district.

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the Haihaya dynasty, who were originally Gonds. The earliest rulers of Northern Kosala or Ayodhya doubtless belonged to the same tribe. I can vouch from my personal knowledge of the districts for the former and present importance of the Kaurs in Chattisghar and Chota Nagpore. Kaur chiefs hold and have held for ages all the most important fiefs surrounding Rutunpore in the Belaspore District of the Central Provinces, which was the last of the capitals of the Gond Haihaya dynasty.[1] They were formerly rulers under the Haihaibansis of the tributary state of Sirgoojya, and hold the best lands in that of Raighur in Sambulpore. These fiefs were formerly the outpost provinces of the Gond kingdom extending up to the boundary of Oḍhra or Orissa. Men belonging to the Ruttia clan of the Kaurs were always in great demand as frontier guards in all the states of Chota Nagpore, for they were as good soldiers as agriculturists. Their villages form the greatest contrast to those of the Gonds, Bhuyas, and other aboriginal tribes in their neighbourhood. In all Kaur townships the houses are substantial and well-built, their lands most carefully tilled, well weeded and manured, irrigated, and, where necessary, provided with well-constructed and well-designed tanks. They are a totemistic people, and lay no claim to Aryan descent, though the leading clans and chiefs, as is common among aboriginal races, call themselves Rajputs. But this is done only to assert their respectability, and they do not insist on their claim further than to call themselves Rajput Kaurs when questioned. Their customs are more allied to those of the Kolarian than the Dravidian races, as they do not follow the Dravidian custom of separating the children of both sexes from their parents as they approach maturity, and of educating them with those of the same sex which are born in the village. They are not however pure Kolarians, as there is among them a strong infusion of a much stronger, sterner, and more persevering temperament than that belonging to the improvident and excitable Koles.

[1] Kaur chiefs hold the states of Mahtin, Ooprora, Korba, and I think Kowurdha also.

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In the Mahābhārata the Kauravyas seem to be, as they are now, an unlettered people. The only Brahmins at the court of the Kauravya king Dhritarāshtra, were Drona, the son of Bhāradvāja, belonging to the Brahmin family of that name, and Kripa, the grandson of Gautama, the founder of another Brahmin clan called Gautama.[1] They apparently were only skilled in military science, and were not learned in the Vedas. They only taught the young Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes the use of arms, and there is no trace of Brahminism in the accounts of their teaching, for Drona brought up Ekalavya, son of the Nishadha king, with the other young princes, and only exacted a higher fee for his services on account of the inferiority of his birth. He obliged him to allow the thumb of his right hand to be cut off, as his fee for teaching him to shoot with the bow.[2]

The Kūrmis of the present day, who are in the North-west and Bengal the principal representatives of the Kauravyas, are, as far as my experience goes, opposed to Brahminism. Those in Bengal and the Central Provinces are generally followers of the unitarian creed of Kabir the weaver-prophet, who taught at Benares in the sixteenth century A.D.,[3] and call themselves Kabirpuntis.

As for the name Kuru or Kaur, Lassen connects it with the root *kar*, and thinks it means the diggers, etc.,[4] and I shall point out later on the connection of the tribe with the Kūrma or tortoise when I discuss the Mahābhārata legends dealing with the history of the snake race. Lassen's derivation is probably right, if the name is really a Sanskrit name given to these people by the Aryans; but I should look for it rather among roots occurring in the aboriginal languages than in Sanskrit. The persistence of the name among tribes who have lived so entirely separate from Sanskrit-speaking races, and who still retain own aboriginal nomenclature, seems certainly to point to an aboriginal not Sanskrit origin of the name. The Kauravyas appear, like the Takshakas,

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxx. and cxxxi. pp. 380-385.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxxiv. pp. 393–395.
[3] He died about 1572 A.D.
[4] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 103.

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among the five royal snake races mentioned in the Mahābhārata,[1] and though Takshaka is derived from the Sanskrit Takshak, the original name Takka is entirely of native origin. The original name of the Kurus must apparently have been Kūr.

As for the name Puru, it occurs constantly through the Rigveda, but in the Mahābhārata it is only, as I have shown, used in connection with the Kauravas up to the time of the birth of Kuru. We also find the name Paurava in several places in the Mahābhārata used as the name of another people. The most satisfactory passage for identifying the country where this people lived is in the very full lists of nations conquered by the Pandava princes. Among the conquests of Arjuna, Visvagaswa of the Puru race is mentioned.[2] This king lived among the mountains, apparently near Kashmir, as the Kashmiris are the next people Arjuna conquered after the Purus. They would therefore appear to be a northern people like the Kurus. But it was the Kurus, and not the small tribe of which Viswagaswa was king, who were the northern race celebrated in history, and it is impossible to believe that the people who so materially helped the Aryans in subduing the mountain races should, in the time of the Mahābhārata, have become an unimportant mountain tribe. The king of the Kuntibhojas is called Purujit,[3] but the name here I believe means conqueror of cities. I would suggest that it might be possible that "Puru," the tribe, and "pur," the city or citadel, might have something to do with one another, and that Pūrava might mean the people of cities or the city-builders. Certainly all the oldest cities in India, such as Hastinagur, Takkasilā, Sākala, Sūrpāraka, Pātāla, and even Benares, were not built by Aryans. Divodaṣa, the great Tṛtsu conqueror, was a great destroyer of cities. When the Aryans entered India, they must, as I have shown in the section on trade, have found the country well provided with cities, and a great contrast to the less populous and

[1] Ādi (Astika) Parva, lvii. p. 157.
[2] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxviii. p. 81.
[3] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 45.

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more pastoral country they had left in their early home in Eastern Irān. It is therefore at least probable that they would have called the snake races who built the cities by a name which, to their experience, was specially distinctive, and have spoken of them as the men of the cities or the city-builders. This is by no means inconsistent with the lists of the sons of Yayāti given in the Mahābhārata and Rigveda. This list is apparently intended to be an exhaustive division of the people of the country between the Indus and Jumna, from an Aryan point of view, for none of the names, except that of the Yadus, are those used by the people themselves. The list begins with the tribes in the south which are massed together under the names Yadu and Turvaṣu. These tribes, from their alliance and close connection with the Aryans, are described as half Aryan. The other three names, Druhyu, Anu, and Puru, comprise the tribes north of the Purushṇī, which are described as non-Aryans. It will be shown that neither the Yadus, Turvaṣu, Anu, or Druhyu originally belonged to the snake-worshipping races, and unless the Purus mean these races collectively, a most important section of the inhabitants, and one which must have been what the Purus are said to have been, the ruling race in the country north of the Purushṇī, would have been omitted. I would therefore suggest that the Purus mean the snake race generally, and more especially the Takkas, Kurus, and Northern Gandhāri, with whom the Aryans first came in contact. Whether Kutsa was a Kuru or a Gandharva, or a representative of both tribes, who had allied himself with the Aryans, is a question which I can see no means of deciding definitely. He must, as I have shown, have been born of a race very similar to the great agricultural tribe of the Kurus.

Anu.—In the Mahābhārata the sons of Anu are stated in the passage quoted above[1] to be the Mleccha tribes. In the Rigveda there seems to be a special connection between them and the Purus. In the account of the battle of the ten kings, Indra is said immediately after the battle

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxxv. p. 260.

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to have given the property of the Anu to the Tṛtsus,[1] which shows that they lived on the north bank of the Purushnī, the river on which the battle took place, and that the Tṛtsus on crossing the river from the south entered at once into the land of the Anus. From another passage it seems that Ṣrutarvan, son of Riksha, was their king.[2] The bard says, "We approach the Agni most dreaded by their foes, the best, that of the Anus (ānava) before which Ṣrutarvan, son of Riksha, prospered greatly." I have already shown that Riksha was probably king of the Purus, or Kuru-Takkas, and this hymn, which alludes later on to the Purushnī, as I have before shown, seems to prove that the Anus were the allies and subjects of the Puru king. The phrase "ānava agni" seems to show that the Anus had forsaken their own gods and become worshippers like the Aryans of the sacred fire. This conversion could only have taken place in consequence of missionary proselytism carried on by Aryan teachers. I shall show later on the effects of the missionary efforts of the early Brahmins when speaking of the evidence of an agency of this kind among the Bhārata, Sṛnjaya, and Kauravya tribes. There is no further evidence in the Mahābhārata or Rigveda to show directly to which race the Anu belonged. We find in the Mahābhārata that at the time when the events depicted in the poem took place, the most influential people living in the tract immediately south of the Chenāb were the Madras, and the country is still called Madra-dēs,[3] and their capital, Ṣākala, is situated on the Apaga, or Ayak, not far from the Chenāb. Now the Madras were Takkas, according to Hemachandra,[4] and the ruined city of Taki, called after the tribe, which Sir A. Cunningham identifies with the Pimprana of Arrian,[5] is close to Ṣākala. But these Takkas seem to have come into the country from the North from Takkasilā and Kashmir, and the original inhabitants of the Madra-dēs seem to

[1] Rigv. vii. 18. 13.
[2] Rigv. viii. 74. 4.
[3] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 185.
[4] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 149.
[5] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 191.

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have been Kolarians, and this would account for their being treated as of a different race from the Purus, among whom as I have shown the Takkas were reckoned. In the time of Alexander the Great the ruling people of this district were not the Takkas, whose territory was then apparently bounded by the Jhilum, though perhaps it extended to the Chenāb. South of this latter river the people named as the ruling races were the Kathæi and Oxydraci,[1] who were the allies of the Malli of Multan, whom I shall show to be probably Kolarians. It is this people who are probably called Anu in the Rigveda and the Mahābhārata, and who are still known in that part of the country by the name of Kathi.[2] Their name also occurs in that of the province called Kāthiāwāṛ, which was probably originally peopled by Kathi. In the days of the Mahābhārata, though the Madra-Takkas were the ruling power in the country of the Kathi, the great mass of the people probably belonged to the same race which we find living in the country when Alexander came there. The population apparently in this part of the country was always mixed, and the Kolarian and Dravidian elements were less influenced by Aryan customs and modes of thought than they were elsewhere. In the Mahābhārata the people living between the Chenāb and Purushnī are called by various names, Madras, Valhikas, Bahikas, Arattas, and it is under this last name that they are designated as an impure tribe by Baudhayana.[3]

Yadu Turvaṣu.—These two tribes are in the Rigveda constantly associated together, and are treated in a large number of passages in which the two tribes are mentioned almost as one tribe. In the genealogy in the Mahābhārata which makes them the sons of Yayāti, they are also united, as Devayanī, the grand-daughter of Bhṛgu, is the mother of them both. But Yadu appears in another genealogy in the Mahābhārata[4] which makes him son of Vasu, king of Chedi, and the brother united with Yadu in this gene-

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 216.
[2] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 215.
[3] Baudhāyana, i. 1. 14.
[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxiii. p. 173.

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alogy is not Turvasu, but Mavellya. Vasu it is said was lord of the earth, and was made by Indra equal to the immortals. He received from Indra a crystal car, which would transport him everywhere through mid-air. In gratitude for these gifts Vasu associated the worship of Indra with that of himself. He had Indra's garlands of the unfading lotus hung on the bamboo pole or lingam, the emblem worshipped as the god Vasava. This is clearly an account of the incorporation of the worship of Indra, the Aryan warrior-god, with that of the god Vasava, whose emblem was the lingam. Throughout the Mahābhārata we find that one of the names by which the black demi-god Krishna is most constantly known is Vāsudeva, and the use of the long *ā* is explained by treating the word as a patronymic form, and making him the son of Vasudeva and Devakī.[1] His father is said to be the son of Sura the sun, or the sun-prince,[2] who is, strange to say, said to be the grandson of Āriaka, the snake-king.[3] Now there is no further account anywhere given of this Vasudeva, who only appears as Krishna's father, and nothing is told of him or his doings, as is done in the case of other prominent people mentioned in the Mahābhārata. We hear a great deal of his sister Pṛtha or Kunti, but nothing whatsoever of her brother except his name. If Krishna, the black sun-god, had been called the son of Sura, the sun, all would have been clear; but why was it necessary to bring in a second person between him and his natural mythological progenitor? Now the name Vasudeva means one who worships Vasu, whereas the name Vāsudeva means either the son of a worshipper of Vasu, a worshipper of Vāsu, or it may be the title of a god Vāsu called the Deva. In other words, Vasudeva means one who worships the Vasu or heavenly beings, the collective name for the Aryan gods; but Vāsudeva either means the worshipper of Vāsu, a very different deity, or is a name of the god Vāsu. It is absurd to say that an epithet showing that he

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 178.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxi. p. 201.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxviii. p. 377.

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worshipped the Aryan gods should become such a prominent name of Krishna's father that the son should be called after it; but when we consider the other possible meanings of the word, the true explanation becomes clear. The Mahābhārata shows that there were five powerful snake races in India.[1] The worshippers of each of the snake gods who were the progenitors of the several races were, according to totemistic custom, considered to be the descendants of the gods they worshipped. These races were according to this list descended from (1) Vāsuki, (2) Takshaka, (3) Irāvata, (4) Kauravya, (5) Dhritarāshtra. When Vāsuki, the first of these gods, was spoken of, he would be naturally called Vāsu or Vāsukideva. That this name Vāsudeva was applied to Krishna in common parlance is shown by its occurrence as a name of Krishna in early Buddhistic writings.[2] There is further evidence in the Mahābhārata itself that Krishna was called not only Vāsu, but also Vāsuki.[3] Yudishthira says that Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava hero, married the sister of Vāsuki. Now we know that Arjuna married Subhadra, sister of Krishna,[4] and therefore Vāsuki must mean Krishna, and Krishna and the snake-god Vāsuki must be one and the same deity. That is to say, the snake-god Vāsuki was transformed into the black sun-god Krishna. The whole of the section in which this passage occurs must be one of the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata, as in it further on Yudishthira speaks of regarding Arjuna as a tenth Rudra, a thirteenth Aditya, and ninth Vasu. Now in the lists of gods given in another part of the poem[5] thirty-three gods are mentioned, and among them eight Vasus, twelve Adityas, and eleven Rudras, sons of Sthānu, whereas in the passage in the Virāta Parva there are only nine true Rudras spoken of. The reason of this addition of two Rudras I will show further on when I come to speak of the Bhāratas and Nahushas.

[1] Ādi (Astika) Parva, lvii. p. 157.
[2] Abhidhānappadīpikā, 16, quoted by Childers, s.v. Vāsudevo.
[4] Ādi (Subhadra-harana) Parva, ccxxi. to ccxxiii. pp. 603-613.
[3] Virāta (Pāndava Praveça) Parva, ii. p 3.
[5] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 191. Vana (Aranyaka) Parva, iii. p. 14.

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It is therefore clear that Krishna and Vāsuki or Vāsu were originally one and the same, but to the Sanskrit Pundits who revised the Mahābhārata, it was sacrilege to call the popular deity and demigod by the name of one of the snake-gods, nor could the snake-god be made to descend from the sun. Hence they gave him a father Vasudeva, and, forgetting the passage which makes the Vasudeva's sister to be descended from the snake-god Āriaka, they called this father a worshipper of Vasu or the Aryan gods. Similarly, in the legend relating to Vasu, king of Chedi, the long *ā* in the name Vāsu, father of Yadu, has been elided, and the name changed into Vasu. This Vāsu had, like Yayāti, five sons. The mother of these sons is not stated, but the mention in another place of Devakī as the mother of Vāsudeva or Krishna, points like the legend of Yayāti to an alliance between the worshippers of Vāsu and the worshippers of Deva or the angels,[1] who belonged, as Devayanī did, to the tribe of Bhṛigus. To what race the Bhṛigus belonged I shall show further on. The names of Vasu's five sons were Vrihadratha, the ancestor of the kings of Magadha, Pratyagra, Kusamva (the ancestor of the kings of Kosambi), and lastly Mavellya and Yadu, who are the counterparts of Yadu and Turvasu of the Yayāti genealogy. In the account of the sons of Yayāti in the Mahābhārata the descendants of Yadu were, as I have before shown, said to have become Yādavas, and those of Turvasu Yavanas; but before going into the questions arising out of the use of these names, and the history of these tribes, it is better first to consider their position in the Rigveda.

The Yadu-Turvasu are continually mentioned together, and in the eighth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda they appear as the special patrons of the Kanva family of Brahmin bards,[2] who were the reputed authors of this section of the hymns. The two tribes are specially mentioned in connection with the defeat of the Aryan Arṇa and Chitraratha,[3] and with the

[1] In the Buddhist cosmogony a special heaven is assigned to the Devas or Angels.
[2] Rigv. viii. 4. 1 and 7; viii. 7. 18.
[3] Rigv. iv. 30. 17 and 18.

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previous successes of Divodasa, the Tṛtsu king, in his campaigns against them, which have been already alluded to.[1] The successes of Divodasa probably represent the conquest of the country on the upper waters of the Sarasvatī by the Aryan Tṛtsus, who drove back the Yadu-Turvasu to the west and south, and this makes it quite clear that the Yadu and Turvasu were settled in the district to the south of the Sutlej long before the Tṛtsus came there. We find at the present day a powerful tribe of Yohiha, or as they are called on their coins Yaudheya Rajputs,[2] living in the country traversed by the Sutlej, between Ayudhan and Uchh, and these same tribes are mentioned in the list of Kshatrya tribes given in the Mahābhārata as coming to pay tribute to Yudishthira.[3] It is they who are most likely the descendants of the ancient Yādavas. The contest between their forefathers and the Arṇa and Chitraratha arose most probably from the attempt of these tribes to gain additional territory to that acquired by Divodasa. The hymn in which the battle with the Arṇa and Chitraratha is mentioned speaks of Divodasa's conquests as past, and is evidently written long after his time, while the defeat of the Arṇa and Chitraratha is apparently spoken of by the author as a recent event.

But the country held by the Turvasu and their allies was not in Vedic times confined to that near the Sutlej and Indus; for we find in the Rigveda the Turvasu united with the Vriṣivats, who are said to form the confederacy of the Varaṣikha, and defeated by the Sṛnjaya under Abhyavartin Ṣayamana of the Pṛthu race, on the banks of the Harirupiya and Javjavat or Yavyavat.[4] These rivers have not been identified, but I have already pointed out that the Sṛnjaya are throughout the Mahābhārata spoken of as one with the Panchālas, who held the country between the Jumna and Ganges. The Turvasu and their allies must therefore at the time of this battle have been living near the Jumna. As for the Vriṣi-

[1] Rigv. ix 61. 1; vii. 19. 8.
[2] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 245.
[3] Sabha (Dyuta) Parva, lii. p. 145.
[4] Rigv. vi. 27. 5–8.

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vats, translated by Zimmer as "the strong energetic people,"[1] they were it appears to me the Yādavas, whom we find living in the Surasena country, and who, as I have already pointed out, are called Vrishṇis and divided into eighteen tribes. It thus seems probable that the country occupied by the Yadu-Turvasus in Vedic times was much the same as the modern Rajputana with the Mathura district added to it.

That there was an early connection between these people and the Chedi is shown in the Rigveda, as well as in the genealogy I have quoted from the Mahābhārata. In a hymn which is in the body of the poem, said to be an address from the Kanvas to the Asvins, Kasu, prince of Chedi, is praised for his liberality.[2] Chedi was the country of Bundelkund, and the Kanvas were the special bards of the Yadu-Turvasu, and the fact that Kanva bards were also attached to the courts of the Chedi princes, shows that these tribes must have lived near together, and that the Yadu-Turvasu country must have been the district I have pointed out which adjoins Bundelkund.

The Yādavas appear to be originally cattle herdsmen, as I shall show when speaking of the Bhojas, and they probably came from the West, but they were also intimately connected with the Kolarian and more remotely with the Dravidian races, with whom they are joined in the Mahābhārata genealogies. The evidence as to their descent will be shown more clearly in speaking of the Turvasus, or, as they were otherwise called, the Yavanas, and of the Bhojas. The name Yavana has been usually interpreted to mean Greeks, and it is quite indisputable that the Græco-Bactrian kings and the Greek successors of Alexander the Great in Syria were called Yavanas, as Antiochus king of the Yavanas, and Ptolemy king of Egypt, are mentioned together in the Girnar inscription. Now the term Yavana, as applied to the Greeks, is a Semitic word denoting the sons of the Greek Ἴων, the Hebrew Yavan, and it was given to the Greeks by Indian writers and speakers, because they heard it applied to that

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 124.
[2] Rigv. viii. 5. 37.

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people by the Phœnician sailors who frequented the Indian ports. The constant intercourse between the older Indian people and the Phœnicians, or rather the Accad-Semites of the Euphrates, must not be forgotten in considering the facts of early Indian history. It is to the Semite-Accads that the importation into India of astronomical knowledge and the art of writing is due, and the Greeks had nothing to do with this. Professor Weber says that "the whole character of Indian astrology (it can hardly be called astronomy) was purely Chaldaic before its contact with the Greeks. We can hardly believe that the Aryans in their wanderings towards India were the first to invent the twenty-seven or twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, as we find notices of them in the older portions of the Riksamhita."[1] In a quotation from the same author's History of Indian Literature, p. 30, he says: "They are enumerated singly in the Taittirīya-Samhitā, and the order in which they occur is one which must necessarily have been established somewhere between 1472 and 536 B.C." Weber goes on to say: "It is difficult to conceive that the Babylonians and Indians could have developed the same peculiar classification if they had been entirely independent of each other. The only possible conclusion is that one race taught the other, and to this naturally the Babylonians alone can lay claim, as we already meet with mention of the Lunar Mansions (מַזָּלוֹת) in II. Kings xxiii. 5, where Indian influence cannot be apprehended." As for the alphabet called by Pānini Yavanānī, or the writing of the Yavana, it must mean the writing of the Phœnicians, for it is from them, and not from the Greeks, that the early Indian alphabets are derived.

So much for this digression, which has been inserted to prove that it was the Phœnicians, and not the Greeks, who gave the early Hindoos a large part of the knowledge they got from the outside world, and that if the word Yavana was a foreign word, it must have come through the Phœnicians or Chaldæans. But I would further submit that it is im-

[1] India and the West in Old Days, p. 5.

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possible that the word can be a Phœnician or foreign word, except as applied by the Phœnician sailors to the people living at the Indian ports, and in that case it would be used by them as a general name for "strangers." Whether this is possible or not, Semitic scholars can alone decide. Whatever the origin of the name may be, and however it came into the Sanskrit vocabulary, one thing is certain, that the people called Yavanas in the Mahābhārata are not Greeks at all, but a purely Indian tribe; though the name Yavanas is not their own tribal name, and was apparently given them by people who regarded them as aliens and inferiors. In the Mahābhārata three Yavana kings are mentioned. One, Chanur, is only once named as appearing at the house-warming of Yudishthira when the Pāṇḍavas settled at Indraprastha.[1] Another king of the Yavanas is named in what is apparently the earliest account of the conquests of Arjuna[2] and the Pāṇḍavas. He is mentioned with the king of the Sauvīra, Vipula being the king of the Sauvīra, while the second king is called Sumitra and also Dattāmitra. He is said to be also king of the Sauvīra, but is apparently king of the Yavanas also, who are spoken of just before as conquered with the Sauvīra. The name Dattāmitra Lassen thinks is Greek, as it has no equivalent in Sanskrit; but this conjecture seems to me to be most hazardous. How could a king with a Greek name have ruled the Sauvīra at the early times when this passage was composed? Or how could the town of Dattāmitri spoken of by the scholiast of Pāniṇi as a Sauvīra town, have been named from a Greek king.

But the great king of the Yavanas is Bhagadatta, who was the great Asura Vashkala.[3] He constantly appears throughout the poem. His capital was Prāgjyotisha on the sea-shore, or rather near the mouth of the Nerbudda, near Dwāraka. He is described by Krishna[4] as the king "who bears on his head the gem which is known as the most

[1] Sabha (Kriya) Parva, iv. p. 9.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxli. p. 15.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 194.
[4] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 45.

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wonderful on earth, that king of the Yavanas who has chastised Muru and Naraka, whose power is unlimited, and who rules the West like another Varuna, and who is called Bhagadatta." His country lay between that of the Salvas, the Eastern branch of the Sauvīra, and that of Vidarbha, and probably included the lower part of the Nerbudda valley, and at least a large part of the Mallarāshtra, or Avanti country. In the second and apparently later account of Arjuna's conquests[1] he is said to have conquered Bhagadatta's troops, which are said to be composed of Kirātas, Chins, and other warriors. When Bhagadatta came to pay tribute to Yudishthira,[2] he brought with him swords with handles made of the purest ivory and well-adorned with diamonds, which must have been got from the diamond mines of Panna, in Bundelkund. He is there called the king of the Mlecchas, and is said to have been accompanied by a large number of Yavanas. In the enumeration of the Kauravya forces assembled for the last great battle[3] he is said to have brought a large force of Chins and Kirātas, but the Yavanas do not appear among his troops. They and the Sakas belong to the contingent of Sudakshina, king of Kambhoja, whose territory lay on the banks of the Indus, and in the account of the house-warming of Yudishthira, "Karnatha, king of Kambhoja, and the mighty Kampana, who alone made the Yavanas to tremble at his name,"[4] are mentioned together. In the account of the conquests of Nakula the Yavanas, Kirātas, Pahlavas, and Sakas are named as wild tribes of the West near the Indus, whom he conquered.[5] In the fifth rock-edict of Asoka, Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāra are placed together as his neighbours. Professor Bühler,[6] thinking they are mentioned in the order of greatest distance, takes the Yona as the most Northern tribe, and identifies them with the Bactrian Greeks. It seems to me that the evidence points

[1] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxvi. p. 79.
[2] Sabha (Dyuta) Parva, li. p. 142.
[3] Udyoga (Samyodyoga) Parva, p. 43.
[4] Sabha (Kriya) Parva, p. 9.
[5] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxii. p. 94.
[6] Laws of Manu, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv. Bühler's translation, p. cxiv.

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to a reverse order, and that it begins from the South. I have already cited the evidence of the Mahābhārata as to the Yavanas living near the Gulf of Kambay and on the Lower Indus; and to the proof thus given that the Yavanas lived close to the Sauvīra is to be added the account in the Asoka Avadāna, of the battle which Pushpamitra, the first king of the Brahmin dynasty of the Kanvas, who rebelled against the Mauryan kings about 178 B.C., fought on the right bank of the Indus against the Yavanas.[1] In the Milinda Prasna[2] the nobles of king Milinda are said to belong to the Yona country, and his capital was Sākala. the town I have already spoken of as the capital of the Madras in the Mahābhārata. We thus find distinct evidence that the Yonas or Yavanas were a tribe who were settled in the districts along the Indus south of the Chenāb, and that they also lived in the country on the eastern shores of the Gulf of Kambay. I have shown that the Kathæi and Oxydraci who were found at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion to be the ruling tribes in the Madradēs, which was called the Yona country, were intimate allies of the Malli. The capital of the Malli was Multan, which is still called Mallithāna or Mallisthāna, the place of the Malli.[3] They were an eminently warlike people, as is shown by the resistance made by them, and by their allies the Kathæi, who were of the same race, to Alexander's army. They only submitted after a defeat in the field, and after two of their cities had been taken. The power of the Malli extended to the south, as in the list of countries given in the Bhīshma Parva[4] in the Mahābhārata, Mallarāshtra is mentioned in the same verse with the Adhirājas, whose country is, in the account of Sahadeva's conquests, placed next to that of the Matsya and Surasena.[5] The Southern Malli are in the list of the conquests of Bhīma placed

[1] India and the West in Old Days, p. 18.
[2] Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 536.
[3] Burnes' Travels in Bokhara, vol. iii. p. 114; Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 237.
[4] Bhishma Parva, v. 352.
[5] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi. p. 87.

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next to the Nishadas,[1] in whose country the Sarasvatī disappears at the celebrated shrine of Vināsana.[2] The Northern Malli are placed near the Northern Kosalas in Ayodhya,[3] and the celebrated river Mālini, in this country, on the banks of which the infant Ṣakuntalā was found,[4] merely means the river of the Malli. In the account of the boundaries of the Kuru kingdom given in the Mahābhārata, the Malli are placed close to the Salva, which would bring them near the Western coast.[5] The name doubtless still survives in that of the Mālavi of Malwa, and the Malli mentioned in the early Buddhist writings as one of the Vajjian tribes living on the banks of the Ganduk, near the boundary of Northern Kosala, doubtless belong to the same race. The Mahrs of the Mahratha country say that they formerly owned it,[6] and the name Mallarāshtra of the Ujjen country of Avanti makes it probable that the former name of the more Southern Mahratha country was also Mallarāshtra which has been afterwards altered by bards desirous of exalting the glory of their patrons into Mahārāshtra, the great kingdom. The root "Mun" or "Mal" appears again in the names Munda and Mandaloi applied to the Kolarian tribes of Chotā Nagpore, in the Marwars of Rajputana, and the Mavellya, who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as brother of Yadu, the son of Vāsu, and the counterpart of Turvasu in the Yayāti line of descent. In short, the names Malli, Mavellya, and others formed from the same root "Mun" or "Mal" are general names applied to the Kolarian tribes, and the root is one belonging to the Kolarian languages, for Munda, which apparently contains it, is certainly a Kolarian word.[7]

[1] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxx. p. 86.
[2] Vana (Tirthayatra) Parva, cxxx. p. 392.
[3] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxx. p. 85.
[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxxii. p. 215.
[5] Virātā (Pandava Pravesa) Parva, i. p. 2.
[6] Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha, by Prof. G. Oppert, chap. iii. published in Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1888.
[7] The root of the name was probably Mon. The Talaings, or Mons, of Pegu, call themselves Mon, and they are of the same race as the Indian Mundas. Mason (Mason's Burma, pp 130-134) shows that the Mon language has a radical affinity with the Kol or Munda tongue. He says, "The first six numerals, the personal pronouns, the words for several members of the body, and many objects of nature, are unquestionably of the same origin." See the whole question fully discussed in Fytche's Burma Past and Present, vol i. pp. 324-326.

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The above evidence shows that the people who called themselves Malli or some similar name have always existed in large numbers, and occupied a prominent position in the Rajputana country. We find the powerful tribe of this name, in the time of Alexander the Great, holding the town of Multan, and a large and populous tract of country near it. We can trace the Malli in the Mahābhārata down along the Indus to the country of the Salvas, the eastern branch of the Sauvīra, and we find the Ujjen or Avanti country called by their name which is still perpetuated in that of Malwa. We thus find them occupying exactly the same country as the Yavanas, and the conclusion is thus irresistible that the term Yavana is merely the Sanskrit name for the people who called themselves Malli or Mālavas, and that if the Turvasu were the same people as the Yavanas, they were also Malli.

They were a people who had in their religion much in common both with that of the Dravidians and the Aryans. Like the former they reverenced mountains and local deities; and like the latter they worshipped as their chief god the sun. The Mundas of the present day still regard the sun as their highest god, under the name of Sri Bonga. They thus became early converts to the Aryan sun-worship, which was a later development of the ancient fire-worship, and joined warmly with the Aryans in propagating it. The story of the founding of the temple of the sun at Multan by Ṣamba, son of Krishna, already quoted from the Bhavishya Purāna, proves both the zeal of the Malli for the religion of sun-worship, but also that they were Kolarians. Ṣamba, the son of Krishna, made a pilgrimage from Dwāraka to the Mitra-Vana (the sun-grove) at Multan, to be cured of his leprosy, and on his recovering he founded there a temple to Mitra the sun.[1] In other words, he went to the Surna, or sacred grove of the Kolarian Mallis, at Multan, which had been dedicated to the sun-god instead of to the local deities, to whom the Kolarian Surna is usually sacred, as being a remnant of the primæval forest.

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 233; India and the West in Old Days, by Prof. A. Weber, p. 19.

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Proof of the early alliance between the Aryans and the Kolarian tribes is also given in the story of the snake-sacrifice in the Mahābhārata. The bird Gaḍura (Garuḍa), who brought the snakes to India, first brought them to the Malayan county[1] in the south, and thence to the north, where they found the population to consist of Brahmins and Nishadas or Kolarians. The bird Gaḍura was permitted to devour the Nishadas, but warned not to hurt the Brahmins. But one day he ate up a Brahmin and his Nishada wife by mistake, and was forced to let them both go, at the request of the Brahmins.[2]

The Aryan Brahmins who first settled among the Kolarian-Dravidian people of the Rajputana country found the Kolarian element there much stronger than in the more completely organized Dravidian states of the north, and they found the Kolarians much more easy to deal with, and more pleasant to live among, than the sterner and more practical Dravidians. Outsiders, who were accepted as members of a fully organized Dravidian state, were obliged to submit to the national discipline, to become component parts of the organization, to obey the orders and observe the rules emanating from the central authorities. On the other hand, new comers found much greater freedom in the looser system of a Kolarian state, or of one where the Kolarians were the dominating power, and the Dravidians in a minority. As long as they did not encroach on the lands appropriated by others in "parhas" or provinces already settled, they might form their own "parhas" close to those of the Kolarians, or even occupy and plant their villages on unowned wastes in the Kolarian parhas. When once they were settled, their internal arrangements were not interfered with. They did not find the Dravidian tax-gatherer, or the collector of dues of grain, coming to their houses; nor was it necessary to set apart king's land in every village, or to give the labour required by the superintendent of this land. As long as

[1] The country of the hills on the Western Ghats, anciently called the Malaya Mountains.

[2] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xxvii.-xxix. pp. 94-97.

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they did not interfere with their neighbours, they were left alone; while if they joined with them when their assistance was wanted, they were warmly welcomed as allies.

It was among such a people that the Aryans settled, and further evidence of the identity of this people with the Munda tribes is given by their national dances, spoken of in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata, and also by the Greek authors. In the Rigveda[1] the beaming rays of the morning sun are said to be like the "maidens who come trooping out on the shady village green, dressed in their brightest clothes and ranged in order for the dance, bringing with them Soma." This is evidently a picture of the Kolarian dances on the Akra, or village dancing place, well shaded by the ancient forest trees of the Surna; and as for the Soma, whatever may be the fermented drink which was the nectar of the gods and the heroes, it was doubtless in the ordinary village in Vedic times, as it is now, the rice beer or palm wine (toddy), or some other fermented liquor prepared from the plants of the country where rice and palms do not grow. This is among the Kolarian tribes still prepared by the women of the family. The spring dances are again alluded to in another hymn, where the first stirrings of the birth of the leaves are said to be caused by the sound of the dancing cymbals.[2] Further proof that the elaborate system of Kolarian dances, which provides a special dance for each season of the year, was kept up among the leading tribes of the Yadu Turvasu is given in the story of the Pāṇḍavas during the time they lived in Virāta, the capital of the Matsyas. The Matsyas will be shown afterwards to be a Kolarian tribe, and in the account of the descendants of Vāsu they are said to be the sons of the mountain Kolahala and the river Suktimatī, born by the help of Vāsu.[3] The Pāṇḍavas all visited the court of the Matsya king in disguise, and Arjuna, who had learnt dancing in India's heaven[4] from Chitrasena the Gandharva, became dancing-master to the daughters of the king,

[1] Rigv. i. 92. 4.
[2] Rigv. x. 146; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 288.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxiii. p. 164.
[4] Vana (Indralokagamana) Parva, p. 139.

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and taught them dancing in the dancing-hall of the town of Virāta. This is evidently the village Akra, where the Kolarian maidens still continue to learn the complicated steps and figures of the several dances of the different seasonal festivals, each festival having its appropriate dance.

These dances attracted the attention of Megasthenes and the Greek authors, and we find them compared with the Satyric dances of Dionysiac festivals.[1] They maintain that it was Dionysos himself who taught the Indians these dances, and instructed them in the use of drums and cymbals. Megasthenes and the other Greek visitors to India saw the country under a totally different aspect from that which it bears in modern times. The people had not yet been sobered by centuries of Buddhistic and Brahminical rule, nor saddened by the heavy burdens of Mussulman tyranny, and by the anarchy caused by the rivalries of foreign competitors for power. They had not yet learned to be ashamed of their national amusements. Consequently these seasonal dances, which are now confined to remote and unfrequented parts of the country, were celebrated at the appropriate seasons in all towns and villages. At these festivals, as at those of the present day, there were doubtless large quantities of strong drink consumed, and they frequently, as they do now, degenerated into Bacchic orgies. Of the reverence for groves I have already given an instance in speaking of the Sun grove (Mitra Vana) at Multan, and we find also that in the account of the attack on Dwāraka by the Ṣalva, it is said to be a rule that hostile armies should spare sacred trees.

The results of the above inquiry show strong reason for believing that the earliest inhabitants of the Yadu-Turvasu country, answering to the modern Rajputana, were Kolarian tribes; but before the Aryans entered the country, the Kolarian stock had been largely mixed with the races of the Bhojas and the Dravidian Sauvīra. There were also a large number of semi-Aryan Bhojas, but the relations of these tribes will be discussed in that part of this paper in which I deal with the Bhojas.

[1] Arrian, Indika, chap. vii.

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Suvarṇa or *Sauvīra.*—The next people to be noticed are the great trading races of the Sindhu-Sauvīra. They generally lived in cities on the high roads and near the rivers, which were the natural highways of the country. They left the open country and the hills and valleys to the agricultural and pastoral people. The kingdom in which they were supreme was that of Sindhu Suvarṇa, the capital of which was Pātāla, near the mouths of the Indus. They were the people known to the authors of the Rigveda as the "paṇi," or traders, but are also mentioned under their own name of Suvarṇa.[1] They probably belonged, as I have already shown, to the great tribe of Sus, who were the traders of the Euphrates valley, and the founders of Susa. They early began to move eastward, and they first settled themselves in the Saurashtra country of Guzerāt, to which they gave their name, and thence they directed the foreign trade from the ports on the Gulf of Kambay. We find their progress eastward clearly marked in the Mahābhārata. The Bhārata king Suhotra, the grandson of Bhārata, married Suvarnā, the daughter of Ikshvāku. In other words Ikshvāku, who is known in the Rigveda as the "rich,"[2] belonged to the tribe of the Suvarṇa, and the story of the origin the Ikshvāku kings given in Buddhist traditions shows that they came eastward, like the Suvarṇa, from Pātāla, where they, as Suvarṇa, ruled the country called Sindhu-Suvarṇa.[3] King Janamejaya, to whom the story of the Mahābhārata is supposed to be told, married a daughter of Suvarṇa-Vamana, king of Kasi,[4] showing that the Sauvīra had obtained possession of Benares. But there is also, I believe, much clearer evidence of their progress eastward than that given by these instances. The oldest capital of the Suvarṇa was Pātāla, which is called in the Mahābhārata the centre of the world of Nāgas.[5] From this it seems that the tribe which founded Pātāla must have had offshoots in the west and east, and this is an additional proof that they were related to the Assyrian traders, the Saus or Sus of the Euphrates valley.

[1] Rigv. x. 62. 11.
[2] Rigv. x. 60; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 130.
[3] Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 11 (Trübner's Oriental Series).
[4] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xliv. p. 131.
[5] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, xcviii. pp. 304, 305, also cii. pp. 311, 312.

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It was at Pātāla that Vāsuki, the great king of the Nāgas, used to dwell; but in the legend, telling how Mātali, Indra's charioteer, found a wife for his son, which I am now quoting, Vāsuki is represented as the king of Bhojavati (Bhojakata), the capital of the Bhojas. But though Vāsuki was the king, it is not he who receives Mātali, but the snake-king Āryaka, who was the snake-ancestor of the Bhojas. It is his grandson, whose mother was the daughter of Vāmana, of the line of Irāvata,[1] who was chosen by Indra's messenger. This story evidently means that the Suvarṇa and their ancestral god Vāsuki had moved eastward from Pātāla to Bhojakata, but that their ancestral god had succumbed to the arianized Bhojas, whose ancestor Āryaka possessed the authority which had been under the Suvarṇa rule before Aryans became the leading race vested in Vāsuki. I have already shown how the god Vāsu, who was the god of the Sauvīra, was represented as the first king of Chedi, the country adjoining Bhojakata or Avanti on the east. I have shown above that the Krishṇas or Vrishṇis worshipped a god called Vāsu, who was the snake-god Vāsuki, and this god was the god of the Sauvīra. Further proof of this is given by the reference of Krishna to the king Vāsudeva of Vanga, Pandra, and the Kirātas in Bengal.[2] Krishna denounces this king as "that wicked wretch among the Chedis" (who were, as we have seen, the Suvarṇa or the sons of Vāsu), "who represents himself as a divine personage, who has become known as such, and who always bears from foolishness the signs which distinguish me, that king of Vanga, Pundra, and the Kirātas, who is known upon earth by the name of Pāndraka and Vāsudeva." The name Vāsudeva, given here to a king who was certainly not the son of Vāsudeva, means clearly a worshipper of Vāsu. This passage shows that Vāsu was worshipped by one of the most influential of the races in Bengal, which is probably that which worshipped Vāsu in the West. It therefore clearly appears that before this time the Suvarṇa had advanced from Chedi to Bengal,

[1] See Suvarna-Vāmana above.
[2] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 45.

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taking possession on their march of the west side of the valley of the Ganges, and establishing themselves in Benares. They had also become the dominant people in Bengal, and had peopled the province called by Hiouen Tsiang Karṇa-Suvarṇa.[1] This province comprised the modern districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bancoorah, Manbhūm, Singhbhūm, and the north of Midnapur, and controlled all the trade routes to the great eastern port of Tamralipti (Tamlūk), which was situated in the district. A further remarkable proof that the Suvarṇa of Bengal were the same people as the Suvarṇa of Pātāla and Saurashtra, is given by the sacred mountains in the two districts. Close to the boundary between the country of the Western Sauvīra and that of the Yavanas, Kirātas or Malli of Western Rajputana, was the sacred mountain of Arbuda. This was Mount Abū, known as the mountain of the Arbudas or snakes, and the same as the sacred mountain of the Arbudas in the Vishnu Purana,[2] and of the Arbudas or snake races known to the bards of the Yadu-Turvasu, belonging to the Kanva family.[3] This was in ancient days as sacred to the Sauvīra as it is to their successors and descendants the Jain traders; but it was also a holy place of the Kolarian tribes, and as it stood upon the boundary between the two races, it was a common object of reverence to both. The situation of the sacred mountain of Parisnāth in Bengal is precisely similar to that of Mount Abū in the West. It is most certainly, as Col. Yule supposes it to be, the Mons Malleus of Pliny,[4] common to the Monedes or Mundas, and the Suari or Sauvīra of Western Bengal, and is probably the Mount Mandar of the Mahābhārata.[5] The river Burrākar, which runs below it to the east, divides the territories of the Mundas of the Damūda (Dā-mūnda) valley from the Sauvīra of Karṇa Suvarṇa, and it is among the Jains only second in sanctity to Mount Abū and the other western shrines. But the identity of the Suvarṇa of Bengal

[1] Beal, Records of the Western World, vol. ii. p. 201.
[2] Vishnu Purāna, bk. ii. 8.
[3] Rigv. viii. 3. 19, Arbuda means a snake.
[4] Pliny, Nat. Hist. vi 22. 6.
[5] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xviii. pp. 79-81.

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with the people of the same name in Western India is not the only lesson we learn from the Jain sacred places. It is to the history of the propagation of Jain doctrines that we must look for further evidence of the progress of the Suvarṇa and their allies from west to east. The strongest proof of the original connection of the Suvarṇa with Jainism is given by the following facts: (1) That it is well known to all who have studied the subject that a very large and influential section of the trading classes of Western India are Jains, and that they are, and have always been, the staunchest supporters of the Jain religion. (2) That the most sacred, and therefore the original sites of Jain worship are situated in districts which have from the earliest times been especially under the control of the Suvarṇa, from whom I believe the western Jain traders to be descended. The three principal Jain shrines, stated in the order of their sanctity, are (1) the Satrunjaya hill, overlooking the capital of the State of Pālitāna;[1] (2) the Girnār hill, near Junagurh or Yavanagurh,[2] both of which are in Kāthiāwāṛ, and (3) Mount Abū. The whole of this country lies within the ancient states of Sindhu-Suvarṇa and Saurashtra, and includes the modern districts of Sindh, Kutch, Kāthiāwāṛ, and Guzerāt. The names Kāthiāwāṛ, *i.e.* the country of the Kathi, and Junagurh, the fort of the Yona or Yavana, distinctly show that the two most sacred shrines were situated in a Kolarian district. I have already proved that the Yavana were the original inhabitants of the delta of the Indus, and I shall prove subsequently that Guzerāt also belonged to tribes of the same stock. This country was the earliest centre of foreign trade which was conducted by the Suvarṇa first from Pātāla, and afterwards from the ports on the Gulf of Kambay. The associates of the Suvarṇa in the Government of Sindhu-Suvarṇa and of Kāthiāwāṛ were, as will be shown further on, the cattle-herding tribes called Bhojas, Ṣivas, Ṣakas or Abhirias, who came, like the Suvarṇa, from the country between the Indus and the Euphrates. These people

[1] Hunter's Gazetteer, vol. xi. p. 4, s.v. Pālitāna.
[2] Hunter's Gazetteer, vol. v. p. 86, s.v. Girnur.

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formed the warrior section of the Suvarṇa advance, and accompanied them in their progress. But these people were also accompanied by Brahmins, or teachers of Aryan doctrines. The Jain religion, as Prof. Jacobi has shown,[1] was an exaggerated form of asceticism based on the rules prescribed for the conduct of Brahmin students of the sacred law, and though it was in a certain sense a protest against Brahminism, and an assertion of the doctrine that Kshatryas[2] and others could be saved as well as Brahmins, yet the movement was not without Brahmin support. All this is shown clearly in the life of Mahāvīra, the contemporary of the Buddha, and the last and greatest of Jain teachers. But his life also gives reason to believe that Jainism was the fashionable and orthodox creed of the great trading town of Vaisāli, the capital of Videha, to the north-east of the Ganges. Mahāvīra, who was born in a suburb of Vaisāli, when he became a prophet, and devoted himself to an ascetic life, did so with the full consent of his elder brother, who, after his father's death, was the head of his family, and did not do so till he had first married and had a daughter.[3] In doing this he merely followed the rules laid down for religious Brahmins, who are enjoined to be first householders and afterwards ascetics. Considering that his father was one of the chiefs of the Gñātṛika tribe of the Licchavis, and his mother sister of Chetaka, king of Videha, his change of religion, if any had taken place, would have caused a stir; and as there is no mention of any change of belief, the natural conclusion is, that the Jain religion, whose tenets he carried to the full rigour of the law, was that professed by the other members of his family. We also find in the Mahāvagga that Sīho, the general-in-chief of the Licchavis, who was afterwards converted by the Buddha, was first a lay disciple of Mahāvīra,[4] for he consulted him before he sought instruction in Buddhist

[1] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. pp. xxiii-xxx.
[2] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. xxx.
[3] Kalpa Sutra, sect. 110; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. pp. 256, 257, also preface p. xv.
[4] Mahāvagga, vi. 31. 2, Rhys Davids and Oldenburg's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xvii. p. 109.

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doctrines. As we thus find that two of the most prominent families among the Licchavis of Vaisāli were professed Jains, the conclusion that naturally follows is that it was the religion of most, if not of all, the chief men of the city. But if the Licchavis were generally Jainists, the next question to be considered is as to how they came to be consistent professors of a religion founded by the Suvarṇa of the west. Jain and Buddhist writers always speak of these people as Lecchaī or Licchavī,[1] but this name has no apparent connection with Suvarṇa. When, however, we look carefully at the words Suvarṇa and Sauvīra, it is clear that while the first syllable may probably mean the Sus or Saus, the last two are a Sanskrit termination, which could not be part of the real name of a non-Aryan tribe. On the other hand, the name Licchavī, or Lecchaī, is clearly a name used by the people themselves. The religion of the Licchavīs clearly points to a connection between them and the Suvarṇa, and therefore, in looking for a derivation of the name, we are entitled to consider the history of the Saus of Pātāla. I have already attempted to show that these Saus must have come from the west and settled in Pātāla and conducted the foreign trade of that and the neighbouring ports long before the Aryans came into India or ruled in Persia, and that therefore their tribal names would naturally be derived from the languages of the Accads and Semites, who were the earliest rulers of the Euphrates valley. In Mr. Beal's translation of the Chinese Life of the Buddha, v. 1906,[2] I find the Licchavīs called the lion Licchavīs, and he justifies this translation by a reference to Sayce's Assyrian Grammar, where an Accadian root *liq* or *lig*, signifying lion, is mentioned. I find this reference in page viii of that work. If this root were adopted as the name of one or more of the Sau tribes, the name thence arising would be Likkai, which, if the guttural were softened, as it frequently is, would become Lecchaī or Licchavī,[3] the lion

[1] Kalpa Sutra, 128; Sacred Books of the East, p. 266, note 1.
[2] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xix. p. 278.
[3] In a note to v. 1788 of the translation of the Chinese Life of the Buddha, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xix. p. 258, Mr. Beal refers to Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 282 (it is p. 291 in the 2nd edition), where the king of the

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people. Now, we have seen above that the general-in-chief of the Licchavis was called Sīho, or the lion, and the same name under the form of Singh, signifying lion, is universally adopted at the present day by families claiming Rajput or noble descent, and this honorific title would be merely a translation of the Accad Likkai. Professor Sayce describes the Assyrians or Accads as a "race of warriors and traders rather than of students,"[1] and this description would apply accurately to the united Sau and Bhoja or Ṣaka tribes, who gained the control of the Indian trade both in the west and east. It must be remembered that at the time of the advance of these tribes eastward caste hardly existed, and though families doubtless followed the business of their forefathers, yet there was ample room for a change of occupation, and one member of a family might be a trader, and others warriors or herdsmen, if their inclinations or circumstances led them to adopt different professions without infringing social customs.

The whole of the above evidence shows, I would submit, good ground for believing that the founders of Vaisāli, and of the kingdom of Videha, were the trading and fighting races of Sindhu-Sauvīra and Saurāshtra who had originally come from the valley of the Euphrates. The Buddhist and Jain historians further show us that these people united with the Malli or Kolarian aborigines of the country of Videha to form the Vaggian confederacy of nine Licchavi and nine Mallaki tribes,[2] just as they had joined with the Yavana in Kāthiāwāṛ. I have also, I hope, proved that the Saus, or Sauvīra, of both Western and Eastern India, were both originally worshippers of Vāsu or Vāsuki, and belonged to the snake race of that name; and that they are the same as the Jain traders or Saos of India.

Licchavis is called Mahā-lī, which he thinks means the great lion, and refers to the Hebrew *layish*, a strong lion. This *lī* certainly appears to be part of the root of Licchavi, and it confirms the argument I have stated as to the origin of the name Licchavi. As examples of the change of the hard guttural *kh* into *ch*, the Pāli words *akkhi* and *acchi*, the eye, and *ikko* and *accho*, a bear, may be cited. In Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, chap. xix. vol. i. p. 220, I find Li-yaya given as a Hindoo synonym for the sign of the Zodiac called Siṃha, the lion. This is a further proof that Li meant lion.

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 122.

[2] Kalpa Sutra, 128; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii. p. 266.

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It was this people who became the Vaiṣyas of the Sanskrit law-writers, and it appears to me to be probable that the name Vaiṣya was given to them from their connection with Vāsu. They ought properly to have been called Vāsyu, but the same reasons that caused the change of Vāsudeva into Vasudeva, also caused the alteration of the name Vāsyu or Vasava to Vaiṣya. When it became a reproach to be a worshipper of Vāsu, the name was changed so as to obliterate the memory of so unpleasant a recollection.

Nahusha.—In the Rigveda, as in the Mahābhārata, we find Nahusha named as the father of Yayāti.[1] In several other places where the word Nahusha occurs in the Rigveda, Böhtlingk-Roth translate the name as meaning neighbours, and Grassmann follows them. Ludwig, however, treats the name as that of a tribe, and in this I must say that I think he is right. Ludwig's translation is, as I hope to show, not only historically correct, but in two of the passages where the word occurs the translation of "neighbours" quite distorts the sense; and in all, the meaning of the poet comes out much more clearly when Nahusha is taken as denoting a tribe instead of the indefinite term neighbours.

The first passage in which it appears to me that there can be no doubt that Nahusha means a tribe is in Rigv. vii. 6. 5, in a hymn in praise of Agni. Verse 3 of this hymn tells how Agni drove out "the stolid, soft-speaking (Mṛdhravāc), greedy barbarians, without belief, who give no gifts or offerings," and then goes on in verse 5 to tell of Agni, who "with his club beat down the earthen walls, conquered for the Aryans the Eastern land (Ludwig's translation), overthrew the villages of the Nahusha, and made them pay tribute." Surely, as Zimmer points out,[2] the translation of Nahusha as the name of a tribe is in this passage more likely to be right than that of neighbours.

Another passage, for the translation of which I am indebted to Prof. Bendall, is even more significant. It is Rigv.

[1] Rigv. x. 63. 1; Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 282.
[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 128.

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x. 49. 8. In this hymn Indra recites his deeds, and the half verse in which the word "Nahusha" occurs runs as follows:

Aham saptahā.	nahusho nahushtara.
I (am) the slayer of seven.[1]	more Nahusha than Nahusha himself.

That is to say, I am more powerful than Nahusha. The allusion here is evidently to the legend in the Mahābhārata, in which Nahusha contended with Indra for supremacy in heaven by trying to seduce his wife Ṣachī, and got worsted in the contest.[2] When Nahusha is in translating this passage interpreted to mean Nahusha, the father of Yayāti, it makes the very peculiar form of expression used here intelligible and striking, whereas to translate "Nahusho nahushtara," as Grassmann does, "I am nearer than the neighbours," is weak and almost unmeaning.

That so powerful an antagonist of the Aryan gods should have given his name to a tribe is exceedingly probable, and this probability is almost converted into a certainty by another passage in the Mahābhārata, where it is said that it was the king of the Haihāyas who contended with Indra and tried to seduce Ṣachī his queen.[3] There is no derivation given in Böhtlingk-Roth for the word Haihāya, but the Haihaibunsis have always been one of the great snake-worshipping races, and their direct descent from the great snake race of Irāvata will be fully proved further on. The name Haihaya[4] would seem to be connected with the word *ahi* a snake, and the reduplication may represent the hissing noise made by snakes. Such an interpretation has, I know, been given, but I have mislaid the authority and cannot now find it.

The story of Nahusha's contest with Indra, after which he was changed into a snake, makes it nearly certain that he was the great snake or the embodied representative of the serpent races; and that this was the case is rendered

[1] The seven slain are the seven snake-gods, see p. 297. Also the seven sons of Dānu. Rigv. x. 120. 6, whom Indra slew.

[2] Udyoga (Samyodyoga) Parva, viii. to xvii. pp. 18-42.

[3] Vana (Tirtha Yatra) Parva, cxv. p. 356.

[4] Or the name may be derived from Ea or Hea, the great snake god of the earlier Accads, who was the creator of the (Australioid or) black-headed race of Eridu, the old non-Semitic population of Assyria. See Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 134, 142; also see Appendix B.

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still more probable by the remarkable coincidence we find between the word Nahusha and that used in Hebrew for the brazen serpent worshipped by the people of Judæa. This brazen serpent, which Hezekiah destroyed,[1] is called נחש *naghash*, which is precisely the same word as Nahusha, for the substitution of the soft for the hard guttural is one which constantly occurs in all philological changes. That the guttural used in India was originally hard is rendered probable from the word Nāga, the sons of the Nag or Naghash, which is the patronymic derived from the same root, and which does not appear to be an original Sanskrit word. The name Nahusha for the great serpent must, if this hypothesis be correct, be derived from some root common to the Dravidian tribes who preceded the Semites in Palestine, and the Aryans in India. It was probably in Assyria that the earth was first worshipped under the symbol of the serpent as the great generative power. The tribes who originated the doctrine were most likely the same race who ruled in the Euphrates valley before the Semites, and may have been the Accads. The transfer of the same word from the Euphrates to Palestine in the West and India in the East, is strictly analogous to the similar transfer I already noticed of the lunar mansions to both countries.[2]

That the Haihayas were a sufficiently powerful and widespread tribe to be called the Nahusha or the great serpent race, can be proved by tracing the former extent of their dominions, which can be done with a very considerable approach to accuracy. I have already, in writing about the Kauravyas, shown that the two states named Kosala, the modern Ayodhya,[3] and the other called Mahā Kosala, coterminous with Gondwana, apparently originally belonged to one and the same

[1] II. Kings xviii. 4.

[2] The name Asura and Dānava commonly used in the Mahābhārata to denote the snake races may probably come from the same source, Asura from Assur, the god of the Accads (Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 122-3), and Dānava from the sons of Danu (the strong), daughter of Daksha, the Accad root *dan*, strong (Sayce, Assyrian Grammar, p. 114).

[3] Sir A. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 408, shows that Northern Kosala is the country called Gaṇḍa (Gonda) in the Matsya, Linga and Kūrma Purānas as Sravasti the capital is there said to be in Gaṇḍa, *i.e.* Gonda. This is additional evidence proving that the Gonds or Haihayas were the original rulers of both the Kosalas; Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 186.

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people. I have also shown that a considerable portion of the ancient dominions of the Haihaibunsi race was governed, up to the time of the Mahratha conquest in 1741 A.D., by kings of that dynasty, and that they were from time immemorial the rulers of Māha Kosala. It is therefore probable that they were also the rulers of Northern Kosala. If they were the Nahusha of the Rigveda, their territories were coterminous with those of the Aryans on the western bank of the Jumna, and they were the original rulers of the Kuru-Panchāla country, as well as of Ayodhya, the whole of which district was formerly called Kosala. They also held Benares,[1] as the daughters of the king of Kasi or Benares are called in the Mahābhārata princesses of Kosala,[2] and in the time of Buddha we find that Prasenajit, king of Kosala, is also king of Benares. But still more cogent proof of the former extent of their dominions is given in the legends about Yayāti, son of Nahusha, who contended with the gods for supremacy, as his father had done, and who was vanquished and fell from heaven.[3] There are two places of pilgrimage, both of which are said to be the spot where his fall took place, one at Naimisha,[4] on the Gumtī in Oude, and the other on the river Viṣvāmitrā, which rises in the Vaiḍūrya hill, north of the Nerbudda.[5] The Viṣvāmitrā is almost certainly the river still called by that name, on which Baroda stands, and the Vaiḍūrya hill must be that on which the famous fort of Champānir is built, and in which the Viṣvāmitrā rises. The dominions of the Haihayas must have included both Naimisha in Ayodhya, and Baroda in Guzerāt, and the whole country between must have belonged to them, and we know further that they formerly ruled the Nerbudda valley, from the fact that it was there that Parasu-Rāma killed

[1] But the district in which Benares was situated was that south of the Sarju or Ghagra, called Bunodha or the forest (*bun*) tract, and was, as will be shown later on, more especially the country of the Burs or Bhāratas. See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 408.

[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cv. p. 320.

[3] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cv. to clxxii.; see especially p. 350.

[4] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cxx. p. 350; Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, lxxxiv. p. 265; Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, xcv. p. 304.

[5] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, xcv p. 304.

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Arjuna, the Haihaya king, and all the Haihayas.[1] I have before noticed the five eponymous ancestors of the snake races named in the Mahābhārata, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Irāvata, Kauravya, Dhritarāshtra, and have shown that the Vāsuki were the Suvarṇa, the Takshaka the Takkas, and the Kauravya the Kurus. The Irāvata can, I believe, be shown to be the Haihayas or Gonds. The name Irāvata is the same word as the Pali Erāpatha, which appears among the four royal snake races which, as Prof. Rhys Davids has pointed out to me, are mentioned in the Buddhist Chullavagga.[2] The name Irāvata is said by Böhtlingk-Roth to apply to a people coming from the Irāvatī. Irāvatī is the name of the river Rapti in Oude, and also one of the names of the Purushnī, now called the Ravi, which, as it is the popular name, was probably that which the river was called before it was named Purushnī by the Aryan writers.[3] The kingdom of Kosala or Ayodhya was, as we have seen, the original home of the Haihayas, and they were therefore the people called Irāvata, who were said to be descended from the Irāvata in the same way as we have seen that the Matsya were said to be descended from the Suktimatī. They were therefore the people called the Nahusha in the Rigveda, and their country was the Eastern land which had been acquired by Agni for the Aryans.[4] How the conquest of this Eastern land was effected will be explained in detail when I come to speak of the Bhāratas, and further proof will then be given connecting the Irāvatī with the earliest inhabitants of Ayodhya and of the country to the east of the Jumna. Here I will only add one more proof arising from the snake legends to those which have already been given of the geographical position of the Irāvata. In the Buddhist legend of the great Nāga Raja Elāpatra, he is said to have

[1] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, cxvi. and cxvii. pp. 358 to 362.

[2] Chullavagga, v. 6. The four royal snake races are (1) Virūpakkas, (3) Erāpatha, (3) Chabyāputtas, (4) Kanhāgotamakas.

[3] We have seen that the Purushnī was the boundary of the Puru kingdom. Can the name have anything to do with Puru, and does it mean the river of the Purus? It was, when called the Irāvata, probably the northern boundary of the Irāvata race, separating them from the Kurus and Takshakas or Takkas.

[4] Rigv. vii. 6. 3.

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stretched his body from Takkasila to Benares.[1] Now Elāpatra is the same word as Irāvata, and the legend merely means that the Irāvata or Haihaya ruled the country from the boundaries of the Takka kingdom on the Purushnī or Western Irāvata, to those of the kingdom of Benares. They there came in contact with the Kalingæ, who, under the name of Mugho-Kalingæ,[2] ruled Magadha, and gave their name to the country.

But though the Haihaya race ruled this very extensive tract of country, it must not be supposed that there was only one sovereign over the whole. This would have been impossible under the Dravidian system of government, which requires every part of the dominions of each king to be in constant touch with the central power. As I have before shown, in the section on trade, the country, or those parts of it where the government was thoroughly organized, was probably broken up into a number of confederated states, each state having its own provinces. These provinces owed allegiance to the central ruler of the separate kingdom to which they belonged, but enjoyed considerable latitude as to local government, provided the people paid the prescribed tribute or service. There may have been a number of these states which were federally under the control of the most powerful and influential king in their immediate neighbourhood, but this union was by no means constant, and depended on the existence of some king of commanding ability.[3] The division of kingdoms was probably from very ancient times much the same as we find among the lists given by the Sanskrit geographers, and there were certainly a considerable number of Kolarian states interspersed among those governed by Haihaya kings.

[1] Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. i. p. 137 note.

[2] They are the Maccokalingæ of Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 21, whom Vivien de St.-Martin has identified with the Mugheyas of Magadha, and the Mughs of the Eastern Bengal sea-board. They are doubtless the same people who are so well known to North Behar magistrates as the Mugheya Domes.

[3] These were the kings known in Sanskrit literature as Chakravarta or universal Rajas. The type of the chakra or wheel, here used to represent the model or ideal kingdom, gives an admirable picture of the typical Dravidian state, in which the king lived in the centre, and the subordinate provinces or kingdoms, like the spokes of the wheel, surrounded the centre from which they derived their motion.

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Druhyu or Bhojas.—Before dealing with the Bhārata, and completing the account of the earliest inhabitants of that part of India which was under Haihaya control, it will be better to take up the questions relating to the Druhyus or Bhojas. Till the origin and history of these people is understood it is quite impossible to unravel the course of events in the west and east, the retrogression of the Haihaya tribes, the advance of the Suvarṇa and Ikshvāku, the gradual substitution in the west of sun worship for that of the snake gods, and the establishment of Aryan supremacy first in the west and afterwards from this starting point over the whole of Northern India.

The whole history of the Bhoja tribes is most complicated and obscure, owing to the intermixture of foreign and native elements. I shall show that there are Bhojas with strong Dravidian affinities; others allied to the Kolarians; others to the Aryans; and others to the horse-rearing and cattle-herding tribes of Central Asia and Assyria. In the genealogy which makes the Bhojas the descendants of Druhyu, son of Yayāti, their mother is said to be Sharmishṭā, the daughter of the Asura Vrishaparva. Therefore the Druhyus according to this account were apparently descended from the Haihaya race to which Yayāti belonged, and also from the race of which the Asura Vrishaparva was a member. This latter was seemingly that of the Madras or Takkas, as Ayaka, the brother of Vrishaparva, is said to have become known on earth as Ṣalya, king of the Madras.[1] I have also spoken of another account of the origin of the eastern Bhojas which makes them the descendants of Ṣiva, the son of Uṣīnara.[2] In this genealogy their mother is Mādhavī, the daughter of Yayāti, and she will be shown further on to be probably a Kolarian. But the ancestor of the Bhojas, who appears in the Vasu genealogies (which is apparently one of the later parts of the poem), is Kuṣamva, one of the sons of Vāsu,[3] and he evidently represents the

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 194.
[2] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cxvii. p. 344.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxiii. p. 173.

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Kuntibhojas who founded Koṣāmbi. It was not however till long after the wars of the Mahābhārata that they came so far East.

Koṣāmbi was founded by Chakra, eighth in descent from Arjuna, the Pandava hero, who removed there when Hastinapur was submerged by the Ganges.[1] From that time it was the capital of the Vatsas or Kuntibhojas, and it was unknown at the time of the Mahābhārata, when the Eastern boundary of the Kuntibhoja kingdom was the Charmanvati (Chambal) river.[2] One of the most important tribes of Bhojas was that ruling in Kāthiāwāṛ, whose capital was Dwāraka, and it is with this tribe that the Vrishṇis, to whom Krishna belonged, are especially connected. These Bhojas traced their descent from Valarāma, who appears from time to time as giving advice to Krishna and the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata, but who is evidently a mythical person. He was the son of Rohinī, and Rohinī was the daughter of Suravī, who again was the daughter of Krodhā.[3] Krodhā was the daughter of Daksha, and "her countless progeny" are said to be "as wicked and cruel as herself."[4] Rohinī was the mother of cows, and the above description of the origin of her ancestors makes it clear that her descendants were not considered to be an Aryan tribe. From another passage it is evident that they were thought to be of Kolarian descent. In the list of kings said to be descended from Krodhā, and to belong to the Krodhavasa race,[5] occur the names not only of Rukmi, king of the Bhojas, whose sister, Rukminī, Krishna married, but also that of Ekalavya, who was king of the Nishadas, and who was brought up with the Kauravya and Pāṇḍava princes.[6] The Nishadas were certainly Kolarians, and I have already drawn attention to the legend telling of the inter-marriages between the Nishadas and the Brahmins. But there is a further

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 391-392.
[2] Subha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi. p. 87.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. pp. 192-193.
[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 186.
[5] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 197.
[6] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, pp. 393-395.

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line of descent still to be noted. This is from Āriaka, the snake-king, whose capital was in Bhojakata. He was, as I have shown, the reputed ancestor of the Kuntibhojas, and he was also ancestor of Bhishma, king of the eighteen tribes of Bhojas, and the father of Rukmi and Rukminī. Now Āryaka is not one of the kings of the five royal snake races, and in two passages coming close together in the legend of Mātali, India's charioteer already referred to, Āryaka is in one of these said to belong to the Kauravyas, while his grandson, whose mother was an Irāvata, is said to belong to the Irāvata race.[1] The name Āryaka is strong evidence of the existence of an Aryan element in the race, which is also partly Dravidian and partly Kolarian. There certainly appears to be a great deal of northern blood among these tribes, and this seems to have come from two separate sources; from the Abhirs of the Delta of the Indus, and from the Ṣiva or Kāmbhojas of the Northern Punjāb. The country to the East of the Delta of the Indus, the modern Kutch, is called by Ptolemy Abhiria, or the country of the Abhirs, who have always been identified with the Ahirs, who are found all over Northern India, and are the finest and most warlike of the cattle-herding races. General Cunningham's suggestion that these Abhirs derived their name from the Abars, one of the branches of the Great Sus tribe of the Euphrates valley,[2] appears to me, for reasons previously given, to be very probably correct. From the subsequent history of the two tribes it seems likely that they were allied to the Sauvīra, and they, like the Sauvīra, may have come from the West, bringing their cattle through Beluchistan by the Quetta route. But besides these Ahirs there is another race of cattle herdsmen on the Indus, who play an important part in history. They are the Bhoja tribe called the Kāmbhojas. The fifth rock-edict of Aṣoka, referred to above, in discussing the Yavana, fixes the position of their country very accurately. The Yona-

[1] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cii. p. 312. Her father was Vāmana, an Irāvata king.
[2] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 293.

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Kambhoja-Gandhāra are placed close together, and the Kāmbhoja must therefore live between these two tribes. Now we have seen that Yona or Yavana are the Kolarian tribes south of the Chenāb, and the Kāmbhoja must therefore be north of that river, exactly in the place where Strabo places the Σίβοι or Ṣiva. This country was ruled at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion by the king called by the Greek writers Sopeithes or Sophytes.[1] The people of his country are described by them as the handsomest race in India, and he presented Alexander the Great with fighting dogs, so that they must have been, like the Ahirs of the present day, great sportsmen. These people apparently came, like the Abhirias of the Delta of the Indus, from the West; but they would seem to be distinct from the Abhirs, and possibly were a more northern tribe. Probably the Ṣiva whom we find as vassals of the king of Sindhu-Sauvīra, in the account of the attempted abduction of Draupadi,[2] were the Abhiria, for we do not find any evidence in the Mahābhārata that the Kāmbhojas were ruled by the king of Sindhu. The two rulers both sent distinct contingents to the Kauravya army, and are everywhere spoken of as independent kings. Kotika, the leader of the Ṣiva in Jayadratha's army, was evidently one of his most trusted officers, and it was apparently in the delta of the Indus or in their earlier home in the Euphrates valley that the alliance between the cattle-herding and trading races began, which finally resulted in the establishment of the kingdoms of Sāketa in Ayodhya and Videha in Mithila (Tirhut). It was probably to this tribe that the Parthian dynasty of kings described by Arrian as ruling at Minnagura, belonged.[3] It is these Bhojas who must have raised the well-known Kāthiāwāṛ breed of horses, which for size, speed, and stamina are as much superior to all the other native Indian horses as the Guzerāt bullocks are superior to all other breeds of oxen. It is from them that the tribe of Kuntibhojas must have

[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 157–158.
[2] Vana (Draupadiharana) Parva, cclxiv. p. 782.
[3] Arrian, Periplus, chap. 38.

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been descended, for their name, which means the Bhojas of the lance (Kunta), shows that they were a tribe of light cavalry. Their capital was on the river Aṣva or the horse river.[1] And it is their horses which are the famous Bhoja breed, celebrated in the Jātaka stories, as being the best of chargers.[2] These Bhojas were apparently quite distinct from the Gandharva or charioteers, as they are also called Vatsas, the calves or sons of the cow, and their country Vatsabhūmi. This name shows that they must have been cattle herdsmen before they became horsemen. What is most probable is that they were a tribe of riding herdsmen like the Ganchos of the Argentine Republic in South America, or the cowboys of Texas. It would have been impossible to tend large herds of cattle in the wide plains of the Cutch country, unless the herdsmen could follow the cattle on horseback, and it was probably these herdsmen who joined the Sauvīra in their progress eastwards. They were also probably allied to, or still more probably the same people as, the Ṣakas or Scythians, who also lived in the Kuntibhoja and Avanti country.

The whole evidence shows that the Bhoja tribes were a very mixed race. They originally apparently came from Irān, where they were a people who claimed to be descended from the cow. They became greatly intermixed with the tribes which were most numerous in the countries where they settled. In the north and east, where the Kauravya, Irāvata, and Takka races were the dominant tribes, they were closely allied to and intermarried with them. In the countries of Rajputana, Malwa, and Kāthiāwāṛ, where the Kolarian or Yavana element was predominant, they were intimately related to the Kolarians, and it was in the Mathura or Surasena district in the east of this country that the Vrishni Bhojas became half Aryans. In Saurāshṭra and the Delta of the Indus they were chiefly connected with the Sauvīra.

The earliest achievement of the Bhoja tribes recorded in

[1] Vana (Kundalāharana) Parva, cccvii. p. 907. This is considered by Lassen to be one of the western tributaries of the Chambal.
[2] Buddhist Birth Stories, translated by Rhys Davids, No. 23, p. 245.

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the Mahābhārata was the conquest of the lower valleys of the Nerbudda and Tapti, called the Vidarbha country. It was peopled by Kolarian tribes, as the king of the Vidarbha is mentioned in the list of Krodhavasa kings.[1] It was after the Bhojas got possession of it called Ariaki, and it is by this name that the country south of the Tapti is called in Ptolemy's map. I have already shown that Āryaka is called a snake king, and the name shows that it must have been adopted by a people who claimed to be of Aryan descent. These people, to all appearance, claimed to be descended from a snake ancestor, because they found all the royal races of the country making a similar claim. Like the Jews of old who were always falling into idolatry and worshipping the gods of neighbouring tribes, so the northern cattle-owning tribes, ignoring their national descent from the cow, worshipped a snake god and claimed a snake ancestry, because all their neighbours did so. The Brahmins, like the prophets among the Jews, maintained the higher form of worship; but the great mass of the people preferred the gods of the country to those reverenced by their teachers. In doing this they separated religion from morals, and thought that all their religious duties were discharged, and their prosperity secured, by sacrifices offered to obtain the assistance of, or to ward off the wrath of the gods whom they regarded as their ancestors.[2]

But though these people called themselves the sons of the snake Aryaka, their earlier appellation was the sons of Rohinī, the cow, and the change from the female line of descent to the male is significant as probably showing the transition from the matriarchal system of relationship to the patriarchal. That the recognized lines of relationship in early times among the Kolarian tribes in India was matriarchal is shown by the account of the matrimonial liberty allowed to the women of the Vidarbha tribe, who were the subjects of King Nila.[3]

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva. lxvii. p. 197.

[2] Ancestors were probably first worshipped partly from motives of affection, but one very potent cause was also the fear of their ghosts. The aboriginal tribes now practise elaborate ceremonies to remove the ghosts of their dead from their former abodes. It is on this account probably that the Dravidian tribes throw the knee and elbow bones of their dead into the nearest river once a year, keeping them hanging up together meanwhile, so that they may forget the places where they once lived.

[3] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi. 89 to 91.

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The women of this tribe chose their own husbands and dismissed them when they liked. Another proof of the ancient prevalence of the matriarchate are the continual assertions that "the mother is but the sheath in which the father begets the son, indeed the father is himself the son."[1] The same idea also appears in the descent of the Pāṇḍavas from Pṛtha, the daughter of the sun, without the invention of an earthly father. This story seems to have especially struck Megasthenes, as Arrian, who quotes from him, has a long passage about the Surasena being descended from Pandæa, the daughter of Hercules,[2] by her father, who was, like Hercules, the sun-god.

It seems to be exceedingly doubtful whether the Bhojas ever called themselves the sons of Yayāti; but those who were related to the line of Yayāti called the Irāvata, and those who came from the north, and either adopted or brought with them from their home in Media their martial gods,[3] called themselves Āriaka[4] when speaking of themselves as the worshippers or sons of a special god. They usually, however, called themselves, as they do now, Bhojas or Ahirs, while Ṣiva was adopted as a name by those who still worshipped the snake-gods under the form of Ṣiva. They never called themselves Druhyu, which name, as I have shown before, is, as well as the names of the other sons of Yayāti, an invention of the Aryan bards.

I have now traced the different tribes of Bhojas, and have shown that the Kāmbhojas and the Abhirias on the Indus seem to have come from the north and west. Next to these come the sons of Rohinī, all probably descended from a union of the Bhojas from the Euphrates valley, with the Kolarian tribes. The infusion of Kolarian blood probably increased

[1] Adi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 284. Similar expressions occur in several other places.

[2] Arrian, Indika, viii.

[3] By this term I mean Sakko or Sakra, whom I have formerly suggested to be the Scythian war god worshipped under the symbol of the sword, which all Rajput tribes still worship.

[4] The Zendavesta clearly shows that there was a large snake-worshipping population in Media, and the sun-worshippers who lived among them were not the only people who emigrated into India.

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among the more southern tribes, and Rukmi, the king of Bhojakata, is represented as a Krodhavasa king. But the sons of Rohinī who went eastward joined themselves with the Aryan Brahmins, and became the sun-worshipping people of Surasena, known as the Vrishnis. It was they who were the Kuntibhojas, and the Ṣakas named in the Mahābhārata among the list of tribes living close to Mallarashtra in Avanti. Under the name of Sākyas, they led the Ikshvāku army, and established the great kingdom of Kosala, of which the capital, Sāketa, was called by their name, and they were the leaders of the armies of the other Sindhu Suvarṇa tribes who overran Bengal and Mithila.[1] The Bhojas who lived in the eastern country before the advent of the western tribes appear to be more distinctly Dravidian than those in the west, where there was a much greater intermixture of races.

Having attempted to disentangle the difficult questions connected with the descent of the Bhojas, I will now proceed to try and sketch out their history as recorded in the Mahābhārata. The first question to be considered is as to the share they took in the great war which deprived the Haihayas of the supremacy of the Nerbudda and Tapti valleys. In the Mahābhārata the conquest of the Haihayas is attributed to Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, of the Bhrigu race. He is said to have killed Arjuna, the son of Kritavirya, the Haihaya king, with all the Haihayas, because he had killed Jamadagni, his father.[2] Now, as I shall show later on, the Bhṛigus were certainly not a Bhoja tribe.

[1] The Ikshvākus, *i.e.* the sons of the Iksha, the sugar cane, are probably the united confederacy of the Suvarṇa and Ṣāka Bhojas. Alberuni's India. Sachau's edition, vol. i. chap. xxi. p. 235, quotes from the Matsya and Vishnu Purāṇas the names of the continents. In the Matsya Purāṇa Ṣākadwīpa, or the continent of the Ṣākas, is said to have a sea of milk (kshīrodaka). The same continent is called Plaksha dwīpa in the Vishnu Purāṇa, and its sea is said to be of Iksha, the sugar cane. Plaksha is the sacred tree at Prāyag, the junction of the Jumna and Ganges (Mahābhārata, Vana Tirtha-Yatra Parva, cxxix. p. 390). It is the Pakur (Ficus infectoria), one of the trees belonging to the same family as the Bur or Banyan tree. The story in the Bhavishya Purāṇa before alluded to, telling how Ṣamba, son of Krishna, brought priests of the sun from Ṣākadwīpa, shows that it means the Persian and Assyrian country, and therefore the Purāṇa traditions show that both the cattle herdsmen, the sons of milk, and the sons of the Ikshu, or sugar cane, came from Assyria, and the connection between the Ikshvāku and the Kolarian races is shown by introduction of the Plaksha, one of the Bur trees, which will be shown to be the distinctive tree of the Kolarians.

[2] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, cxvi.-cxvii. pp. 358-362.

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But at the same time Rāma seems to have been an ancestral god of the Bhojas, or cattle tribes, just as Vāsuki was the god of the Sauvīra; for we find that Rāma, the son of Rohinī, is the ancestor of the Dwāraka Bhojas, and Rāma, the son of Daçaratha, is the ancestral hero of the Bhojas of Ayodhya, who were apparently, as will be shown later, the royal snake race of Kanhā-Gotamakas mentioned in the Chullavagga. The name of Rāma, occurring as the hero of the Haihaya conquest, seems to show that the Bhojas were united with the Bhrigus in the war, and subsequent history shows that they took a principal part in it, as we find that they became rulers of the conquered country.

The further progress of the Bhojas and their allies eastward may be traced in the legend of Karṇa, given in the Mahābhārata. Karṇa was, like the Pāṇḍavas, the son of Pṛthā, but his father was Arka or Surya the sun.[1] He was born before Pṛtha married Paṇḍu, and while his mother was living in the Kuntibhoja capital on the river Aṣwa. His mother, wishing to conceal his birth, placed him in a basket in the river, and thence the child was floated first down to Charmanvati (Chambal), then to the Jumna, and then to the Ganges, till he reached Champa, the capital of Anga. He was there saved by Radhā, wife of Adhiratha, of the Suta or Charioteer caste.[2] He was thence brought to the court of Dhritarāshtra, was educated with the young Kauravyas and Pāṇḍavas, and was finally made king of Anga, the modern Bhagalpur, by Duryodhana, eldest son of Dhritarāshtra.[3] This story shows that the Kuntibhojas became at one time rulers of Anga, probably at the same time as the Sauvīra settled in the adjoining province of Kārna Suvarṇa.[4] These people were doubtless the Andhakas, whom we find in the Monghyr inscription,[5] as well as in Manu,[6] named with the Medas, showing that the two

[1] Vana (Kandalaharana) Parva, cccv.-cccviii. pp. 901–907.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxi. pp. 330–331.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxxviii. and cxxxix. pp. 405 and 406.
[4] The name Karṇa-Suvarṇa being derived from the Karṇa, the mixed race who worshipped the sun god under the name Karṇa, and the Suvarṇa.
[5] Asiatic Researches, vol. i. art. iii. p. 62.
[6] Manu, x. 44.

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tribes were close neighbours. These Medas were the Medo-Kalingæ of Pliny,[1] who ruled the Delta of the Ganges beginning at Rajmahal on the Bhagalpur boundary, and the Andhakas were the Bhojas of Dwāraka or Kāthiāwāṛ, who are called in the Mahābhārata Andha Bhojas.[2] But the zeal of the Kuntibhojas was not satisfied with the diffusion of the cult of sun worship; it was also they, or rather the branch of the tribe called the Vrishṇis, who were the chief apostles of Vishnuism. This, though it afterwards became metaphysical and pantheistic, was apparently in its beginning a strictly ethical movement; one of the principal articles of the creed was the necessity of abstaining from intoxicating drinks. This prohibition was directed against the hard drinking habits of the Kolarian races, and Krishṇa, as the chief apostle of the temperance crusade, was called the slayer of Madhu or the demon of strong drink,[3] while Mādhavī, the daughter of Madhu, was first held to be the mother of the Kolarian tribes, and afterwards became the daughter of Yayāti in the Gālava legend, already alluded to, which will be fully discussed further on.

The further great advance of the Sauvīra-Bhojas eastward, and the establishment of the Ikshvāku kingdom of Sāketa, did not take place till long after the period dealt with in the original Mahābhārata, for though the story of Sītā and Rāma is given in the poem, it is evidently a much later addition, written long after the time when the Ikshvāku king was one of the vassals of the king of the Sindhu-Sauvīra.[4] The principal leaders in this conquest, as in the earlier conquest of the Haihaya territories in the west, were doubtless the race called in the Chullavagga Kaṇha or Krishṇa Gotama races. Their descent is shown by the name Rohinī, given to the river close to the Gautama city of Kapilavastu, where the Buddha was born.[5] These Gautamas were at a much later period superseded by the Bais Rajputs, to whom they are said to have given half their territory, and these Bais Rajputs were of the same race as Sālivāhana and the Andhra or Andha kings.

[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 22.
[2] Sabha (Raja Suyarambha) Parva, xiv. p. 4, and many other places.
[3] Madhu is spirit made from the Mahowa tree (Bassia latifolia).
[4] Vana (Draupadihapurana) Parva, cclxiv. p. 782.
[5] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 318.

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This dynasty also doubtless descended from the Andha tribes of Kāthiāwāṛ.[1] Though there is little record of the history of the Bhojas of the East, it seems that the influence of the Bhoja races on the religious and political history of the country was not merely confined to the warlike tribes who preached sun-worship and Vishnuism, and commanded the conquering armies of the West. Their Eastern brethren, the Ṣivas, had doubtless no small influence in the development of the worship of Ṣiva, and the substitution of the one god Mahādeva for the five ancestral snake-gods.

The Solar Rajput tribes must have been originally descended from the aryanized Vrishṇis and Sakas or Kuntibhojas. When under Brahmin influence Aryan descent was considered to make those who could boast of it superior to their neighbours; the aryanized warrior tribes, who had allied themselves with Aryans and become sun and fire worshippers, called themselves Solar Rajputs. The royal tribes representing the descendants of the kings of the snake races were ranked in the inferior class of Lunar Rajputs. The Solar races, however, long remembered that their ancestors were Bhoja chiefs, and the memory of their original descent is preserved in the name of Bhojpur, by which name the specially Rajput country on the banks of the Ganges east of Benares is still called, and it is the Bhojpuri dialect which is still spoken in Behar.

Bhāratas.—I now come to the Bhāratas, who were an exceedingly powerful and wide-spread race, who had a large share in working out the history of Northern India. It is they who have given their name to the great Indian epic, as the Mahābhārata is the history of the great Bhārata, According to the statement in the beginning of the poem,[2] it tells the history of the Kurus, Yadus, Bhāratas, of the sons of Yayāti and Ikshvāku, but the main object of the writers was to give the history of the Bhāratas, and to show how the other tribes were connected with them. The importance of the Bhāratas is shown by the name Bhāratavarsha

[1] Sir H. Elliot, Supplementary Glossary N.W.P. art. Beis, pp. 58-60.
[2] Ādi Parva, i. p. 4.

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(the country of the Bhāratas), which is nearly as well known a name of India among Sanskrit authors as Jambudwipa. Jambudwipa means the island of the Jambu tree:[1] the well-known Jaman tree so universally found throughout Northern India. The name Bhārata, which is, as I shall show further on, a much later form of the name, is in all probability derived from the name Bur or Banyan tree. In the list of the Buddhas, Kassapa, the last of the Buddhas before the great Gautama, is said to have had his chief city at Benares, his father was Bramadatta the Brahmin. Bhāradvāja was one of his chief disciples, and the Bur or Banyan tree his sacred tree.[2] Now Kassapa is evidently Kāṣyapa, the son of Mārici, the grandson of Brahma,[3] and the father of gods and men. Bhāradvāja, his chief disciple, was the head of the Brahmin family of that name, who were, as will be shown, the priests of the Bhāratas, and the people to whom he was priest were the people of the Bur-tree. The name is found everywhere in Northern India in those of provinces and cities, and the river Barna, on which Varanasi or Benares, the city of Kassapa, stands, is the river of the Bars or Burs. Sir H. Elliot says of the Bhars,[4] "Common tradition assigns to them the possession of the whole land from Ghorukpur to Bundelkund and Saugor. The large Pergunnah of Bhudoi in Benares, formerly called Bhurdoi, is called after their name. Many old stone forts, embankments, and subterranean caverns in Ghorukpur, Azimgurh, Jounpur, Mirzapur, and Allahabad are ascribed to them. On the hills to the east of Mirzapur they retain a few principalities: Korar, Koraich, and Huraha, are each held by Bhur Rajas, and the country between Bijaigurh and Chainpur is full of them. The famous fort of Bijaigurh among others is attributed to their being called a Bhuraoti fort."[5]

[1] Eugenia Jambolana.
[2] Fausböll, Jātaka, vol. i. p. 43, sect. 245.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 185.
[4] Elliot's Supplementary Glossary N.W.P. art. Bhars, pp. 82–84.
[5] Mr. Sherring, in an article on the Bhars, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. pp. 376–400, shows how the Bhars were turned out of Allahabad and Fyzabad, both of which districts formerly belonged to them, by successive invasions of Rajput tribes from the West. In the same article, p. 391, he describes the numerous Bhar remains

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Mr. Smith, in a paper on the Bhurs of Bundelkund in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,[1] shows that out of 250,000 Bhurs in the North-West Provinces, 22,488 are, according to the last census, found in the following districts: Jounpur, 14,605; Azimgurh, 74,144; Benares, 34,805; Ghazipur, 53,060; Ghorukpur, 43,152; Busti, 173,22; so that there are large numbers of Bhurs found now in all the districts between Benares and the Nepal frontier. Mr. Smith further says that though they have been displaced from Bundelkund by the Chandels, yet "the presence of the Bhurs in the Hamirpore districts is attested by tradition and local names in every Pergunnah." Mr. Carnegy, Commissioner of Roy Bareilly, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,[2] derives the names of Bhardoi, Bharosa, Bharaich, and also that of the town of Bhartpur from the Bhurs, and if Roy Bareilly owes its name to the Bhurs, the more northern Bareilly is probably derived from the same source; so that, though their numbers may be greater throughout Eastern Oude, there were probably many sections of the tribe scattered throughout the whole of Northern Kosala or Ayodhya.

The Bhurs were also powerful and numerous in Bengal. On the top of the Barābar hill in the Gya district is an ancient temple with a lingam, where a large fair is held. This is said to have been erected by the Bhur Raja of Dinajpur, East of the Ganges.[3] People of Bhur origin, more generally called Bauris and Bagdis, are exceedingly numerous throughout Bengal, more especially in the districts of the province or kingdom of Karṇa-Suvarṇa. In the Burdwan District these tribes contain the following numbers:

Bauris	82,254
Bagdis	148,148
Total.....	230,402

found in the ruins of the ancient Bhar city of Pampapura, near Mirzapur. These show the Bhars to have been a cultured and civilized people.

[1] B.A.S.J. vol. xlv. pp. 297 seqq.

[2] B.A.S.J. vol. xlv. p. 303.

[3] Hunter's Gazetteer, s.v. Barābar, vol. ii. p. 175.

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In Bankura the numbers are:

Bauris	117,548
Bagdis	47,146
Total.....	164,694

In Birbhum:

Bauris	27,250
Bagdis	40,030
Total.....	67,280

Of these people the Bagdis are generally fishermen, though both they and the Bauris are also cultivators and labourers. They form in Burdwan more than twenty per cent. of the whole Hindoo population, and in Bankura and Birbhum more than ten per cent., so that the river Burrākar, which flows along the Western boundary of the district they occupy, is rightly called the river of the Burs. This evidence clearly shows that the author of the Harivansa, quoted by Sir H. Elliot,[1] is quite right in saying of the Bars, "They form an immense family whose numbers it is not possible to mention;" and the Bhīshma Purāṇa says the Burs are commonly not specified because of their great numbers. But the country of the Bhurs does not end with the large tract extending from the Nepal frontier to Bundelkund and south through Bengal to which I have traced them. There is also the strongest reason to believe that the race extended as far west as the ancient port of Baragyza, the modern Bharoch, which apparently derives its name from the Bars. There is in the Mahābhārata direct evidence that they held lands in Rajputāna, as Bhīma conquered the king of the Bhargas,[2] whose country lay between Vatsabhūmi, the country of the Kuntibhojas and that of the Nishadas. I have already shown that in the days of the Mahābhārata the country of the Kuntibhojas was on the west of the Charmanvati (Chambal), and that

[1] Harivamsa, i. p. 157.
[2] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxx. p. 86.

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of the Nishadas is said in the Mahābhārata to have been on the Sarasvatī close to Vināṣana.[1] The country between these two was that of the Matsyas, whose capital is Virāta, the modern Bairāt near Joypur,[2] and it is near Bairāt that Lassen, in Kiepert's map, places the town of Bharatapura. In the Mahābhārata we find the closest possible alliance subsisting between the Aryan Pāṇḍavas, the Krishṇas, and the Matsyas; but this last name, which, merely means Fishermen, could not have been the tribal name of this people, and must have been given by people who looked on them as an inferior race. In the Mahābhārata, though we do not find the name of the Bhargas as that of a people living in the Matsya country except in the passage quoted above, we find the country usually called Virāta. It is therefore exceedingly probable that Virātas and Bhāratas were the same people, and that the name Virāta gives an earlier form of the word. The name Bharga is certainly of later origin, as it is not used in the Virāta Parva, which, as I have shown, is a very early part of the Mahābhārata. It only knows of nine Rudras, and knows nothing of the eleventh, which is Bharga. The name Bharga was apparently that of the most Western section of the Bhārata tribes, among whom the tradition of the sanctity of Bhrigu was current. It was probably only used as the name for the Bhāratas of Virāta after the addition of the eleventh Rudra, and it was after the change in the numbers of the celestial beings had been made that the legend of Yayāti and of the descent of his two sons, Yadu and Turvasu, from the grand-daughter of Bhṛigu, was elaborated.

In the list of places given above, which are said to have been named after the Bhurs, the aspirated *b* used in the Mahābhārata and the Rigveda is frequently *b* or *v*. This last, which is apparently the older form, appears in the name Barna or Varna, the river on which Benares stands. The further change of *a* into *i*, necessary to connect Virāta with Barāta, is found in the name Birbhum or Virbhum, which was doubtless

[1] Vana (Tirtha Yatra) Parva, cxxx. p. 392.
[2] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 340.

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originally Barabhum, the land of the Bars. This name is still found in that of the Pergunnah of Barabhum in the neighbouring district of Mānbhum, one of those belonging to Karṇa Suvarṇa.

A further proof of the ancient form of the name is found in the list of royal snake-races given in the Chullavagga. I have already identified two of these races, the Erāpatha, with the Irāvata, or Haihayas, and the Kānha-gotamakas, with the cattle-herding tribes. Considering that the Bars have been shown to have been from time immemorial a numerous and influential people in Kosala or Ayodhya, it is impossible to believe that they should not be mentioned among the royal races of the eastern country. They must, therefore, be the Virūpakkas, or pakshas, the collection (paksha) of the Virūs, a description which is exceedingly applicable to such a numerous and wide-spread race, and the name Viru must be one by which they were known in very early times, and most probably was the ancient name of the Virāta.

I would, therefore, submit that the above argument gives strong reasons for believing that the earliest form of the name Bhārata was derived from Bar or Bur, the name of the Bur tree (Ficus Indica). The name afterwards, when applied to a series of tribes, became Bārata, the sons of the Bur tree, and was then changed into Vir or Vira, perhaps from some association with the word Vir, a hero. The country of the Virātas would therefore be that of the Western Bhāratas, and this would make the whole story of the poem of the Mahābhārata much more intelligible and rational than it appears to be at present.

As the story stands now it seems to be in the last degree absurd that Ṣantanu, the great king of the Kauravyas, the most powerful people in Northern India, should marry Satyavatī, the daughter, not of a king, but of a fisherman.[1] That Satyavatī should, before she married Ṣantanu, have become by the Rishi Paraṣara the mother of the Rishi Vyāsa, otherwise called Krishna Dwaipayana. That this Rishi, though the

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, c. p. 304.

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illegitimate son of a fisherman's daughter, should become the father of Santanu's grandsons, Dhritarāshtra, the father of the Kauravyas, and of Pāṇḍu, the reputed father of the Pāṇḍavas. Again, why should Abhimanyu, the son of the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna, and the sister of Krishna, marry Uttarā, the daughter of the king of the Matsya, or fishing people,[1] or the king of this people become with the king of the Panchālas one of the principal leaders of the Pāṇḍava army.

If the Matsyas were the western representatives of the Bhārata race, the aspect of the case becomes very different, for their marriages and alliances would unite the Kauravyas and Pāṇḍavas with the most powerful and most wide-spread race in the country. If the Matsyas or Virātas are not Bhāratas, it is difficult to understand the title of the poem. The whole story leads up to the last great contest between the Panchālas and Matsyas or Virātas, headed by the Pāṇḍavas and Krishna on one side, and the Kauravyas with the Madras or Takkas and the Gandhāri on the other. It tells of the victory of the side led by the Pāṇḍavas; but if the Pāṇḍavas were the only victorious heroes, what becomes of the title of the poem? It can only be called the Mahābhārata if it tells of the success of the great Bhārata, and is quite intelligible if the Virātas and Matsyas are Bhāratas, but not otherwise, for the Panchālas certainly do not belong to the Bhārata race. If the Virātas are Bhāratas, the story of the poem would be plain. It would tell how the Bhāratas had gradually, under Aryan guidance, consolidated their hold on the Gangetic valley and the routes to the sea; how they had driven back the Haihayas, and how they finally repelled the northern tribes, and curbed their power of future aggression, by establishing themselves in Dehli, the strategic advantages of which position have been already explained.

But to return to the evidence as to the Bhārata power. Strong proof of this is given in the Āprī hymns in the Rigveda. There are ten of these hymns, composed as sacri-

[1] Virāta (Vaivāhika) Parva, lxxii. pp 182-185.

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ficial invocations, arranged in almost precisely the same order in each hymn. In every one of these is a verse calling on the river goddesses to attend the sacrifice, and in seven of them the goddesses invoked are Iḍā, Bharatī, and Sarasvatī. In two hymns[1] Mahī is used instead of Bharatī. In the Āprī hymn of the Viṣvāmitra or Bhārata Mandala,[2] Bharati is called to come with the Bhāratas, Iḍā with the gods, Agni with men, and Sarasvatī with her sons. This passage shows clearly that it was customary to speak of tribes as descended from rivers, and a further instance of this custom has been already cited from the Mahābhārata, where the Matsyas are said to be descended from the river Suktimati and the mountain Kolahala.[3] It seems to me to be perfectly clear, that all these three goddesses were rivers, and that they were specially invoked because these rivers which they personified had a traditional connection with the leading tribes in Northern India. There can be no doubt that Sarasvatī was a river, and in proving what rivers were personified by Bharatī and Iḍā, it must be remembered that in two hymns Bharatī is also called Mahī. The Mahī must be the river known still by that name, which falls into the Gulf of Kambay, passing through the country of Guzerāt or Baroda. It must have been originally called Baratī, or the river of the Bars, which was afterwards changed into the Mahī or great river, and the name Bar must be preserved in that of Baroda. Further, very strong proof that this was originally a Bar country is furnished by the name Viṣvāmitra being given to the river on which Baroda stands,[4] which is also spoken of under the same name in the Mahābhārata.[5] If the country were not a Bhārata country, the race could not have been called in the very early times in which the name was given, after the bard who is supposed in the Rigveda to especially represent the Bhāratas.

The name Iḍā is, I believe, no less significant. Iḍā is the

[1] Rigv. v. 5. 8; i. 13. 9.
[2] Rigv. iii. iv. 8.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxiii. p. 164.
[4] Hunter's Gazetteer of India, vol. ii. p. 170.
[5] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra), Parva, lxxxix. p. 293.

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same word as Iḷā and Iṛā, for the *ḍ*, *ḷ*, and *ṛ* are closely allied letters. Iḷa in the Mahābhārata is the son of Manu,[1] and in the genealogy of the kings of Ayodhya, given in the Vishnu Purāna,[2] Iḷa is both a man and a woman, and in both the Mahābhārata and Vishnu Purāna Iḷa is the parent of Pururavas.[3] In the Mahābhārata genealogy Iḷa is the great-grandfather of Nahusha, the great snake; it follows, therefore, that his or her descendants are the Irāvata or Erāpatha, whom I have already shown to be the Haihayas. The river to which their descent was attributed in the Rigveda was probably the Irāvatī, or Ravi, or Purushṇī of the Panjab, which may perhaps have also been adopted as a parent river when the Haihayas were the dominant power not only in the East but also in the West. That the memory of them in the West, and the worship of their ancestral god Irāvata or Ilāputra (the son of Ila), were preserved to a late period, is shown by the fact that it was he who was the god of the great temple of Somanāth, the lord of Soma the moon, where Siva was worshipped under the form of the linga adorned with the crescent moon. The connection between Somnāth and Ilāputra is indicated by Sir A. Cunningham,[4] who shows that it is most probable that the city of Patan Somnāth was the same as that in which the fort and temple of Elāpura were built by Krishna, the Pahlava prince, in 720 A.D. This conjecture, if correct, would show Ilāputra was the god who was afterwards worshipped as Ṣiva. The name Rāvataka, given in the Mahābhārata to the hills overlooking Dwāraka, is certainly connected with Irāvata.[5]

I have thus shown that the three river-goddesses invoked in the Rigveda are those of the Aryans, the Bhāratas, and the Haihayas, and that both the last two tribes were exceedingly

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 282.

[2] Vishnu Purāna, chap. iv.

[3] This is a corroboration of the conjecture that the Purus are representatives of the snake races in general. If Pururavas and Iḷa are the ancestors of the great serpent Nahusha, they are ancestors of all the snake races.

[4] Alberuni's India, Sachau's edition, vol. ii. p. 103; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 319.

[5] Ādi (Arjunavanasa) Parva, ccxx. p. 502; see also p. 504, where Revatī is also called the wife of Valarāma, the son of Rohinī, and the traditional ancestor of the Andha Bhojas of Dwāraka.

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powerful in the country south of the Sutlej. By this time, when the Rigveda hymns were written, the power of the Haihayas had apparently been considerably broken, and they had been driven South by the allied Yadavas and Turvaṣus. In tracing the history of the contest onwards, the Bhṛigus become exceedingly prominent, and these Bhṛigus I believe to be a Bhārata tribe. We find in two hymns of the eighth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda the Bhṛigus and the Yatis mentioned together.[1] In the first of these passages Indra is asked to give the bard and his people the same courage and knightly skill with which he helped the Yatis, Bhṛigus and the sons of Kanva; and in the second the Yati race and the Bhṛigus are said to be dear to Indra. The Yatis are evidently the sons of Yayāti, and the Kanvas were, as I have shown, a family of Western Brahmins, who were intimately connected with the Yadu and Turvaṣu. The Bhṛigus or Bhargavas are in the Mahābhārata, in the story of the slaughter of the Haihayas by Rāma of the Bhṛigu race, spoken of partly as a family of ascetics and partly as warriors, but in another passage they are said to be a wealthy people whom the Haihayas plundered.[2] That they were also a fighting race is clear, not only from the passages of the Rigveda quoted above, but also from the fact that they were one of the tribes who opposed the Tṛtsus in the battle of the ten kings. The Bhṛigus were thus in the forefront of the battle with the Druhyus or Bhojas, and close behind the Turvaṣu and Matsya, and they were also evidently joined as warriors with the Bhojas in the conquest of the Nerbudda

[1] Rigv. viii. 3. 9; viii. 6. 18. The mention of the Bhṛigus and Yatis together here seems to show that the legend of the descent of the tribes of the West from Yayāti had its origin in the Avanti and Nerbudda country. It will be recollected that Devayanī, the wife of Yayāti and the mother of Yadu, and Turvaṣu, was the grand-daughter of Bhṛigu, and the legends of the Bhṛigus are all confined to the country bordering on the Nerbudda. In that case the order of the sons of Yayāti would be given according to the position of the tribes descended from the beginning from the south. First come the Yadus and Turvaṣus; that is, the Yadus, or the arianized cattle-herding races, and the Turvaṣus, or the arianized forest tribes, answering to the Yavanas. Then the Druhyu or Bhojas, answering to the Kambojas. Next the Anu, who are the Kolarian tribes north of the Purushnī, and last of all the Purus, the Kuru-Takkas or city-builders.

[2] Ādi (Chaitra-ratha) Parva, clxix. pp. 512–514.

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and Tapti valleys. The objection that the Bhṛigus cannot be Bhāratas, but must be Aryans, because there were Brahmin ascetics among them, cannot hold against the innumerable proofs in the Mahābhārata that there were Brahmin ascetics and Rishis who were not Aryans. Vyāsa, the son of the Matsya princess Satyavatī, was certainly not an Aryan, and in the discourse of Yudishthira with Nahusha the serpent about the intermixture of races, which has been already quoted, he does not exempt the Brahmins, for he says: "A Brahmana is not a Brahmana by birth alone, but it is said by the wise that he in whom these virtues are seen is a Brahmana." I have already shown that the Bhāratas are called Bhargas, and in the account of the contest between Rāma the son of Daṣaratha and Rāma of the Bhṛigu race, the latter is called Bhargava,[1] and the same term is applied to Sukra, the father of Devayanī, by Vrisha-parva, the father of Sharmishtā.[2] It would appear, as I have said before, that the name Bharga is connected with the eleventh Rudra, and the question connected with this will be dealt with later on. Here it must suffice to point to the name Baragyza, which seems to be derived from the Bars, and to show that the tribe belonging to that race in the West used a guttural *g* in their name, and this will account for the Bhāratas being called Bhargas.

I have thus traced the Bhāratas right across India, and have shown that in the early history of the Vedic and Mahābhārata eras the recorded wars in which they took a part were in the West. They were also, as I have shown, a numerous and powerful people in the East, but their history in that part of the country does not come under the notice of Sanskrit authors till the Western tribes had established their rule in that part of the country. The Bhojas or Rajput tribes, in their progress eastward, as I have before shown, dispossessed the Bhars, and though according to the story in the Mahābhārata, Rāma the Bhṛigu goes to Ayodhya to meet Rāma the son of Dasaratha,[3] the real fact was doubt-

[1] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, xcix. pp. 316–317.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxxx. p. 245.
[3] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, xcix. p. 315.

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less the other way; instead of the Bhṛigus going from the West to Ayodhya, Rāma, Dasaratha's son, who represented the Bhojas coming from the West, found them there. They being the Bars, who have been shown to have been formerly so numerous and powerful in Eastern Ayodhya.

As for the origin of the Bhāratas I would submit that the evidence hitherto given points to their being Kolarians. I have shown that the Virātas were almost certainly Bhāratas, and also that they were a people similar in their habits to the Kolarian race, otherwise they would not have kept up the Kolarian dances. The evident connection between them and the Bur tree also points to a Kolarian origin, for the Dravidians would have called themselves the sons of the tree. Trees were afterwards reverenced by the Dravidians as the children of the earth and the signs of its generative power, but they never would have called the tree their father. The Kolarians, on the contrary, looked on the trees of the village Surna as the home of the local god. These local gods were the totems and gods or eponymous ancestors of the people living within their jurisdiction, they would therefore naturally call the trees where these gods lived their father, and themselves the sons of the trees growing in the sacred grove. In looking for a tree which could be described as the common father of so numerous a tribe as the Bhāratas, it is impossible to select one which was so pre-eminently fitted to be the representative tree of the people of India as the Banyan tree, which is especially peculiar to the country.[1]

But though the Bhāratas were apparently originally Kolarians, they were also included among the snake races. I have shown that it is probable that they were the Virūpakshas, and I shall now show that they are almost certainly the Dhritarāsh-

[1] But perhaps the earliest form of the name Bārata came from the Mundari (Kolarian) word *ḍuru* 'a hill,' and that as the Kolarians preferred living in the hilly tracts, they called themselves the sons of the hill, mountains being an especial object of their worship. But the Kolarian tribes who settled in the low country could not any longer justify the name of sons of the hill. They therefore called themselves sons of the Bur or hill-like tree, in which their mountain god was supposed to reside on accompanying his votaries to their new abode. The whole question is discussed further on in p. 292 with reference to the chronological indications given by the adoption of this and similar names.

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tras of the five royal races of the Mahābhārata. I have already identified the Vāsuki, Takshakas, Irāvata, and Kauravya among these races, and there only remains the Dhritarāshtra.

In one passage in the beginning of the Mahābhārata Dhritarāshtra is called the brother of Irāvata,[1] and Yudishthira says he is the first of all Nāgas.[2] Both Dhritarāshtra and Irāvata live in the country north-east of the Ganges, or the country of Kosala, where there are said to be many habitations of snakes.[3] The shrine of Kapila, called in the Mahābhārata the king of the Nāgas,[4] is in that country, and he is the same Kapila who in the Buddhist records is said to be the Brahmin Rishi, who gave the Sakyas the site of Kapilavastu, where the Buddha was born.

This country is, as I have shown, the ancestral home of the Bhāratas and Irāvata, and as the Haihayas are Irāvata, the Bhāratas must be Dhritarāshtra. But Dhritarāshtra in the Mahābhārata is not only the first of Nāgas, but he is also the father of the Kaurava princes and the brother of Paṇḍu. This Dhritarāshtra, the blind king of the Kauravyas, is a mythical personage, and the Dhritarāshtra whom the poet made into the blind king and father of the heroes commemorated in it is the legendary father of the Bhāratas regarded as a snake race. This is shown by the story of the hundred sons born to him and his wife Gandhārī at one birth. These hundred sons are evidently the ancestors of the numerous branches of the Bhārata race. Among these sons are Vindu and Anuvindu,[5] who afterwards appear as the kings of Avanti, or Ujjen, first in the conquests of Sahadeva,[6] and afterwards in the list of Kauravya forces gathered for the last great battle with the Pāṇḍavas.[7] We also find among these sons Chitravarma, who is said in another place to be the Asura Virūpaksha,[8] showing the identity of

[1] Ādi (Pausiya) Parva, iii. p 56.
[2] Virāta (Pandava Pravesa) Parva, iii. p. 4.
[3] Ādi (Pausiya) Parva, iii. p. 56.
[4] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, lxxx. p. 267.
[5] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 199.
[6] Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi. p. 88.
[7] Udyoga (Amvopakhyana) Parva, cxcvii. p. 558.
[8] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 194, see p. 284.

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the Bhāratas and Virūpakshas. The great king of Magadha, Jarasandha, also appears as one of Dhritarāshtra's sons, showing that the Bhāratas were among the earliest inhabitants of Magadha. But besides Dhritarāshtra and his hundred sons there is also another hero of a race which I have identified with the Bhāratas, who has also a hundred sons. This is Ārva, said in one place to be the grandson of Bhṛigu,[1] and in another the renovator of the Bhṛigu race when it was nearly destroyed by the Kshatryas under Kritavriya, the Haihaya king.[2] This is a further proof of the identity of the Bhṛigus with the Bhāratas in addition to those I have already urged. It seems, for the above reasons, clear that the Bhāratas were the snake races who claimed Dhritarāshtra as their ancestor, but Dhritarāshtra is clearly a Sanskrit compound meaning "he who holds the kingdoms together," and could not have been the tribal name of the Bhāratas. This was, as I have shown, a word derived from the root Bur. This original name was given them when the snake tribes introduced the custom of amalgamating the different totemistic ancestors of the several tribal sections into one common ancestor of the whole tribe. The Kolarian people could not call themselves sons of the snake as the earth-worshipping tribes did, but they called themselves the sons of the tree, which was the home of their gods, and they adopted the Bur tree as their distinctive tree. This change took place through Haihaya influence, and hence Dhritarāshtra, the reputed ancestor, afterwards called the father of the Burs, was said to be the brother of Irāvata. The two tribes evidently amalgamated in their ancient home in Kosala much in the same way as the Dravidian Ooraons and the Kolarian Mundas now live together in Chota Nāgpore. The government is founded on the village and provincial divisions of the Kolarians, but though the form has been altered so as to suit Dravidian ideas of centralization and national discipline, the Kolarians have a share in the government, which is not entirely in Dravidian hands, and hold village offices in their own

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 192.
[2] Ādi (Chaitraratha) Parva, clxix. pp. 512–517.

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villages just as the Dravidians do in theirs. Throughout a great part of the country, especially in the central provinces of Khukra and Lodma, the two races remain apart, though living in contiguous villages; the Muṇdas living in some villages, and the Ooraons in others, while in some they live together. In the other parts of the country the people are all Mundas, and in some all Ooraons; and in the frontier provinces, especially those to the south of the old kingdom of Manbhum, a mixed race called Bhumij has sprung up, descended from Munda and Dravidian parentage. This is, I believe, also the case with the Bauris before noted as the representative Bars of Bengal. Similarly the Bhārata race must have originally sprung from a mixture of Kolarian and Dravidian elements, but the great superiority that the Bhāratas gained in later times was due to Aryan and Sauvīra guidance, and to the intermingling of the blood of these tribes with that of the Bāratas and Irāvatas.

Gandhāri.—But these do not comprise all the elements which combined to form the Bārata race. There was another and most important tribe to which both they and the Aryans owed a great deal of their success in civilizing the country. This was the tribe of the Gandhāri who have been so frequently mentioned before in this paper. The wife of Dhritarāshtra was a Gandhāri, and it was she who was the mother of his hundred sons. I have before shown that the Gandhāri were the tribe who occupied the Kabul country at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion, who were called Aṣvaka, the cavaliers or the sons of the horse. I have identified them with the Chitraratha or Charioteers, and the Pṛthu or Parthians. Throughout the Rigveda and Mahābhārata all the principal warriors fight from chariots, and the race of charioteers were a most important and influential people, and the best and most valuable gift that could be given to a bard was a horse. The most important sacrifice in the ritual of the early Indian kings was the Aṣvamedha or horse sacrifice,[1] and the time of its performance was a pecu-

[1] Janamejaya, son of Puru, is said to have performed three horse sacrifices. Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 283.

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liarly auspicious season for securing an heir to the throne.[1] In the Ṣatapatha Brahmāṇa it is said that the queen of the king who is about to perform the sacrifice must sleep with the horse that is to be offered the night before it takes place.

In the Mahābhārata the Gandharvi, who are in some passages described like the Bhārgava as heavenly and supernatural beings, also appear as Charioteers. Gandharvī, their ancestress, is the sister of Rohinī, and the mother of all horses. The tribes who were the sons of horses (Asvaka) appear in the Mahābhārata in two different parts of the country. First in the North, where they are the Gandhāri, the people whose king is called by Hiouen Tsiang Aṣvapati or the lord of horses;[2] and secondly, in the land of the Kīchaka. This last country is situated on the Ganges, and it was here that the Pāṇḍavas met Chitraratha, the Gandharva king, after they had wandered through the countries of the Trigartas, Matsyas, and Panchālas,[3] when they were escaping from the Kauravyas, who had tried to burn their house. The mention of the Kīchaka country as the last of those traversed by the Pāṇḍavas distinctly shows that it lay beyond and next to that of the Panchālas; but the name Kīchaka gives a perfectly exact clue to its position. Kīchaka means the hill bamboo, and it would be impossible to find a more appropriate name for the country to the South of the Ganges between Benares and the Kaimur Vindhya range than the land of the hill bamboo. Whatever soil there is on the northern slopes of the Kaimur Vindhyas is exceedingly poor, as it is composed of disintegrated sandstone rock. The hill bamboo is almost the only tree on many parts of the rocky and almost precipitous sides of the hills, and it grows everywhere throughout the country. Strangers coming from the very different vegetation of the Doab would naturally speak of it as the bamboo land. The soil of the plains

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 36; Ṣatāpatha Brahmāṇa, 13. 2. 8. 3.

[2] Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. i. p. 13 note. He is called the king of the North, and Aṣvapati is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as one of the Asuras, the sons of Danu, the father of the snake races. Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 186.

[3] Adi (Hidimva-badha) Parva, clviii. p. 458.

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stretching from the river to the base of the hills is exceedingly dry and flat, and well suited for horses.

Chitraratha is the mythical name generally used for the Gandharva kings, and this visit of the Pāṇḍavas to the Kīchaka territory is an entirely mythical story; but that the country was occupied and ruled by horse owning tribes at the time of the Mahābhārata is a perfectly true historical fact. The king of the Gandharva, called by the name of Chitraratha, is said to have given 400 horses as tribute to Yudishthira.[1] But we also find another king of the Gandharva called Hansa,[2] who was one of the generals of Jarasandha, king of Magadha, and who ruled the Kīchaka country. He and another Gandharva king called Dimvaka or Chitrasena, drove the Yadavas from Mathura in the great war between the East and West, which seems to have been a real not a mythical contest.[3] Hansa is also called Kuṣika,[4] and it is through this name that it appears to be possible to trace accurately the progress of the Gandharvas from the North to the Benares district, which formed part of the tract called Kīchaka.

I have already shown that the chief town of the Gandhāri near the Indus was Kaṣyaka or Kaṣyapura.[5] This is precisely the same name as that of Kaṣī assigned to Benares, and it also contains that of the Kuṣiku or Kauṣika, the tribe to whom Benares belonged.[6] This country was, as we have seen, also the country of the Gandhārvi or Gandhari, and it is therefore exceedingly probable that Benares got its name of Kāṣi from the Kuṣika tribe who emigrated there from the banks

[1] Sabha (Dyuta) Parva, lii. p. 145.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvii. p. 198.
[3] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xiv. pp. 46 and 47.
[4] Sabha (Jarasandhabadha) Parva, xxii. p. 69.
[5] Prof. A. Weber, India and the West in Old Days, p. 6, gives the name as Kaṣyakapura.
[6] It is also the city of Kassapa the Buddha, which gives a further identification of the name. The capital of the Gandharvas of the Kīchaka country is in the Mahābhārata said to be Ekachakra, which is also mentioned among the nineteen capitals of the sons of Okkako (Ikshvāku) named in the Tika or abridged commentary on the Mahāvamso by Mahānāmo. Turnour's Mahavamso, Preface, p. xxxv. Ekachakra is probably the city of Pampapura mentioned in note 5, p 280. It was like Kaṣi both a Bar and Gandhāra city, which was subsequently ruled by Ikshvāku kings.

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of the Indus, settled in the Gangetic Doab as the Srṇjaya or Pārtha, occupied Benares, and gave to it the same name as they had given to their town on the Indus. But they were not the original founders of either town. Kaṣyakapura or Multan was, as we have seen, a town of the Kolarian Malli, just as Benares was a town of the Kolarian Bars.

Special evidence as to the connection between the Kaṣis, or Kuṣikas and the horse-sacrifice is given in the Vajasaneya and the Taittiryā Saṃhitas in the passage where the queen, who is obliged to sleep with the horse, remonstrates against the order.[1] In doing so she speaks to Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambālikā. Now these three names are those given in the Mahābhārata to the daughters of the king of Kaṣi, who were taken by Bhishma, son of Ṣantanu, as wives for his brother Vichitta Virya.[2] The occurrence of these three names in the conversation about the horse sacrifice points to a special connection between the Kūṣikas, the custom of sacrificing horses and the rules regulating the sacrifice.

But the derivation of these names, which is given in another part of the poem, gives a further and very curious insight into the national traditions of the Kūṣikas. Vrihadratha, the king of Magadha, and son of Vāsu, king of Chedi, had, like Ṣantanu's son Vichitta Virya, married two daughters of the king of Kaṣi, but had no son. He asked the Rishi Chandra-Kūṣika (the moon of the Kūṣikas), who belonged to the family of Gautama, to procure one for him. The Rishi caused an *am*, or mango fruit, to fall into the laps of his two queens, and from their eating this Jarasandha was miraculously born, half being born from each queen.[3] Now the names of the daughters of the king of Kaṣi who married Vichitta Virya mean the daughters of the Am, or Mango tree, and the births of Jarasandha and Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu in the two stories are strictly analogous. In the one Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu are the sons of the two queens Amvikā and Amvalikā by the help of the Rishi Vyāsa,

[1] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 36; V.S. 23. 18; Taitt. S. 7. 4. 19. 1.
[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cii p. 310; Vichitta Virya only married two.
[3] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xvii. pp. 54–57.

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whereas in the other and apparently later legend two queens of apparently the same names become mothers of Jarasandha by the help of a Rishi of the Gautama family. But in both Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu and also Jarasandha are descended from the Kūṣika, and are said to be sons of the Mango tree.

It would seem from these legends that the Kūṣikas, or Gandhāri, had, like the Bars, adopted the Kolarian tree worship, and called themselves the son of a tree, the Bars being the son of the Bar tree, and the Kūṣikas of the Am or Mango tree. But though the Bars were apparently a Kolarian tribe, the Kūṣikas, or Gandhāri, certainly came from the north.

But though they were not aboriginal inhabitants of India, they apparently came into the country very early, nearly as soon as the Irāvata, and about the same time as the first of the cattle-herding races. Like the Bhojas, who called themselves the sons of the cow, and worshipped that animal as their ancestor, they allied themselves to the horse. These two ancestors are not named among the five royal snakes in the Mahābhārata, but they appear among the seven snake-kings of Nishadha, or the country of Northern India in the Matsya Puraṇa.[1] There the seven snake-kings are Ananta, answering to Dhritarāshtra in the Mahābhārata, and called there the king of snakes,[2] Vāsuki, Takshaka, Karkotaka (Kauravya), Mahāpadma (Irāvata), Kambala (ancestor of the Kāmbojas), and Aṣvatara (ancestor of the Gandhārvi).

A further proof that the Gandhāri, or Gandharva, were one of the original tribes of India, who were settled there long before the days of Aryan rule, is given in the Gandhārva form of marriage. This and the Rakshasa form of marriage are said by Manu to be permitted to Kshatṛyas.[3] The different forms of marriage are given in a much more elaborate and evidently a later form than that set forth in the earlier treatise of Gautama, which doubtless better

[1] Alberuni's India, edited and translated Dr. Sachau, chap. xxiii. vol. i. p. 247. The Nishadas were, it will be recollected, Kolarians.
[2] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xviii. p. 78.
[3] Manu, iii. 26.

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represents original customs. Gautama[1] describes three forms of marriage which are not strictly lawful to Aryans, and which are therefore those which were common to non-Aryan tribes. These are the Gandhārva, the Āsura, and the Rākshasa form. In defining them he says, "The spontaneous union with a willing maiden is called a Gandhārva wedding. That celebrated when those who have authority over the bride are propitiated with money is called an Āsura wedding. If the bride is taken by force, it is called a Rākshasa wedding." The Rākshasa, or marriage by capture, is still preserved in the forms of a Kolarian wedding, where the bridegroom places the bride on his hip and carries her round the wedding party, and the Kolarian tribes are constantly called Rākshasas. The Āsura wedding is the common form among the Dravidian tribes, and the name Asura is that given to those tribes who are called in the Mahābhārata the sons of Danu or Dānava. The Gāndharva wedding must therefore be that common among the Gandharvi, or horse-owning tribes.

In tracing the tribes with which the Gandhāri are allied I have shown that the Gandhāri tribe of the Kūṣikas was closely connected with the Bars, and that they gave their own name of Kaṣi, or the city of the Kuṣis, to the Bar city of Benares. A further connection between them and the Bāratas in the north is shown in a tradition recorded in the Vishṇu Purāṇa,[2] which makes Pushkara, the son of Bhārata, the founder of Pushkalavati, one of the names of Hastinapore, the capital of the Gandhāri on the Swat river. In the similar tradition in the Mahābhārata Hasti, the great-grandson of Bhārata, is said to have built the city. But the connection between the Gandhāri, or the people of the north, and the Bāratas of the east, is most clearly set forth in the genealogy of Dhritarāshtra and his predecessors given in the Mahābhārata.[3] There Janamejaya, the son of Puru, and grandson

[1] Gautama, iv. 10-12; Bühler's Translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii. p. 195.
[2] Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bk. iv. chap. 4.
[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 283.

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of Yayāti, marries Anantā, the daughter of Mādhava (*i.e.* the Kolarian). I have shown that in the Matsya Purāṇa Ananta (the infinite) is called king of the snake race, to which the Bhāratas were said to belong before their ancestor received the more elaborate Sanskrit name of Dhritarāshtra. In tracing their descent from Ananta (infinity), the race was said to extend far back to the primordial time which is beyond the bounds of memory. That this race ruled in the east is shown by the name of Janamejaya's successor Prachiyavān, from Prāchya the East, who is said to have conquered the eastern countries. But in subsequent parts of the genealogy all the different races from which the Bhārata race was composed are most clearly set forth. The union between the Bhāratas and the Kaṣis is shown in the marriage of Bhārata with the daughter of the king of Kaṣi. But the complete statement of the ancestors of the Bhāratas is given in the steps of the pedigree immediately preceding the birth of Bhārata. After giving the alliance with the Aryans in the marriage of Matinara with the Sarasvatī, we come to their grandson Ilina and his descendants, which are stated as follows:

Ilina = Rathantarā.

Dushmanta = Ṣakuntalā, the daughter of Viṣvāmitra, or rather of the river Mālini.

Bhārata = Sunandā, daughter of Sarvasena, king of Kaṣi.

Here we have the union between the son of Ila, belonging to the Irāvata, with Rathantarā, the daughter of the Ratha or chariot; of their son Dushmanta with the Kolarian Ṣakuntalā, and of the establishment of the race in Benares.

Panchālas.—I have now gone through all the principal races of Northern India as recorded in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata, with the one exception of the Panchālas. I have spoken of this race under the name of Sṛnjaya, which they bear in the Rigveda, and have identified them with the Pṛthu, or Pārtha, mentioned in the Vedic hymns. But the name Panchāla clearly shows that they were not a pure race, but points to five united races. These five races would naturally

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be interpreted to mean the five snake races, but this interpretation is impossible, for it would include the Kurus, or Kauravyas, among the five races, whereas the name Kuru-Panchāla, afterwards given to what was once the Panchāla country, shows them not to be one of the people comprised under the common name of Panchāla. I have shown further that the Kurus were united with the Takkas under the common name of Vaikarna. Therefore there only remain three of the five snake races to make up the Panchāla. The identification of the Sṛnjaya with the Prithu, or Pārtha, and of the same race with the Kuṣikas, clearly shows that they must be included among the five tribes, and the other tribe is doubtless the Ṣiva, or the cattle-herdsmen. I have shown also that the Matsya Purāṇa names seven snake kings instead of five, and that two of these, Kambala and Asvaṭara, are the ancestors of Bhojas and Gandharva. I have also shown that the Vāsuki had very early made their way into the Panchāla country, so that there is, I would submit, little doubt that the five united tribes were the Vāsuki, Irāvata, Bārata, Bhojas, and Gandharva. A country so naturally fertile, and one watered by two magnificent rivers which gave special facilities for trade to the people living on its banks, must always have been crowded by immigrants as soon as stable governments were formed, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that the population should be mixed, and the tribes not separately discriminated, as they were in other parts of the country.

In this confederation the Pārtha, Sṛnjaya, or Kuṣikas, were apparently supreme. They certainly take the most prominent place in the Rigveda, and it is Drupada, the king of the Panchāla, who is, with the king of the Virāta, the principal leader of the Pāṇḍava armies. His importance is also shown in the fact that it is his daughter who is selected as the wife of the Pāṇḍavas, showing that his alliance as the most powerful king of the Gangetic valley was necessary to those who wished to unite the tribes living in the south of Northern India against the aggressors from the north.

The history which I have now attempted to trace extends

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very far back into the past. I have shown that the trade of India was nearly, if not quite as large in times long antecedent to the coming of the Aryans as it was after they had established their supremacy in the country. I have shown that the earliest stable governments were founded by the Haihaya races, who are the ancestors of the modern Gonds; that it was through the union between them, the Bāratas and Vāsyas, or trading races, that the country was cultivated, its mineral treasures explored and made saleable, manufactures started, and foreign trade created. I have traced the connection between the snake-worshipping tribes of India and those of Assyria, and have shown that the Indian snake-races probably derived their religious doctrines, as well as their system of astronomical calculations, from Assyria, and it was from the same country that the Sau or merchant tribes originally came. All these events must have occurred ages before the Rigveda was thought of, before the legends of Yayātī and Nahusha, which were known to its authors, were first put into shape, and before the Aryan gods of the heavens began to contend with the snake gods of the earth.

In the early dawn of Indian civilization the gods were those of the earth worshipped under the symbols of the snake or the tree, the latter being derived from the Kolarian tribes. The most powerful, practical, and most influential section of the people were the worshippers of the snake. It was from them that the Kolarian races adopted the practice of taking special trees as their tribal gods, and calling themselves the sons of a special tree. Thus the Bāratas, the principal Kolarian race, became the sons of the Bur, or Banyan tree. The horse-owning tribes, who were originally the sons of the horse, the sons of the Am or Mango tree, and also of Aṣvatara, called, in spite of his name, a snake. Similarly, the cattle herdsmen, who were the sons of the cow, became first the sons of the snake Kambala, and afterwards of the snake Āriaka.

Assyrian and Egyptian history gives, as I have shown, some data for determining the time when the country was sufficiently civilized to trade with foreign lands. This must

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have been long before the Aryan dialects became the common language of the people. But there is another very valuable guide for tracing the original universality of earth worship, showing its Assyrian origin and the confusion caused by the introduction of the Aryan mythology into the astronomy, which was originally imported from the Euphrates valley.

Astronomical Evidence.—It has been already shown that the twenty-seven Nakshatras, or Lunar mansions, were introduced into India from Chaldæa. From the Mahābhārata it is clear that the lunar system of reckoning time must have been the earliest known in the country. It is there said that Daksha[1] gave twenty-seven of his daughters as wives to Chandra (or Ṣoma), the moon, called afterwards the Nakshatras, and thirteen to Kasyapa, the father of the Indian races.[2] This clearly means that the first mode of reckoning time was by a lunar year of twenty-six Nakshatras of fourteen days each, making thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and not twelve months of thirty days each, which was the number given in the later lunar year.[3] This would give a year of 364 days, and the remaining Nakshatra is required to supply supplementary days in successive years to make up the full number of 365 days. These Nakshatras appear as Rudras in a subsequent system made to include the gods of the solar and lunar year, and the whole number must therefore have been reckoned in the original thirty-three gods[4] of the lunar year. All Hindoo astronomical calculations are based on the number of thirty-three gods, though in some cases they are multiplied by thousands. The lunar system therefore started with the moon and his twenty-seven wives, making twenty-eight. I have found no direct evidence to show who were the

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 189, where traces of the different changes in the chronological reckoning are to be found.

[2] The statement in the Mahābhārata, Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 180, is as follows: "It is known also throughout the world that the wives of Ṣoma (the moon) are twenty-seven, and the wives of Ṣoma, all of sacred vows, are employed in indicating time, and they are the Nakshatras and the Yoginis, and they become so for assisting the courses of the world."

[3] Alberuni's India, edited and translated by Prof. E. Sachau, chap. xxxv. p. 350, vol. i.

[4] These are the thirty-three gods of the Tāvatimsa (belonging to thirty-three) heavens in the Buddhist cosmogony. Sakko (Sakra or Indra) is the head of these thirty-three gods.—Childers, Pāli Dict., s.v. Tāvatimso.

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remaining five gods required to make up the thirty, but I would suggest that they probably were the five snakes or five planets.[1] There was certainly a most intimate connection between Moon worship and the snake races, as all their descendants are called up to the present day Lunar Rajputs or Sombunsi, sons of the Moon.

This ancient mode of calculation was necessarily superseded when the solar year came to be used, but the conservative astronomers who introduced the change still retained the original number of the thirty-three gods, who were originally represented in the lunar year. In showing how this change was effected, I shall not discuss the astronomical side of the question further than is necessary for showing the way in which the thirty-three gods were preserved, as this gives most valuable information as to the history of the country. There is distinct evidence in the Mahābhārata of two stages in the process, one of which was effected before sun-worship superseded moon-worship, and before Aryan influence was supreme; while the second distinctly shows the predominance both of sun-worship and Aryan influence. In both of these stages the Nakshatras or lunar stations are discarded, but in the earliest of the two they appear as Rudras or Stations (their father is Sthānu, a place); but instead of being twenty-seven, only nine or one-third of them are reckoned. After deducting these nine Rudras from the twenty-eight gods, consisting of the Moon and his twenty-seven wives, there still remain nineteen. These were made up out of the twelve Adityas, representing the twelve revolutions of the sun, and the seven Vasus, representing apparently the seven days of the week or half a Nakshatra. To the twenty-eight gods so obtained, the five original snake

[1] Alberuni's India, chap. lxi. p. 120, vol. ii. Sachau's translation gives two lists of names of snakes applied to the five planets. Takshaka, Karkota, whom I have shown to represent the Kauravya, Ilāpatra, and Mahāpadma, which are the Irāvata snakes, appear in these lists, and the last in the list is Saṅkha, who is evidently the Śankara or Śiva of the Mahābhārata. For further information as to the original thirty-three gods, their several functions and the divisions into which the gods regulating the course of the year were grouped, see Appendix B. Ludwig is quoted by Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 354, as adopting this division of the thirty-three gods, but he did not apparently pursue the subject any further than to suggest this as a probable explanation of the difficulty in accounting for the number thirty-three.

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gods or planets were added, to make up the thirty-three. Under this arrangement the sun, moon, and stars all took their place in the calendar. When the worship of the moon and stars was eliminated, and sun-worship became predominant, it was still considered necessary to retain the old number of thirty-three gods, but this could not be done without repetition, and without destroying the value of the calendar as a compendium of astronomical information. The twelve Ādityas which represented the passage of the sun through the signs of the zodiac were still retained, but this sun was the old sun common to the former system, and to make the calendar entirely solar and Aryan, the new Aryan sun god and his stations must be included. So the Brahmins added to the Vasus the great sun god as the eighth Vasu, and made eleven Rudras to make up with himself the number of his twelve stations. This made thirty-one gods, and to make up the thirty-three, Prajāpati, the son of Manu, and Vashaṭkāra were added.[1]

The Mahābhārata proves clearly[2] that the addition of the two Rudras was made by Brahmins, who were entirely ignorant of their original significance, as the tenth Rudra is Sthānu, who was their father, and originally showed that the Rudra represented Sthānu or Stations, and Bharga, which was the Brahminical name for the Bhāratas.

The proof of the addition of the eighth Vasu to the original seven is more complicated, but it gives a most interesting insight into the methods by which sun-worship was introduced into the country.

In the Mahābhārata the eight Vasus are said to be the sons of the river Gangā, and Ṣantanu the Kauravya king.[3] They were condemned to be born among men, because at the instigation of Dyū, who was one of the eight, they had stolen the sacred cow of Vasishtha for the daughter of Uṣinara, king of the Eastern Bhojas or Ṣivas. Vasishtha

[1] Prajapati means the lord of creatures, and in Monier-Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary Vashaṭkāra is interpreted to mean "he who makes a burnt offering with the formula Vashat, meaning may the god of fire bear it to the gods." See Appendix B, where I have shown, on the authority of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, that Vashaṭkāra means the maker of the six seasons.

[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p. 188.

[3] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcix. pp. 295–297.

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cursed them for the theft, and condemned them to be born on the earth, but allowed the less guilty seven to return to heaven before the end of a year. He decreed that Dyū, who was the real author of the theft, was to remain on earth for a long time. In accordance with this sentence, Gangā threw her seven first-born sons into the river as soon as they were born, but brought up the eighth, Dyū, who became known on earth as the Kauravya hero Bhishma. Now these seven Vasu, who were thrown into the river as soon as they were born, are clearly the seven days which formed one-half of the lunar Nakshatra, each of which disappears as soon as it is completely born, but the eighth is the specially bright being, Dyū, the sun, who does not wax, wane or disappear, but always remains undimmed by time or seasonal changes. It is the Viṣvāmitra, the sun or friend of all beings.[1]

The correctness of this identification of Dyū with Viṣvāmitra is shown by the story of the theft of the cows, which is exactly the same as the later legend, in which the cows are stolen by Viṣvāmitra and not by Dyū. After Dyū became Viṣvāmitra, the original meaning of the sun-god was gradually lost, and Viṣvāmitra became the son of Gādhi,[2] and prince of the Kuṣikas.

Still further proof that it was Viṣvāmitra who was the eighth Vasu is given in the legend of Gālava, which also illustrates the descent of the Eastern tribes. It appears in various forms in the Mahābhārata, but the fullest is the somewhat late version of it given in the Udyoga Parva.[3] It tells how Viṣvāmitra asked Gālava to give him as his fee for teaching him eight hundred horses as white as the moon. Gālava went to Yayāti to beg the horses, but Yayāti would

[1] Rigv. x. 72. 8 and 9 gives a precisely similar account of the fate of the eight sons of Āditi, to that given in the Mahābhārata of the eight sons of Gunga. In the verses quoted Āditi has eight sons (ādityas); she sends back seven immediately to the gods. The eighth she calls continually to be born, and sends him away to die. The eighth son is here called the son of the egg, and means, as the Mahābhārata proves, Aruna, the charioteer of the sun, and god of the firestick (*araṇi*). Aruna is said to be born out of an egg, with the upper part of his body developed, but the lower part undeveloped. He is thus the counterpart of the son of the egg in the Rigveda, who revives in the morning and dies at night.—Ādi (Astika) Parva, xvi. and xxiv. pp. 77 and 91.

[2] Manu, vii. 42.

[3] Udyoga (Bhagavatyana) Parva, cv.-cxxii.

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not give them to him: but he gave him his daughter Mādhavī instead. She possessed the power of recovering her virginity even after the birth of a son. Gālava took her successively to Hariaçva, the Ikshvāku king of Ayodhya, Divodasa, king of Kāsi, and Uṣīnara, king of the Bhojas, each of whom gave him two hundred horses, such as he required for the privilege of raising up an heir from Mādhavī. Vasumanas was her son by Hariaṣva, Pratardhana by Divodaṣa, and Ṣiva by Uṣīnara. Gālava then took the six hundred horses to Viṣvāmitra, who accepted Mādhavī for the remainder of his fee, and became by her the father of Ashṭaka. Now Ashṭaka means the son of the eighth, that is, of the eighth Vasu, the sun, and this confirms the evidence given by the legends previously cited as showing that Viṣvāmitra was the eighth Vasu.

But these stories show also that it was Dyū, Visvāmitra, or the eighth Vasu, which gave the sacred cow to the daughter of Uṣīnara, the Eastern Bhoja, that is, to the non-Aryan races. In other words, the non-Aryan races were converted to be sun-worshippers, and adorers, not of seven Vasus, like their forefathers, the worshippers of the Moon, but of the eighth and brightest Vasu, the Sun. This change was the result of Brahmin teaching.

Further evidence of the introduction of sun-worship among the aboriginal tribes is given in the account of the snake sacrifice in the Mahābhārata.[1] In this story Vinatā and Kadrū were two sisters. Vinatā was the mother of the bird Gaḍura (later Garuḍa, the sacred bird of Vishnu), the eater of snakes, and Aruṇa is the charioteer of the sun, who stays in front of him and prevents him from burning the world.[2] In other words, he is the Araṇi, the sacred fire-stick, or "Swastika," used to produce the sacred fire by friction. Kadrū, Vinatā's sister, was the mother of the thousand snakes. Aruna cursed his mother because she broke the egg containing him before he was fully developed, and she and Gaḍura were accordingly made slaves to Kadrū and her sons. They made Gaḍura bear them on his back to

[1] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xvi.-xxxiv. pp. 76-113.
[2] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xxiv. p. 91.

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India.[1] While carrying them he went too near the sun, which scorched the snakes, and they were saved by Indra at the intercession of Kadrū. Indra, as the rain-god, covered the sun with clouds, which protected the snakes from the heat of its rays. Gaḍura first brought them into the Malayan country to the south, and from thence he took them to the Nishada country in the north, which they found full of Nishadas and Brahmins.[2] The snakes promised Gaḍura to free him and his mother if he would bring them Soma, or Amrita, the drink of immortality. He promised to do so, but before he started to fetch the Amrita, he had seized the elephant (Irāvata) and the tortoise (Kūrma), and had tried to eat them on the branch of a "bur," or banyan-tree, on which the Valakhilya Rishis (belonging to the Kanva Brahmins) were suspended. The branch of the tree broke, and to save the Rishis from destruction, he took the elephant, tortoise, and the broken branch to the Himalayas, where he placed the broken branch on the mountains, and devoured the elephant and the tortoise. After a contest with the gods, he stole the Amrita and brought it to the snakes, placing it on some Kusa, or sacred grass. The snakes then freed Gaḍura, but left the Amrita unguarded, and Indra recovered it while Gaḍura devoured the snakes.

This legend sets forth in a mythical form the process of the destruction of snake-worship through the Bāratas, or sons of the Bur tree, and the Brahmins, and traces how far the influence of the doctrines of sun-worship extended. The first race to be hindooized were the Irāvata, or elephant race, and the next the Kūrma, or the people of the tortoise. These latter are the Kūrs, Kūrmis, Kaurs or Kurus, and the tortoise is still found as a totem among the Kurmis of Bengal,

[1] Does not this legend point to an immigration of the snake-worshipping tribes by sea? the bird Gaḍura representing the ships; or may he not be the divine storm bird, Lugal-tudda, of Assyrian mythology; he being the monsoon or storm wind which brought the snake races from the west to India? Commerce by sea dates from a very early period, and it is possible that some of the immigrants may have come by sea. Andhra coins are found bearing the image of a ship. For the storm bird see Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 293-296.

[2] See above, p. 253, for the story of how Gaḍura devoured the Brahmin and his Nishada wife.

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the Kumhars, or potters of Orissa, and the Koras;[1] tribes which still show in their names their descent from the great race of the Kūrs.

The process of conversion ceased when Gaḍura, the Bāratas, and their attendant Rishis had reached the limits of the Kauravya rule, and come to the country of the Takkas. In a subsequent and later section of the story,[2] after that of Gaḍura, Takshaka, the snake god of the Takkas, betook himself to the protection of Indra, when he was to be burnt by the Brahmins for killing Parikshit, father of Janamejaya,[3] but even in Indra's heaven he could not be saved from the effects of the Brahmin Mantras. He was just falling into the fire when he was saved by the intercession of Asṭika, the son of the Rishi Jaratkara, and Jaratkarā of the same name, sister of Vāsuki. Here in Asṭika[4] we have another appearance of the eighth Vasu, and we learn that though the Irāvata and Kauravya became hindooized, the Takkas obstinately refused to forsake the worship of their ancestral gods. The truth of this deduction is confirmed by the fact that snake-worship continued to be the dominant religion in Kashmir and the countries dependent on it to a very late period. Buddhist legends are full of accounts of the Nāgas who dwelt in this region, and Hiouen Tsiang speaks of the great shrine of Ilāpatra close to Takkasilā.

When we leave legend and turn to the Rigveda and the Brāhmaṇas, we find the above conclusions as to the way in which the gradual modification of the indigenous religions was effected completely confirmed. In the sixth Mandala of the Rigveda, which is said to be written by the Bhāradvājas, who were the special priests of the Bhāratas, we find the Bhārata Agni praised as the slayer of demons.[5] I have already called attention to the Ānava Agni.[6] But the best evidence as to the full force of the expression is to be found in

[1] Primitive Marriage in Bengal, by H. Risley, Asiatic Quart. Review, April, 1886.
[2] Ādi (Astika) Parva, xl. to lviii. pp. 121-160.
[3] Ādi (Astika) Parva, liii. p. 149 and 150.
[4] From this explanation of the true meaning of Asṭika and Ashṭaka it is clear that Hastinapur or Hastinagur does not mean the eight cities, but the city of the eighth Vasu, the Sun.
[5] Rigv. vi. 16. 19 and 45.
[6] Rigv. viii. 74. 4.

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connexion with the Agni lighted for the Sṛnjaya before the son of Devavata.[1] The fourth Mandala of the Rigveda, in which this hymn is found, is said to have been written by the Gotama Brahmins. These Gotamas have a special connection with the Bāratas and other indigenous races. It was Gotama Rāhūgaṇa who accompanied Māthava, the Videgha, when they followed the Agni Vaiṣvānara, which went burning before them to the river Sandānīrā[2] (the Gunduk).[3] Kripa, the grandson of Gautama, and Drona, the son of Bhāradvāja, were the tutors of the young Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and apparently the only Brahmins at the court of the Kauravya king.[4] It was another Gautama, called Chandri-Kūṣika, or the moon of the Kūṣikas, who, as we have seen, procured the birth of Jarasandha, king of Magadha.[5]

The lighting of the sacred fire for the Sṛnjaya, which is described in the Gotama Mandala of the Rigveda, must be either the same or a similar event to that related in the Ṣatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.[6] There Suplan Sārṇjaya, Suplan the Sṛnjaya, is said to have learnt the Dākshāyana, or new moon sacrifice, which is also called the Vashistha sacrifice, from Pratīdarṣa Ṣvaikna. After he had learnt both this and Sautrāmanī sacrifice, he went back to the Sṛnjayas, who called him henceforth not Suplan, but Sahadeva Saṛnjaya, because he had come back with the gods (*sahadeva*). Here the Dākshāyana sacrifice is, as I have shown in Appendix B, probably identical with the Dīkshaṇīyā or sacrifice of initiation, which I fully described in my former paper. I there said that it probably was the ceremony by which non-Aryans were received into the Aryan community, and transferred by this new symbolical birth from the rank of Sudras to the higher status of those who are twice-born (dvija). These instances and the legends I have

[1] Rigv. iv. 15. 4.

[2] Ṣatapatha Brāhmana, 4. 1. 13; Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 105.

[3] Or perhaps rather the Chota Gunduk. This is the old bed of the Gunduk, but is many miles east of the present Gunduk, just as the old bed of the Kusi is many miles east of the ancient bed.

[4] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, cxxx. and cxxxi. pp. 380 and 385.

[5] Sabha (Rajasuyarambha) Parva, xvii. pp. 55-56.

[6] Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 2. 4. 4. 4; Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 376.

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quoted all point to the diffusion of the worship of the sacred fire by the Aryans among their neighbours and allies. That this was accomplished by peaceful conversion, and not by warlike conquest, is shown by the legend of Māthava the Videgha, who, with Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, followed the sacred fire which went burning before them.

The diffusion of the Aryan doctrines in the country east of the Jumna seems to have been chiefly done through the help of the Kūsika or Panchāla kings, and hence it is that the mythical Visvāmitra is said to be the son of Gādhi or Gandhāra, and to belong to the Kūṣika tribe.

The process of conversion seems to have been generally that set forth in the legend of the conquest of the Haihayas by the Bhṛigus. The Brahmin ascetics first entered the country, gained a reputation for sanctity, established schools or secured the direction of the training of the children, which was carefully attended to in all Dravidian states. They were accompanied or followed by the arianized cattle-herdsmen, who sought pasture for their cattle, and gradually settled in the new country. As the immigrants multiplied, they gradually became more powerful, and gradually ousted the native rulers and placed the government in the hands of those of more pronounced Aryan views. But this gradual colonization was only possible in thinly-peopled districts. In a country so rich and flourishing as the more fertile and open parts of India must have been when foreign trade was so active as I have shown it to be, there could have been little room for new comers, and the Aryans could only gain influence by diplomatic means, and by the military and political reputation they had established for themselves in their conduct of the wars of Divodasa and his son Sudas. In the comparatively sparsely populated districts of the hill country of Rajputana they could increase and multiply, mould the Kolarian tribes to complete acquiescence in their teaching, and become the real rulers of the country. Hence it is in these countries, and among the Kolarian tribes of the West, that the doctrines of sun- and fire-worship struck the deepest roots. On the other hand, in

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the thickly-populated and strongly-governed kingdoms in the centre of the country, and especially among the Panchālas, whose country was, as we have seen, called Ahikshetra or the field of snakes, the Aryan teachers found the material they had to deal with far less pliable. Hence, instead of finding the worship of the black sun-god Krishna the national religion, as they had done in the West, they were obliged to content themselves by making the five snake gods into the one god Śiva, or Mahadeva, and make him, and not the sun, the father of all beings.[1] They were also obliged to bring in the Kolarian gods in the shape of Uma or Durga his wife,[2] and in amalgamating the two they retained, though in a milder form, the doctrines of the two religions. They abolished as far as possible animal sacrifices, though they were obliged to superintend sacrifices such as the Aṣvamedha, which was still retained,[3] and quite put an end in the civilized part of the country to the human sacrifices which were common among the Kolarian and the less civilized Dravidian races.[4] But it was not only in religious matters they made themselves a power in the land. The perfect organization, careful training, tact, and per-

[1] See for the origin of the worship of Vishṇu or Krishṇa and of Śiva, Appendix B, where Vishṇu is shown to be the Semite-Accad sun god Vāsuki, and Śiva the god of the earlier moon-worshipping races descended from the snake god Ea.

[2] Vana (Kanāta) Parva, xxxix. pp. 121–126. In this account of the appearance of Sankara or Mahadeva and his wife Uma to Arjuna, they both assumed the forms of Kirātas or Kolarians.

[3] Alberuni shows that in the later form of the sacrifice the horse was no longer killed. In describing it he says: "A mare is let to wander freely about in the country grazing, without anybody's hindering her. Soldiers follow her, drive her, and cry out before her, 'She is the king of the world. He who does not agree let him come forward.' The Brahmins walk behind her, and her form sacrifices to the fire where she casts her dung. When she has thus wandered through all parts of the world, she becomes food for the Brahmins and for him whose property she is."—Alberuni's India, Sachau's edition, vol. ii. ch. lxv. p. 139. This form of sacrifice is similar to that of the Brahmini bull.

[4] We find two instances of human sacrifices in the Mahābhārata, the first, Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, xcv. p. 283, where king Ayuta-Nayi performed a sacrifice in which the fat of an Ayuta of male beings was required, and the other in the story of Jarasandha, where he is accused by Krishna of seeking to perform a sacrifice to Sankara by slaughtering human beings, and of keeping captive beings to sacrifice to him. Sabha (Jarasandha-badha) Parva, xxii. p. 68. Human sacrifice still continually occurs in remote tracts. I have known of three cases which have occurred in the last twenty years in the Chota Nagpore country. This constant recurrence to the old practice and the organized system of Mereahs or boys brought up for the purpose among the Khonds of Orissa, which was put a stop to only about thirty-five years ago proves the general prevalence of the custom in ancient times.

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severance of the Brahmins made them the most trusted counsellors of kings, while the Aryan youths, who did not belong to the families included in the Brahmin political and religious organization made the best of soldiers. The Aryans, when once they had established their position as competitors for power in the great battle of the ten kings, continued to move steadily and perseveringly on to the complete moral conquest of the country. By their alliances with the Bāratas and trading races they made their language the common language of the country, and the Brahmin missionaries, who were the principal teachers of the young, diffused the use of it everywhere. Marriages with Aryans were eagerly sought after, and all were anxious to put themselves under the rule of sovereigns who had been trained by Aryan methods, and who were guided by the counsels of wise Aryan ministers. It was by these means that a people who were few in numbers compared with the many million inhabitants of the country who belonged to other races became the real rulers of its kingdoms, the teachers of its religion, the preceptors of its youth, and the leaders in philosophy and learning.

It was under Aryan guidance that the Surasena kings of Panchāla, after the close of the great war of the Mahābhārata, maintained supreme control over the Kuru, Panchāla, Chedi, Avanti, and Surasena countries, and we find in the Ṣatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that there was one Purohita Devabhāga-Ṣrautarsha for the Kuru-Panchāla kingdoms.[1] It was under their guidance that the western tribes extended their power eastward, that the Ikshvāku confederacy of Kuntibhojas or Ṣakas and Suvarṇa first occupied Kōsambi, extended their rule into Bengal, and afterwards established the great Ikshvāku-Sakya kingdom of Sāketa in Oude, which took its name from its Scythian founders. It was the Aryan Brahmins who led the further advance into the countries to the east of the Gunduk, and who superintended the establishment of the kingdom of Videha and the founding of the great city of the Vaisyas, or Vāsyus, which became so celebrated

[1] Ṣatapatha Brahmāna, ii. 4. 4. 5; Prof. Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p 377.

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under the name of Vaisāli. And the great intellectual activity which made Koṣāmbi and Vaisāli the centres of religious and philosophical speculation was entirely due to the influence and the teachings of the Brahmins. It was they who were the authors of the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the sacrificial manual of the Eastern countries, and of the Upanishads, and it was from their teachings that the great religious apostles of the east and west, Gautama the Buddha, and Mahavīra the Jain, together with the predecessors of both teachers, evolved the doctrines which distinguished these sects.

Therefore, though the sketch of the history and of the ethnology of Northern India which I have attempted in this and my previous paper differs exceedingly from that which has been hitherto held to be the orthodox view, yet it rather enhances than detracts from the merits of the Aryan race. It was a far more difficult task for a small tribe to enter upon a thickly-peopled and strongly-governed country, and to make themselves masters of its destinies by comparatively peaceful means, than to come, as has been hitherto supposed the Aryans did, into one which was nearly uncultivated and inhabited by savage races, and to gradually increase and multiply in it, driving back, as they advance, the savages into the hills. If the views I advocate, and which I hope I have adequately proved by citations from original authorities, are accepted as correct, inquirers into the facts of Indian history will no longer be confronted with the difficulties arising from the fact that in a country supposed to be peopled by Aryans most of the people belong to totally different races, nor will they find it hard to explain how the country, which was supposed to be governed by one race, has been from time immemorial divided into a number of separate kingdoms. Besides removing these difficulties, and tracing the progress made by the chief ruling races in conquering and civilizing the country, I have shown how the imperial-federal government, which was that under which India prospered in its best days, took its rise, and the great part played in Indian history by the foreign trade.

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APPENDIX A.

Genealogies of the Purus and Kurus, as given in the Mahābhārata and Rigveda, beginning at Puru.

I.

Genealogy given in Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, Sect. xciv.

1. Puru, the name of his father is not given.
2. Pravira = Surasenī, a princess of the Surasena tribe.
3. Manushya Rudrasva = 1. Sauvīrā, a princess of the Sindhu-Sauvīra race = 2. The Apsara Misrakeshī, who was the mother of
4. Richya, Riksha, see 15 in No. II., wife not named.
5. Matinara = Sarasvatī (the river).
6. Tansu = wife not named.
7. Ilina = Rathantaryā (see 18 in No. II.).
8. Dushmanta (see 13 below) = Śakuntalā, daughter of Visvāmitra.
9. Bhārata got a son by the grace of the Rishi Bhāradvāja.
10. Bhumanya = Pushkariṇī, a princess of Pushkara (see 21 in No. II.).
11. Suhotra = a princess of the Ikshvāku race (see 21 in No. II.).
12. Ajamida = Dhuminī, also Nilā and Paraneshtā.
    - Dushmanta, see 8 above, ancestor of the Panchalas.
    - Jahnyu, ancestor of the Kuśikas.
13. Raksha (see 25 in No. II., 4 in No. III.) = wife not named.
14. Samvaraṇa (see 26 in No. II., 5 in No. III.) = Tapatī, daughter of Sura.

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15. Kuru (see 27 in No. II., 6 in No. III.) = Vahinī.

16. Avikshit = Janamejaya.

17. Parikshit (see 30 in No. II., 8 in III.)

18. Dhritarāshtra, Paṇḍu, Vahlika. These are afterwards said to be grandsons of Śantanu.

19. Kandika, Hasti, etc.

20. Pratipa (see 33 in No. II., 10 in No. III.).

21. Śantanu (see 34 in No. II., 11 in No. III.); also Devapa (see 34 in No. II., 11 in No. III.); and Vahlika (see 18 above).

II.

Genealogy given in Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, Sect. xcv.

1. Puru, son of Yayati = Kausalyā.

2. Janamejaya* = Anantā, daughter of Mādhava.

3. Prachinyavān = Ashmaka, of the Yādavas.

4. Sanyati = Varangā, daughter of Drishādvata.

5. Ahanyati = Bhanumatī, daughter of Kritavirya (the Haihaya king).

6. Sarvabhauma = Sunandā, daughter of Kekaya king.

7. Jayatsena = Susravā, daughter of Vidarbha king (a Kolarian).

8. Avachina = Maryadā, a Vidarbha princess (see below, 13).

9. Arihas (see below, 14) = Angī, a princess of Anga, S. Behar (see below, 14).

10. Mahābhauma = Suyajñā, daughter of Prasenajit.

* This is the traditional Janamejaya, who was the founder of the Eastern Monarchy of the Bhāratas. None of the kings after him, down to Riksha No. 25, have any connection with the Northern Kurus; perhaps this connection took place through Ajamida marrying a daughter of Riksha. Riksha, as I have shown in the text, is a Puru or Kuru king.

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11. Ayuta-nayi* = Kāmā, d. of Pṛthu-Sṛavasa (the glory of the Prithus or Parthians).

12. Akrodhana = Kosambhā, daughter of king of Kalinga.

13. Devathiti = Mavyadā, princess of Videha (see above, 8).

14. Arihas (see above, 9) = Sudevā, a princess of Anga (see above, 9).

15. Riksha (see 4 in No. I.) = Jwalā, daughter of Takshaka.

16. Matinara (see 5 in No. I.) = Sarasvatī (see 5 in No. I.).

17. Tansu (see 6 in No. I.) = a princess of Kalinga.

18. Ilina (see 7 in No. I.) = Rathantarī (see 7 in No. I.)

19. Dushmanta (see 8 & 13 in No. I.) = Ṣakuntalā, d. of Visvāmitra (see 8 in No. I.).

20. Bharata (see 9 in No. I.) = Sanandā, daughter of Sarvasena, king of Kaṣi.

21. Bhumanya (see 10 in No. I.) = Vijayā, a Daṣarha (Yādava) princess.

22. Suhotra (see 11 in No. I.) = Suvarnā, daughter of Ikshvāku (see 11 in No. I.).

23. Hasti (perhaps 19 in No. I.) = Yashodarā, princess of Trigarta.

24. Vakunthana = Sudevā, princess of Daṣarha (Yādava).

25. Ajamida (see 12 in No. I.) = Rikshā, a king (see 13 in No. I. and 4 in No. III.). It may mean he married the daughter of Riksha.

26. Samvaraṇa (see 14 in No. I. and 5 in No. III.) = Tapati, d. of Vivasvat (the sun) (see 14 in No. I.).

27. Kuru (see 15 in No. I. and 6 in No. III.) = Suvangī, princess of Daṣarha.

28. Vidura = Sampriā, daughter of Mādhava.

* This king is said to have performed a sacrifice requiring an Ayuta of male beings, perhaps a case of human sacrifice. His father-in-law Pṛthuṣravas may perhaps be the same as Kānita Pṛthuṣravas, who is mentioned in Rigv. viii. 46. 21 and 24.

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29. Anaswa = Amritā, daughter of Mādhava.

30. Parikshit (see 17 in No. I. and 8 in No. III.) = Yasha, daughter of Vahada.

31. Bhimasena = Kumarī, princess of Kekaya.

32. Pratisrava (see 9 in No. III.) = wife not named.

33. Pratipa (see 20 in No. I. and and 10 in No. III.) = Sunanda daughter of Śiva.

34. Śantanu (see 21 in No. I. and 11 in No. III.) = Devapi and Vahlika (see 21 in No. I. and 11 in No. III.).

III.

Rigveda and Atharvaveda Genealogy.

1. Purukutsa, son of Arjuna, Rg. vii. 19. 2, i. 112. 23, vi. 20. 10.
2. Purukutsī, daughter of Purukutsa, Rg. vii. 19. 3.
3. Trāsadasyu, apparently Trāsa the Dasyu, perhaps the same as Tansu (see 6 in No. I. and 17 in No. II.), Rg. vii. 19. 3, viii. 19. 32 and 36.
4. Trikshi or Riksha (see 4 and 13 in No. I. and 15 and 25 in No. II.), Rg. viii. 74. 4, viii. 22. 7, vi. 46. 8.
5. Śrutarvan or Samvaraṇa * (see 14 in No. I. and 26 in No. II.), Rg. viii. 51. 1, viii. 74. 4.
6. Kuruśravana, the glory of the Kurus (perhaps 15 in No. I., 27 in No. II.), Rg. x. 32. 8, x. 34. 4.
7. Upamaçravas, Rg. x. 33. 6.
8. Parikshit † (see 17 in No. I. and 30 in No. II.), Atharvaveda, 20. 127. 7.
9. Pratisutvana † (the same as Pratiśravas, 32 in No. II.), Atharvaveda, 20. 129.
10. Partipa † (see 20 in No. I, and 33 in No. II.), Atharvaveda, 20. 129.
11. Śantanu-Devapi. Rg. x. 98, where Śantanu is king, and Devapi, son of Rischtischena, is priest (see 21 in No. I. and 34 in No. II.).

* In Rg. viii. 51. 1, only the successors of Samvaraṇa are mentioned. Śrutarvan is called the son of Riksha in Rg. viii. 74. 4.

† These quotations from the Atharvaveda are taken from Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 131.

The Mahābhārata genealogies are evidently made up out of a number of separate traditions and separate lines. That taken from the Vedas probably represents fairly the real line of succession of the Puru-Kuru kings, and the names mentioned there are probably those of real personages. The other questions relating to these genealogies have been fully dealt with in the text.

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APPENDIX B.

On the Thirty-three Gods and the Dīkshāyanu or Sacrifice of Initiation.

Since writing the paper to which this is an appendix, Professor Rhys Davids has most kindly called my attention to Dr. Muir's dissertation on the Indian gods as represented in the Rigveda, as being likely to throw light upon the questions connected with this subject, which I have there discussed. This reference has, I am glad to say, enabled me to deal with the whole subject much more clearly and fully than I was able to do at first.

In the first place, Dr. Muir quotes a passage from the Rigveda (i. 133. 6) where the Rudras or Maruts are said to be twenty-seven in number,[1] thus making them identical with the Nakshatras. They are said to be begotten by Rudra upon Priṣni, the earth, thus showing their earth-born origin and their connection with the worshippers of the earth. Secondly, in the eight passages from the Rigveda which Dr. Muir cites as speaking of thirty-three gods,[2] four (Rigv. i. 34. 11; Rigv. i. 139. 11; Rigv. viii. 35. 3; Rigv. ix. 92. 4) speak of them as being thrice eleven in number. There is evidently a significance in this division into groups of eleven, as a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[3] quoted by Dr. Muir in a foot-note, in speaking of the thirty-three gods, divides them into two groups of thirty-three each, there being thirty-three gods who drink Soma, and thirty-three who do not drink it. It then goes on to say, "The Soma-drinking gods are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, Prājapati, Vashaṭkāra. The gods who do not drink Soma are eleven Prayājas, eleven Anuyājas, and eleven Upayajās." Now these gods who do not drink Soma, the drink of the Aryan gods, clearly belong to another religious system. In the explanation given by Dr. Haug[4] in his

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. sect. ix. p. 147.

[2] Nakshatras probably mean Nag-ksketras or stations of the Nag or Snake. Nag-kshetra, meaning field of the Nag or great snake, would be formed just in the same way as Ahi-kshetra and Kurukshetra, p. 218.

[3] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. sect. i. pp. 9–11.

[4] Ait. Brāhmaṇa, Haug's translation, vol. ii. p. 110.

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notes on these last three divisions, he shows that the Prayājas mean the eleven verses which always make up the Āprī or sacrificial hymns. The Unuyājas are the deities who appear at the animal sacrifices, which are essentially non-Aryan observances, and the Apajāyas mean the supplementary offerings. Among the Anuyāja deities are Iḷa, Sarasvatī, and Bhārata, whom I have already shown to be the representatives of the three great ruling races of India. The explanation of Sayaṇa, quoted by Muir, that the thrice eleven gods of the earth, air, and heaven, are really three, but are called thirty-three on account of their many manifestations, does not make matters at all more clear. The division of the gods into groups of eleven is certainly not maintained in the orthodox lists of the thirty-three gods used by the Aryan Brahmins, and its adoption in the rites of sacrifices which do not belong to the original ritual of the fire-worshippers, points, like the reference to Soma, to its derivation from earlier rites paid to gods who were essentially different from the Solar deities. The totally unpractical character of the explanation of the number thirty-three given by Brahmin expounders shows they did not understand the facts they were trying to explain.

I have already spoken of the differences that are found in the Mahābhārata as to the number of Rudras, where in some passages they are said to number eleven, and in another nine, while there is a third statement in the Rigveda, as I have shown above, which makes them to be twenty-seven. There is a similar difference in the names of the two deities who are added to the eleven Rudras, eight Vasus, and twelve Ādityas, to make up the number of thirty-three gods in the orthodox lists. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa,[1] Dyaus and Prithi (heaven and earth) take the places assigned to Prājapati and Vashaṭkāra in the earlier lists in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and Prājapati is said to be a thirty-fourth god. All these indications show that there was uncertainty as to the numbers of the several gods to be

[1] Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5. 7. 2; Sacred Books of the East, Prof. Eggeling's translation, vol. xxvi. p. 411.

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included in the list, that the Brahmin ritualists were groping about blindly to explain what they did not understand, and the only stable element seems to be that the thirty-three gods were composed of groups in which divisions into eleven and nine had a principal share.

It is in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that we find an indication of the solution of the puzzle.[1] Vashaṭkāra is explained to be "he who makes the six seasons and establishes them." This gives at once an intelligible explanation of the number thirty-three, for we have the twenty-seven Rudras or Nakshatras, and the six seasons, as the gods who rule the seasonal changes and the movements of the heavenly bodies which affect the earth and its inhabitants, and who are the six Nāgas or snake-gods, the recurring manifestations of the creative vital power, the active principle which animated the earth, the centre of all nature, and enabled it to become the father and mother of all things created, whether in heaven or on earth. The Sanskrit astronomers give us the further clue necessary to complete the explanation. Alberuni (Abu Rihan), quoting Varāhamihira,[2] says: "He defines the six parts of the year in the following manner: The first, beginning with the winter solstice, belongs to Saturn, the second to Venus, the third to Mars, the fourth to the moon, the fifth to Mercury, the sixth to Jupiter." In the next page but one Alberuni says: "The Hindus have still another custom, viz. that of mentioning together with the dominant of the year one of the Nāgas or serpents, which have certain names as they are used in connection with one or other of the planets," and he gives the two following lists of the names of these serpents with the planets with which they are connected:

Name of Planet.	*Name of Serpent.*	*Name of Serpent.*
1. Saturn.	Cakshabhadra or	Saṇkha.
2. Venus.	Karkotaka.	Mahāpadma.
3. Mars.	Pushkara Bharma.	Takshaka.
4. The Moon.	Pushkara.	Chitrangada.
5. Mercury.	Çabrahasta.	Karkoṭa.
6. Jupiter.	Elāpatra.	Padma.

[1] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 6, Haug's translation, vol. ii. p. 167.
[2] Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, vol. ii. chap. lxi. pp. 118-120

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According to this information the six seasons are represented by the moon and five planets, called after names given to the Nāgas or snake-gods. But this does not yet explain the division of these thirty-three gods, consisting of the twenty-seven Nakshatras and the dominants of the six seasons into groups of eleven. It is clear from another statement of Alberuni[1] that this is connected with the division of the year into three seasons instead of six. After saying that the Hindus divide the year into six parts, and call these six parts "ṛitu," each "ṛitu" comprehending two solar months, he goes on to say: "I have been told that in the region of Somanāth (that is, in the Saurashṭra country), people divide the year into three parts, each part consisting of four months, the first being Varshakāla (*i.e.* the rainy season), the second Ṣītakāla, the winter, and the third Ashṇakāla, the summer." This is the division which is still observed throughout Northern India, and is that known to the authors of the Rigveda, who, as Zimmer shows, reckoned three seasons Hima (winter), Sama (summer), and Sarad (the rainy season).[2] This will at once give the reason for the ancient division of the thirty-three gods into three groups of eleven each. Each group must have consisted of nine Nakshatras with two dominant planets as representing one of the seasons. Thus the dominants of the winter season, beginning with the winter solstice, which was the original New Year's day,[3] were the planets Saturn and Venus, called after the snakes Sankha and Mahāpadma, those of the summer were Mars and the Moon, called after the snakes Takshaka and Çitrangada, and those of the rainy season Mercury and Jupiter, called after the snakes Karkoṭa and Padma.

[1] Alberuni's India, vol. i. chap. xxxvii. p. 357.

[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, pp. 371–373.

[3] The year among the Dravidian Tamils of Southern India still begins at the winter solstice. There the chief annual festival is the Pongol, which "marks the commencement of the Tamil year."—Monier Williams, Religious Thought and Life in India, chap. xvi. p. 429. The Abbé Dubois, a Roman Catholic Missionary, who spent many years in Southern India, and lived in most intimate communion with the natives, in his work Sur les Mœurs, Institutions et Ceremonies des peuples de l'Inde, published in 1825, vol. ii. part iii. Religion, chap. iii. p. 354, says: "The Pongol festival is the most sacred of all feasts in Southern India, *it is presided over by Ṣiva.*" This agrees with my suggestion that he is the dominant god of the lunar year and of the winter solstice, when, as Abbé Dubois says, the festival begins (on the entrance of the Sun into Capricornus, the sign of the goat).

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That this was the original arrangement of the functions of the thirty-three gods may be further proved from the Rigveda. In the only passage where the Nakshatras are mentioned, Rigv. x. 85, 2, it is said, "Through Soma[1] (the moon) the Āditya are strong, through Soma the earth is vast, therefore is the moon placed in the centre of the Nakshatras." This evidently refers to the division of the year which begins with the winter solstice under the influence of Ṣankha, *i.e.* Ṣankhara or Ṣiva, who continued to be the principal god of the older snake races, or moon worshippers. Under this system the moon dominates the summer solstice or the centre of the year. To the evidence I have already adduced in the text to prove that his subsequent revisions of the original Lunar calendar took place in India may be added that derived from the statements made in the Mahābhārata as to the descendants of the thirteen daughters of Daksha, who were married to Kāṣyapa, the father of men.[2] They, as I have shown, represented the thirteen lunar months. Āditi, originally meaning "the beginning," afterwards the sun, appears as one of these, as well as Dānu and Krodhā, the ancestresses of the Dravidian and Kolarian races. But this Āditi was not the same person as the Aryan sun god, for it is said in the Mahābhārata that "the sun and moon of the celestials are other persons than those of the sons of Dānu. This shows that there was a solar revision of the calendar made by the Dravidian races upon the introduction of the method of reckoning the divisions of time by the passage of the sun on its way round the central earth through the Zodiacal circle. This revision made the Rudras or stations of the moon nine instead of twenty-seven, and instead of reckoning only six dominant gods, as in the Lunar calendar, the sun was added to the six under the name of Suka, or Vāsuki, or

[1] Soma is used to mean both the moon and strong drink. It probably meant first intoxicating drinks, which is the meaning it most frequently has in the Rigveda. These were regarded as the means of procuring the inspiration of the vital creative power which was the father and mother of all things. Hence the reverence always paid to lunatics in the East. The moon as the great author and most constant evidence of the heavenly vital changes regulating the times and seasons of the earth was called by the name of Soma the inspirer. It was from the connection between drinking strong drink and moon worship which led the Vishnuites, who were the opponents of the older snake and moon worshippers, to be advocates of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, see p. 278.

[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. pp. 185–186.

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Nanda (the bull).[1] These became the seven days of the week, beginning with Sunday, sacred to the sun, followed by Monday, or the day of the moon Pushkara, or Chitrangada, and were the seven snakes or sons of Dānu whom Indra slew.[2] The days after Sunday and Monday represented the five planets, and the arrangement corresponded exactly with that adopted by all the nations who, like the ancient inhabitants of India, derived their calendar from Babylon. To these sixteen gods were added the twelve Ādityas, or solar months, to complete the lists of the gods who directly ruled the times and seasons. The nine Rudras represented the triple division of the seasons, the seven snake-gods the days of the week, and the Ādityas the months. The supreme power in the hierarchy was as before vested in the five great snake-gods, the fathers and gods of the five snake races, who also rule the planets, and who, with the twenty-eight gods of the new solar calendar, made up the number of thirty-three gods. But in this revised calendar the moon god still retained the prominent position he had held in the old lunar year, for it still was the central point of the system, though it no longer ruled the summer solstice. The new solar year began with the vernal equinox and the seventh month of Kārtik, that in which the sun enters Libra, was sacred to the moon,[3] and it is on the appearance of the new moon of Kārtik that the Dewali (Dībālī), which is the greatest religious festival of Western India, takes place.

But this old solar calendar, which shows that there were sun-worshippers in India before the Aryans preached that distinctive creed, also serves to throw great light on the origin of popular Indian theology. I have shown the prominent place held by Ṣaṇkha, Ṣaṇkhara or Ṣiva in the old lunar year, which began under his auspices. Similarly the solar year, beginning at the vernal equinox when the sun entered the constellation of Nanda, *i.e.* Taurus the bull, was under the protection of Suka or Vāsuki, the god riding on Nanda the bull. The moon, which rules the middle of the

[1] Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, vol. ii. chap. lxi. p. 120.
[2] Rigv. x. 120. 6; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 95.
[3] Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, vol. ii. chap. lxxvi. p. 182.

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year in both systems, is the central ruler of both. Its religious significance is best shown by the name Pushkara. Pushkara near Ajmir, the shrine of the Moon Pushkara or the unfading lotus, is still, as it was in the days when the Mahābhārata was written, the most sacred of all Hindu shrines, and the man "who goes there in the full moon of the month Kārtika acquires everlasting life in the abode of Brahma."[1] It is the one temple in India where there is no image, and where the deity is adored as Brahma or Barhma, the mighty being, the god of all gods. These are the three gods of the popular triad. Pushkara or Brahma is the one great god ruling both the lunar and solar systems, and therefore the one god to be worshipped as the creator and ruler of time and of the events which it brings to pass. Vāsuki, the chief of the solar-lunar year, I have already shown in the text[2] to be the same as Krishṇa, the son of the black races, and he is therefore the same god as Vishṇu, who is always considered as identical with Krishṇa, but whose worship began as that of the sun-god of the Suvarṇa or Semite-Accad immigrants who settled in Pātāla, and brought with them into India the solar-lunar worship of the Assyrian nations. To these is to be added Ṣaṇkhara or Ṣiva, the head of the Nakshatras, Rudras or Lunar mansions, and the ruler of the Lunar year. He still remains, as I have shown in the text, the chief god of the Lunar races, while Vāsuki, Krishṇa or Vishṇu was the god worshipped by the united tribes of the Ikshvāku race of Suvarṇa-Bhojas, who spread themselves eastward over India from Pātāla. The last revision made by the Aryan Brahmins has been already sufficiently dealt with in the text, but to complete the historical evidence to be drawn from these successive changes, it is necessary to consider that afforded by the researches of scholars who have interpreted the records of the Accads, or rather of their successors the Accad-Semites. Dr. Sayce, in his Hibbert Lectures for 1887, has shown that Sin, the moon-god, was father of the later sun-god Samas.[3] The great antiquity of moon worship is shown by the fact that

[1] Vana (Tirtha-Yatra) Parva, lxxxii. pp. 241-2.
[2] p 243.
[3] Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 193.

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Sargon, the conqueror of Cyprus, whom he proves to have lived about 3750 B.C., was a sun-worshipper, but the sun-god he worshipped was not the older sun-god of Larsa, but the later sun-god of Sippara (Sepharvarm).[1] Sargon moreover speaks of "the remote days of the period of the moon-god." This remark clearly refers to the time when the Lunar calendar was in use, and this must have been discontinued long before the time of Sargon. This evidence is confirmed by that relating to the inventor of the Zodiacal circle. The adoption of the mode of reckoning time by the Zodiac must have been contemporary with the introduction of sun worship, as the gods of the great race who ruled the valley of the Euphrates were those who ruled the times and the seasons. That the Assyrian Zodiacal year began when the equinox occurred during the sun's passage through Taurus the bull is proved by incontestable evidence,[2] and this system of measuring time must therefore have been introduced during the interval between the year 2500 B.C., when the equinox first happened, when the sun was in Aries (the Ram), and that of 4700 B.C., when it first took place, when the sun was in Taurus (the Bull).

Long before the time Sargon first fixed his capital at Sippara, Ur-Bagas, the first known king of the united empire of Babylonia ruled by the Accad-Semites, built and endowed the temple of Sin (the moon) at Ur, or Mugheir, and the temple of the sun at Larsa.[3] Judging from these and other indications of the actual date of the introduction of the zodiacal reckoning, Dr. Sayce fixes it somewhere near 4700 B.C., or about 1000 years before the time of Sargon.[4]

The Indian, when compared with the Assyrian evidence, appears to me to prove incontestably that the Lunar calendar must have been introduced into India by immigrants from Assyria, and this could only have been done while time was reckoned in Assyria by Lunar periods. It must therefore

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–8.
[2] Zodiac, Encyclopædia Britannica, pp. 791, 794; Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 397–8.
[3] Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 167.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

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have come into India before the days when Ur-Bagas founded Ur, and when Eridu, the city sacred to the great Accad snake-god Ea,[1] was one of the foremost cities of Babylonia and the chief port at the mouth of the Euphrates. It must have been from thence that the ancient Accad moon and snake worshippers traded with India on the one side and with the countries on the shores of the Red Sea and the Sinaitic peninsula on the other. An inscription on one of the statues found in the ruins of Telloh, a still older city than Eridu or Ur, says that the stone of which it was made (a hard diorite) was brought from Magan, the Land of Sinai, the mountain sacred to Sin, the moon. The art of these statues, together with the language and the inscriptions recorded on them, fully prove that they were executed in proto-Chaldæan times, before there were any Semites or sun-worshippers in the land. As for the date when the voyages to Sinai were made, it is approximately proved by one of the Telloh statues. This figure holds in its lap a plan of the city drawn to a scale which is marked on it.[2] This standard of measurement is the same as that of the Egyptian pyramid builders, the kings of the fourth and two following dynasties. This will take us back to nearly 6000 B.C. The people who thus sailed westward along the coast through the Red Sea to Sinai must have been sufficiently adventurous to make the much shorter voyage to India, and the most convincing proof that they not only traded with India, but permanently settled there, is to be found in the fact that they made their calendar the first and earliest measure of Indian time. These people must have been the Australioid, or black-headed race of Sumir, of which Ea, the snake-god, was the reputed creator and ancestor,[3] and the people whom Dr. Sayce, in another work,[4] shows to have been the original inhabitants of the country at the mouth of the Indus, which they called Abhfra, the Hebrew Ophir. These people spoke a Dravidian dialect

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135.
[2] Sayce's Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 32–33.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[4] In an article on Ophir in the Queen's Printers' Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible.

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allied to the Tamil, which was probably similar to that now used by the Brahuis of the Bolan Pass,[1] and were the early moon-worshippers known in India as the Irāvata, Haihaya or Gonds, who founded the earliest government and first established the internal and external trade of India. These people were followed by the Accad-Semite traders, who were known to the Sanskrit-speaking people by the name of Suvarṇa, *i.e.* the people who belong to the race of Sus or Saos, who introduced the solar-lunar calendar, and were the worshippers of the god Vāsu or Vāsuki, who was the chief god of this pre-Aryan race of sun-worshippers.

With reference to the above explanations Prof. Weber's remark, quoted in page 247 of my paper, that Indian Astronomy should really be called Astrology, must be remembered; and when further we recollect the universal prevalence of Astrology throughout India as well as other Asiatic countries, and the influence always attributed by astrologers to the moon and the planets, we can see how these ideas must in all probability be derived from a system which made them the ruling powers of nature, the determinators of the times and the seasons; and the moon, which ruled the constant series of natural changes, the creator and regulator of this changing world and those who lived in it. If the solution of the difficulties of the question I have now proposed, both in this appendix and in the text of my paper, be accepted as correct, it is clear that long before the Vedic period the people of India worshipped the moon and the stars as the rulers of heaven and the earth under the symbol of the snake or phallus, as the creator and father and mother of all things. This creed was afterwards altered by the introduction of the

[1] Hunter's Gazetteer, vol. iii. p. 98, s.v. Brahui. The name Abhfra seems to be probably connected with the word *ibha*, 'an elephant,' which appears in the Hebrew word for the ivory brought by Solomon's ships, *senhabbim*, or the 'teeth of elephants,' *habbim* being *ibha* with the Hebrew plural termination. *Ibha*, though used in Sanskrit to denote elephants, is not an original Sanskrit word, elephants being called in the Rigveda *mṛga hastin*, or 'the deer (*mṛga*) with hands' (*hastin*), and is almost certainly a Dravidian word. *Abhfra*, or *Ibhfra*, would therefore appear to mean 'the land of the elephants,' and the people who lived in it were called by a Dravidian name which meant the elephant race, and which was the origin of the name of Irāvata, or the elephant race, which has been shown in p. 265 to be that of the Haihayas or Nahusha, the sons of the great serpent.

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Solar mode of reckoning time, and Vāsuki or Vishṇu became the Solar god of the black races, who were descended from the snake-gods of Assryia. The Aryan Brahmins who wrote the Vedic hymns, and their successors who wrote the Brāhmaṇas, in their anxiety to place the doctrines of the sun-worshippers on a popular basis, altered the old list of the gods so as to make their own Solar deities, who were different from those of the Semite-Accads, the only objects of worship; but in so doing they totally obscured the original meaning of the Assyrian calendar they thus distorted. They still, however, retained a distinct remembrance of the high position formerly held by the moon in the celestial hierarchy, and this and the survival of customs originated in the former religious systems of the country will account for the great stress they laid on the performance of the new and full moon sacrifices.

The next question which I have not fully cleared up in the text, and which I propose to discuss further in this appendix, is that connected with the Dīkshiyāna and Dākshayāna sacrifices. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa only mentions the first, which is the sacrifice of initiation, and distinctly connects it with the new and full moon oblations, which every Aryan was obliged to perform. It says, "He who has brought the new or full moon oblations may be inaugurated in consequence of the offering made at these oblations." And it goes on to say that he has thus "made a beginning with the sacrificial worship of the deities."[1] It makes no limit whatever as to the classes of persons who may be initiated. It then goes on to give the description of the ceremony of initiation which I have already quoted in my previous paper, of which this is a continuation.[2] The rules for the initiation ceremony begin with the words: "The priests make him whom they initiate by means of the Dīkshā ceremony to be an embryo again," showing clearly that the ceremony typified a new birth. The Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, speaks of two sacrifices. First, the Dākshayāna sacrifice, which was a modification of the

[1] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, Haug's translation, vol. ii. p. 5.
[2] Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XX. Part III. p. 349.

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new and full moon sacrifices, which it says is peculiar to the sons of Dāksha Parvati.[1] Secondly, the Dīkshā or consecration sacrifice, to which only Brahmans, Rājanya and Vaiṣya, are eligible,[2] and which has nothing to do with the new and full moon sacrifices beyond making the recipients of the consecration eligible to offer them. Now the sons of Daksha, to whom the first sacrifice belonged, and which was that which Saplan Sarnjaya learnt from Pratidarṣa Ṣvaikna, are shown by the Mahābhārata to be the moon and snake worshippers or the Lunar races, as Daksha is the father of the twenty-seven Nakshatras, wives of the moon, and of the thirteen wives of Kāsyapa, which represent the thirteen lunar months, and also of Danū, the ancestress of the Asura or snake worshippers, and of Krodhā, ancestress of the Kolarians.[3]

Parvati means the god of the mountains (Parbut or Parbat, a mountain), and the two names Daksha Parvati imply the people of the lunar or snake races and the Kolarians or people of the mountains. The division of what was originally one sacrifice into two, one of which was peculiar to non-Aryans, and the other set apart for those who were already admitted to be of Aryan descent, was clearly made after the division of castes had been made. The Dākshayāna or later sacrifice was introduced to obviate the difficulties arising from the acknowledgment that Suplan, a non-Aryan, and others like him, had received Aryan initiation by the Dīkshayāna sacrifice. In the earlier days of the Aryan propaganda all who were willing to believe and whom the priests *chose to receive* were admitted to Aryan privileges and made "dwija" or twice-born, without any distinction of races. Probably the priests restricted their choice to influential people whose families were afterwards included in the Rājanya and Vaiṣya castes.

[1] Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4. 4. 6; Prof. Eggling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol xii.

[2] Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 1. 1. 10; Prof. Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxvi. p. 4.

[3] Mahābhārata, Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. pp. 185, 186, lxvii. pp. 194–197.

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Gaṇḍa or *Gonda.* Name of Northern Kosala, the country of the Haihayas, II. 265. Gondwana or Mahā Kosāla, also a Haihaya country, II. 235, 236, 265.

Gautama. A family of bards and missionary Brahmins who wrote the fourth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, especially connected with the Bhāratas, II. 192, 309. Kripa, grandson to Gautama, tutor to Kauravyas and Pāṇḍavas, II. 237. Connected with Magadha legend of birth of Jarasandha by help of Rishi Chandra Kūsika, the moon of the Kūsikas, one of the Gautama, II. 296, 297. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa accompanied Māthava the Videgha in spreading the worship of Agni Vaiṣvānara, I. 361; II. 309. Sākyas of Sāketa and Kapilavastu took the name of Gautama, II. 278.

Haihayas or *Haihaibunsis.* Rulers of Gondwana down to 1741 A.D., II. 235, 236. Overthrown in Western India by Bhojas and Bhāratas, 199, 211, 274. Previously driven out of country south of Sutlej by Yadu-Tarvasus, II. 288. Name probably means the snake-people, II. 264. Perhaps means descendants of Ea or Hea the Accad snake-god, II. 264, note 4. Nahusha king of the Haihayas, II. 264. See Gaṇḍa, Iḍa, Irāvata, Nahusha.

Hastinagur or *Hastinapore.* Capital of the Kurus, on the Swat river, in the Gandhāra country, II. 217. Same as city called by Greeks Peukalaotis, Proklais, or Peukelas, and by Sanskrit writers Pushkalavati, II. 217. Does not mean the elephant city, but the city of Ashti, the eighth Vasu or the sun, II. 217, note 4, 307, 308,

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note 3. City of Hastinapore, on the old Ganges in the Mirat district, may have been called after it, but was not the original Hastinapore, II. 218.

Iḍā, Iḷā, or *Iṛā.* In the Āprī hymns means the sons of the river Irāvatī, Purushnī or Ravī, *i.e.* the Haihaya, II. 287.

Ikshvāku. Sons of the sugar-cane (Iksha), II. 276, note 1. Descended from the rulers of Pātāla, I. 359. In time when older parts of the Mahābhārata were written, were vassals of the king of Sindhu Sauvīra, whose capital was Pātāla, II. 195, 196, 278. Probably the united tribes of Suvarṇa and Ṣāka Bhojas, II. 276, note 1. Belonged to tribes of Suvarṇa, II. 256. Came from Assyria, II. 256, 276, note 1. See Suvarṇa.

Indra. Originally Aryan god of clouds and rain, II. 228. Became later identified with Sakra or Sakko, god of the warrior tribes, I. 360; II. 228. God of the Ṣāka, Scythian, or Bhoja tribes, worshipped under the symbol of the sword, II. 228, note 1, 275, note 4. A non-Aryan as well as an Aryan god, II. 228. Associated in Chedi with the god Vāsu, II. 242.

Indraprastha. The modern Delhi; see Delhi.

Irāvata, the elephant race. One of the five great snake races, II. 243, 267, 291. Irāvata mean the Haihaya or Gonds, II. 235, 267. Means the elephant, II. 307. Take their name from rivers Irāvatī or Raptī in Kosala (Ayodha), and Iravatī, Purushnī, or Ravī, in the Panjab, II. 267. Ruled in Kosala country, north-east of the Ganges (Ayodhya), II. 291. Brother of Dhritarāshtra, first of the Nāgas, II. 291. One of the five tribes of Panchāla, II. 300. Connection with Abhfra, Dravidian name of Ophir and *ibha,* later Sanskrit for elephant, II. 326, note 4. See Nahusha, Haihayas.

Jains. The Jain religion originated among the Suvarṇa in the west, where the most sacred Jain shrines are situated, II. 259. Its teaching based on rules for Brahmin

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students, II. 260. Licchavi probably Jains, and therefore Suvarṇa, II. 260, 261. Parisnāth and Mount Abū sacred to Jains, II. 258. Connection with Kolarians, II. 258, 259, 262. Traders of Western India generally Jains, II. 258, 262. See Licchavi and Suvarṇa.

Jarasandha. King of Magadha, attack made by him and his generals and allies Hansa, Dimvuka, and Sisupala, king of Chedi or Surasena of Mathura and the Western tribes, II. 211. Killed by Bhima, II. 211. Analogy between the story of his birth and that of Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu, II. 296

Kāmbhojas. Same people as called in Mahābhārata Druhyu, II. 233. Karnatha and Sudakshina, kings of Kambhoja, II. 249. Evidence as to position of their country from the fifth rock edict of Aṣoka, II. 249, 250, 271, 272. They are people called Σίβοι by Strabo, who places them north of the Chenāb, II. 272. Probably originally of a more northern stock than the Abhirs or Ṣākas of the Delta of the Indus. See Bhojas, Druhyu, Ṣiva.

Kanva. Family of Brahmin bards, who wrote the 8th Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, especially connected with the Yadu-Turvasu, II. 192, 244, 246; Kanva dynasty founded by Pushpamitra, II. 250.

Kapila. A Brahmin rishi who gave the Sākyas the land on which Kapilavastu was built, I. 359. Same as Kapila, called king of the Nāgas in the Mahābhārata, II. 291.

Kapilavastu or *Kapila.* The city where the Buddha was born, I. 357; II. 291. Situated on the Rohinī, II. 278.

Karṇa. Legend of the sun god of Karṇa-Suvarṇa, II. 277.

Karṇa-Suvarṇa. Province mentioned by Hiouen Tsiang, comprises modern districts of Birbhūm, Burdwān, Bancoorah, Manbhūm, Singhbhūm, and north of Midnapore, controlling trade from port of Tamralipta (Tamluk) peopled by Suvarṇa, II. 258. By mixed (Karṇa) Bhoja tribes of sun-worshippers, II. 277. By Bhurs, Bars, or Bhāratas, II. 281, 282.

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Kāsi or *Benares.* Ajātaṣatru, king of, I. 353. Included in country of Kosala, I. 353; II. 266, 295. City of Kassapa or Kāṣyapa, II. 280. Name connected with that of Kūsika tribe, II. 295, 298. Connected with Kāsyaka or Kāsyapura, *i.e.* Multan, II. 295. Marriage of Vichitta Virya, son of Ṣantanu, to two daughters of Kāsi, II. 296. Marriage of Bhārata with daughter of king of Kāsi, II. 299.

Kashmir. Country of the Takkas, 1. 347. Of the Sambara conquered by Divodasa, II. 189. Conquered by Arjuna, II. 288. Residence of Takka kings, II. 219, 229, 240. Home of Vaikarna, II. 229. Inhabitants snake-worshippers, II. 308.

Kāṣyapa or *Kassapa.* The Buddha before Gautama, same as Kāṣyapa, father of gods and men, II. 280. Married thirteen daughters of Daksha, the thirteen months of the lunar year, II. 302.

Kāsyapura or *Kāsyakapura.* One of the names of Multan, called a Gandarik city by Hecatæus, II. 224. A town of the Gandhāri, II. 295.

Kāthi. Same as Kathæi of Greek authors, a Kolarian tribe living between Chenāb and Purushnī or Ravi, same as the Kāthi who gave their name to Kāthiāwāṛ, II. 241. See Aṇu.

Kāthiāwāṛ. Country of the Kāthi, II. 241, 250. Two most sacred Jain shrines in Kāthiāwāṛ, II. 259. Governed by Suvarna and Bhojas, II. 259, 270. Kāthiāwāṛ breed of horses, II. 272. Kolarian element predominant in the country, II. 273.

Kaur. See Kuru.

Kauravya. See Kuru.

Kauseya. Meaning Tussur silk, widely extended use of, mentioned by Hiouen Tsiang, II. 210, note 2. It was the silk exported from India in early times, II. 210.

Kīchaka. Country of the hill bamboo, a Gandharva territory between Ganges and Kaimur hills, II. 294. Part of Benares kingdom, II. 295.

Kirātas. A Kolarian tribe, subjects of Bhagadatta, king of

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the Yavanas, II. 249. Ṣiva and his wife Umā assume form of Kirātas, II. 311.

Kolarians. Earliest settlers in India, I. 328. Came from the East, I. 329. Affinity between Indian Kolarians and Burmese tribes, I. 329; II. 251, note 7. National characteristics and form of government of, I. 329, 330; II. 187, 188, 236, 253. Kolarian sun worshippers, II. 252. Kolarian dances and sacred groves, I. 357, 358; II. 254, 255. Connected with Yādavas, II. 246. Called Yavanas by Sanskrit writers, II, 246–254. Connection with Western Jains, II. 258. With Vajjian Licchavis of Vaisāli, I. 356; II. 262. With the Bhojas, II. 269, 273–275. Called Nishadhas by Aryan writers, II. 253, 270. Evidence of matriarchal customs among Kolarians, II. 274, 275. Kolarians hard drinkers, II. 255, 278. Bhāratas probably of Kolarian race, II. 290; also Kuras or Kaurs, II. 236. Explanation of Kolarian tree worship, I. 358; II. 290, 301. Reasons why Aryan doctrines were popular among Kolarians, II. 252, 310.

Kosala. Kingdom of Prasenajit including Benares, I. 353. Its capital Sravasti, I. 356; II. 265. Identified with modern Ayodhya, called Ganḍa or Gonda, II. 265, note 3. Two Kosalas, Northern Kosala or Ayodhya, and Mahā Kosala or Gondwana, show extent of dominions of ancient Haihayas or Gonds. See Gonds, Haihayas.

Kosāmbi. Founded by the Kāsikas, I. 347. By the descendants of Vasu, II. 244. By Kuntibhojas under Chakra, eighth in descent from Arjuna, II. 269. A centre of religious and philosophical speculation, II. 312.

Kṛishṇa. The black (Kṛshna) god of the aboriginal tribes, I. 342. Kṛishṇa the black demigod, and Kṛishnā the black princess, daughter of Draupada and wife of the Pāṇḍavas, I. 342. Kṛishṇa, sun god of the black races, descended from the snake Āriaka, II. 195, 242, 244. Kṛishṇa also a king and hero in the Mahābhārata, II. 196. Expedition of Pāṇḍavas and Kṛishṇa against Jarasandha, II. 211. Why called son of Vasudeva, II. 242. Identified with snake god Vāsuki, II. 243. Called

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slayer of Madhu, the demon of strong drink, II. 278. Married Rukminī, sister of Rukmi, king of the Bhojas, II. 270. Accuses Jarasandha of human sacrifice, II. 311. Identified as Vāsuki and Vishnu and sun god of solar lunar year, and of Suvarṇa Bhojas, II. 324.

Krodhā. Daughter of Daksha, ancestress of Kolarian races, II. 270. One of the names of the thirteen months who were wives of Kāsyapa, II. 322.

Krodhavasa. Descendants of Krodha, meaning Kolarian races, II. 270.

Kshatryas or *Rajputs.* Rivalry between Brahmins and Kshatryas, I. 345. Kshatrya kings and heroes asserted equal rights with Brahmins to Brahmin privileges, I. 352. Evidence in Mahābhārata as to this question, II. 196. Solar Rajputs descended from Vrishnis, Sākas, or Bhojas, who with Sauvīra formed race of Ikshvāku Lunar Rajputs from royal families of the snake race, II. 279. Forms of marriage permitted to Kshatryas, II. 297. Lunar Rajputs called Sombunsi or sons of the moon, II. 303.

Kuntibhojas. Founded Koṣāmbi, II. 270. Descended from snake Āriaka, II. 198, 257, 271. Name means *Bhojas of the Kunti or lance,* lived originally west of Charmanvati river, II. 270, 277. Identified with Vrishṇis, Sākas, and Sākyas, II. 276. Became rulers of Anga, *i.e.* South Behar, II. 277. Advance eastward of, II. 312. See Bhojas, Kshatryas.

Kūrmis. Name of chief agricultural tribes of Northern India same as Kurus, II. 217, 237. Sons of Kūrma the tortoise, II. 307. See Kurus.

Kurukshetra. Name first given to frontier outpost of Kurus on the west bank of the Jumna, II. 218. Adjoining Aryan Brahmāvarta, II. 191. After battle of ten kings, Aryan settlements on the Sarasvati became incorporated in Kurukshetra, II. 234. See Nāgapura.

Kurus. Genealogy of Kauravyas, sons of Dhritarāshtra, II. 197, 198. Conquest by Kauravyas of Ahikshetra (which see), east of Jumna, II. 218, 235. Alliance between

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Bhāratas and Kurus, II. 220, 221. Also with Takkas and Aryans, II. 221. Kurus and Takkas formed united tribe called Vaikarṇa, II. 222, 229, 300. Alliance of Samvaraṇa Kuru king with Aryans after defeat in the battle of the ten kings, II. 334. Same as Kaurs, II. 235, 236. Are partly Kolarians, II. 236. Same as Kūrmis, II. 239, 307. Called in Rigveda, with Takkas and Gandhari, by common name of Purus or Pūravas, meaning city builders; Mahābhārata tells history of Kurus, II. 279. Called Kauravya, as one of the five snake races, II. 243, 267, 291. Identified with Kurus, II. 237, 238, 267. Called Karkotaka in Matsya Purāṇa, II. 297, 303. Not included among five tribes forming Panchālas, II. 300. Snake worshipped among Kurus put an end to by Bhāratas and Brahmins, II. 307, 308. See Purus.

Kūsikas. Hansa, king of the Kūsikas of Benares, II. 211, 295, note 2. Kusikas, Gandharvi, or Gandhari gave name to Kāsi (Benares), II. 295. Connection of, with horse sacrifice, and descent from the mango tree, II. 296, 297. Explanation as to how Viṣvāmitra became prince of the Kūsikas, II. 345.

Kusināra or *Kusinagura* (city of the Kusis). Place of the Buddha's death, chief city of the Vaggian Malli, I. 357.

Kutsa. Names and position of Kutsa in the Rigveda, II. 214. Not an Aryan, II. 215. Connection with Kurus, II. 216, 217. His daughter mother of Trāsadasyu, II. 217, 219. The tribe to which he belonged, II. 239.

Lunar mansions or *Nakshatra.* Derived from Babylonians, II. 247. See Nakshatra.

Lunar year. Earliest method of reckoning time in India, II. 302. Description of, II. 302, 320, 321.

Licchavi. Nine tribes of, belonging to the Vaggian confederacy, I. 356; II. 262. Policy of Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, with regard to, I. 356. Form of government, Kolarian, I. 358, 359. Probably Jains, II. 26. Derivation of Licchavi from Accad root *lig* or *li*, the lion, II.

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261, note 3, 262. A name of united Sau and Bhoja tribes of Vaisāli who had come there from the West, II. 262. See Suvarṇa.

Makkokalingæ. Of Pliny, same as Mugheyas of Magadha, II. 268, note 2.

Mādhavī. Daughter of Madhu or Madhava, the Kolarian demon of strong drink, II. 278. Daughter of Yayāti, II. 269. Mother of the sons of the Ikshvāku, Kūsis and Eastern Bhojas, also of Ashtaka, son of the eighth Vasa, II. 305, 306.

Madhu or *Mādhava.* Madhu, name of spirit made from Mahowa tree (Bassia latifolia), II. 278. See Mādhavī.

Madras. A non-Aryan tribe, a branch of the Takkas, II. 198, 212, 240. Co-rulers with Gandhāri of Northern Punjab, II. 198. Connection with sons of Yayāti, II. 212, 269. Country of still called Madra-desh and people mixed Kolarians and Dravidians, II. 240, 241.

Magadha. Country of Jarasandha, II. 211. Of the Mugheyas or Mughs, II. 268, note 2.

Mahābhārata. Historical value of, II. 193. Outline of contents, and discussion of probable date, II. 193–199. Quotations from, taken from Babu Pertap Chunder Roy's translation, II. 192, note 4 and *passim.*

Mahī. River in Guzerāt invoked in Āpri hymns, also called Bhārata, II. 186.

Mahrs. Tribe in Mahratha country, which they say they formerly ruled, II. 251. See Mallarāshtra.

Mālini. Means river of the Malli, parent of Ṣakuntalā, II. 251, 299. See Malli.

Mallarāshtra. Kingdom of the Malli, now Mahahashtra, the Mahratha country, II. 251. Name of Ujjen or Avanti, now Malwa, II. 251.

Malli. Nine tribes of, belonging to the Vajjian confederacy, probably Kolarians, I. 356–358. Name of tribe living in Multan, same as Yavana, II. 250. Root of name, Mun, Mal or Mon, a distinctive name of the Kolarian race, II. 251, note 7. See Kolarians, Munda.

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Matsya or *fishing folk.* Sakyavati, queen of Ṣantanu, a Matsya princess, II. 197. Generally allied with Yādavas, II. 197. On Bhārata-Kuru or non-Aryan side in battle of ten kings, II. 230. Court of Matsya king visited by Pāṇḍavas in disguise, II. 254. Matsya descended from mountain Kolahala and river Suktimati, II. 254, 286. Matsya, not true tribal name, but one given by those who looked on them as an inferior race, II. 283. Matsya or Virāta, a Bhārata or Kolarian tribe, II. 197, 230, 254, 283–285. See Bhāratā.

Megasthenes. Greek Ambassador to court of Chandragupta, value of evidence of, II. 189. His description of Dravidian form of government quoted by Strabo, II. 201, 202. Of village dances, II. 255.

Moon worship. Snake races called Sombunsi, or sons of the moon, were moon worshippers, II. 303. In Rigveda the moon called the central god of the Nakshatras or lunar periods, II. 321. Moon, central god of lunar year, II. 322. Also of solar-lunar year, II. 323. As Pushkara moon became Brahma, or god of all gods, ruling both lunar and solar-lunar systems, II. 323, 324. Reasons why moon as ruler of series of natural changes thought to be the greatest of the gods, II. 327.

Mugheir. Other name of Ur, II. 204. Date of founding of, II. 325.

Multān. Capital of Sind, meaning "place of the Malli," II. 250. See Malli.

Munda. Name of Kolarian tribes of Chota Nāgpur, I. 328. Title of headman of village, I. 329. A Kolarian word derived from root *mon*, II. 251, note 7. Mundas are sun-worshippers, II. 252. Same as Monedes of Pliny, II. 258. See Kolarians, Malli.

Nāga races. Sons of the Nag, Naghush or Nahusha, the great serpent, means snake and earth worshipping races, II. 264. See Nahusha, Snake worship.

Nāgapura. City of snakes, city whence Trigarta went to attack Matsya, and where Kauravya forces assembled

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before the great battle with Pāṇḍavas and their allies, probably situated in Kurukshetra on west bank of Jumna, II. 218.

Nahusha. Father of Yayāti, II. 193. Probably means the great serpent, II. 193, 264. Same as Hebrew word Naghush, II. 265. King of the Haihayas, II. 264. Contended with Indra and fell from heaven, II. 193, 264. Probably used in Rigveda as name of a tribe (the Haihayas) ruling the Eastern land, II, 263, 264. See Haihayas, Irāvatā.

Nakshatra stations of the moon or lunar mansions. Probably original form is Nag-kshetra, *i.e.* stations of the *nag* or snake, II. 318, note 2. Of Babylonian origin, II. 247, 302. Wives of the moon for assisting the courses of the world, II. 302, note 2. Same as Rudras, II. 302, 318. Division into groups of nine each, making, with two dominant planets to each group, eleven, II. 321. Only once mentioned in Rigveda, II. 321. Derivation of name, II. 318, note 2. See Lunar Mansions, Moon-worship.

Nishadhas. Name given by Aryans to early Kolarian inhabitants of India, II. 253, 307. Nishadhas live where Sarasvati disappears into the sands of the desert, II. 251, 283. Seven snake kings of Nishadha, II. 297.

Ooraons. Dravidian tribe in Chota Nāgpur, relations with Kolarians, II. 292, 293.

Ophir. In Western India, I. 337; II. 203. People probably spoke a Dravidian language, I. 337, note 2; II. 210, 326. Derivation of name from Suvarṇa, II. 203. More especially, as Prof. Sayce suggests, from Abhfra, II. 326, note 4. Connection with *ibha*, later Sanskrit for elephant, II. 326, note 4.

Panchālas. Name marks special connection with snake-worship, I. 347, note 2. Called Kuir (or the mixed people) in Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 347. Centre of philosophic thought in later Upanishads placed in Pan-

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chāla and Videha, not as in the Mahābhārata in the West, II. 195. King of Panchāla, one of principal allies of Pāṇḍavas, II. 198. War of Panchālas against Samvaraṇa, the Kuru king, spoken of in Mahābhārata, probably war of the ten kings in Rigveda, II. 221. Tribe called Partha or Srnjaya reckoned among Panchālas in great war with Kauravyas in Mahābhārata, II. 198, 285, 300. Identification of five tribes forming Panchāla confederacy, II. 299, 300. Country ruled by Panchāla kings after war of the Mahābhārata, II. 312.

Panchayats, or councils of five. Early importance of, II. 201, 202.

Paṇḍu (the fair prince). Reputed father of the Pāṇḍavas, II. 197. Brother of Dhritarāshtra, II. 197, 291, 296, 297. See Dhritarāshtra.

Pāṇḍavas. Reputed sons of Paṇḍu, II. 197. Mythical descent of, II. 198. Conquerors of Jarasandha of Magadha with Krishṇa, II. 211. Conquests by, II. 195, note 2, 238, 248. Mythical leaders in war of, Panchālas and Matsyas (Western Bhāratas) against Kurus, II. 198, 285. Visit Virāta Matsya capital in disguise, II. 254. Alliance with Krishṇas and Bhāratas, II. 283. Travels of Pāṇḍavas to country of Kichaka, II. 294. Historical value of account of pilgrimages of Pāṇḍavas in Mahābhārata, II. 194.

Parsa. Various interpretations of word *parsava*=*parsu* occurring in Rigveda vii. 83, II. 222–3. Probably means Persians, and denotes people called Yādavas and Vishānin, II. 226, 230, 231.

Pātāla. Great host of Western India on the Indus, I. 338; II. 307. Succeeded by Minnagura or Thatha, II. 207. Not built by Aryans, II. 238. Oldest Indian capital of Suvarṇa, and centre of the world of Nāgas, II. 257. Home of snake god Vāsuki (which see), I. 339; II. 257. Earliest settlement of Saos or traders in India, II. 261. Of Semite-Accads who introduced sun worship into India, II. 324.

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Patāli-putra (Patna). Capital of Chandragupta, II. 189.

Phallus-worship. Dasyus, or principal opponents of Aryans in India called *śiṣnadeva*, probably meaning phallus-worshippers, I. 336. See Snake-worship.

Pliny. Mention by, of Suari (Sauvīra) and Monedes, I. 355; II. 258. Of gold and silver mines, II. 208. Estimate by, of capital expended in India on trade, II. 208.

Pṛithā or *Kuntī.* Daughter of Surasena chief, *i.e.* the sun, mythical mother of the Pāṇḍavas, II. 198. Of Kurṇa, II. 277. Sister of Vasudeva, mythical father of Krishṇa, II. 242.

Pṛthu or *Pārtha.* Various interpretations of word *pṛthu* occurring in Rigv. vii. 83, II. 222, 224. Probably means Parthians, and is synonym of tribes called Gandhāri, Aṣvaka, Chitraratha, Partha, or Sṛnjaya, II. 223–225.

Pṛthivi. Probably means god of the Pṛthu, the earth-worshippers, II. 233, note 4.

Purus. Earliest allies of the Tṛtsus, II. 191, 192. Puru, son of Yayāti and Sharmishṭā, daughter of the Asura king Vrishaparva of the Takka tribe, II. 192, 212. Legend accounting for Puru, Yayāti's youngest son, being made his heir, II. 213. Descendants of Puru called Pūravas, II. 213. Victory of Vetaru over Tugra under Kutsa the Puru, II, 214. Purus called in Rigveda Mrdhravāc, and explanation of the term, II. 216. Certainly not Aryans, and probably connected with agricultural tribes of Central Asia, II. 216. Purus and their allies defeated by Aryan Tṛtsus in battle of ten kings, II. 234. Are called Kauravya and Kurus after this battle, II. 234. Purus or Pūravu, probably Aryan term used to denote builders of cities (*pur*), given to snake races ruling country north of Purushṇī, more especially the Kuru-Takkas and northern Gandhāri, II. 238, 239, 288, note 1.

Purushṇī or *Ravi.* One of five rivers of the Punjab, the southern boundary of Puru kingdom, II. 233. Also

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called Irāvati or river of Haihayas, II. 267. Purushṇī perhaps means river of the Purus, II. 267, note 3.

Pushkara. Name of the Moon and Mars, as dominants of the central season (summer) of the lunar year, II. 320. The shrine of Pushkara, the unfading lotus of Ajmir, significance of, II. 323.

Rāma. Hero of Rāmāyana, marriage to Sitā, daughter of king of Videha, proves late date of the story of the Rāmāyana, II. 195, 196. Three Rāmas, (1) Rāma son of Jamadagni, of the Bhrigu race, conqueror of the Haihayas; (2) Rāma ancestor and god of the Dwāraka Bhojas, son of Rohinī the cow; (3) Rāma the son of Daṣaratha, the Ayodhya hero, II, 276, 277. Rāma son of Rohinī, called Valarāma, II. 270. Inference from alleged meeting of Rāma of Bhrigu race, and Rāma the son of Daṣaratha in Ayodhya, II. 289, 290. Rāma conqueror of the Haihayas, called Parasu-Rāma, II. 209.

Rigveda. Great historical value of, I. 322. History of Purus as told in, II. 213–217, 219, 220, War of ten kings as told in, II. 221–234. Thirty-three gods spoken of in, II. 318, 319.

Riksha. Son of Arksha the sun, questions connected with two kings called Riksha, II. 221.

Rohinī. Mother of cows, ancestress of Bhojas, II. 215, 270. Grand-daughter of Krodhā, showing Kolarian descent, II. 270. Name of river on which Kapilavastu is built, II. 278. See Bhojas, Rāma.

Rudras. Sons of Sthānu (a place), said in Mahābhārata in one passage to be nine, and in others eleven, in number, II. 243, 283. Change of numbers connected with the Bhārata, II. 283. Rudras proved from Rigveda to be the same as Nakshatras or Lunar Mansions, II. 318. Nine Rudras in solar-lunar, instead of twenty-seven in lunar year, II. 322.

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Sākas or *Sākyas*. Tribe known in Mahābhārata as Kuntibhojas of Avanti or Mallarāshtra, afterwards as Sākyas of Ikshvāku kingdom of Sāketa, II. 276. Means Scythians, II. 273. See Kuntibhojas.

Sākala. Capital of the Madras, also of the Takkas as well as Takkasilā, II. 198, 250.

Sakko or *Sakra*. Name of Indra. See Indra.

Sāketa. Capital of Ikshvāku kingdom of Sākyas in Ayodhya. I. 353; II. 276, 312.

Ṣakuntalā. Of Kolarian race, daughter of river Malini and ancestress of Bhāratas, II. 251, 299.

Salvas. Country of, on western coast, close to that of the Malli, II. 251. Attack of, on Dwāraka, II. 255. Perhaps a branch of the Sauvīra, II. 252.

Ṣamba. Son of Krishṇa, story of his bringing Magi to Multan from Sakadwipa (Persia), II. 226, 252.

Ṣambara. Name of tribe, probably early inhabitants of Kashmir, who were chief opponents of Divodasa and the Tṛtsus on their entry into India, II. 189, 190, note 3.

Ṣantanu. Kuru king, II. 197, 284. Mentioned in Rigveda, II. 317.

Sarasvatī. River on which first permanent settlements of Aryans were placed, II. 190, 213–4. Name symbolical of the Aryans in the Āprī hymns, II. 286. Matinara marries the Sarasvatī, II. 221.

Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Evidence of mode of Aryan conquest in, I. 361; II. 309–10, 328–9. Evidence as to horse sacrifice, II. 294. Sacrificial Manual of Eastern countries of India, II. 313.

Satyavatī. Queen of Ṣantanu, a Matsya princess, also mother of Rishi Vyasa, who is supposed to have composed the Mahābhārata, II. 197.

Saurāshṭra. Great trade from, II. 207–8. Country of Saus or traders of Pātāla, II. 199. Also of Suvarṇa, II. 256, 258.

Scylax. General of Darius, who conquered countries along the Indus, B.C. 509, II. 224.

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Sindhu. Name of the Indus and also of muslin in Babylonia, I. 337; II. 305.

Sindhu-Suvarṇa. Country of the Suvarṇa living on the Indus. See Suvarṇa.

Ṣiva. Name of Bhojas who claimed descent from Ṣiva, son of Uṣīnara, II. 332. Kāmbhojas called Ṣiva, *i.e.* Σίβοι, by Strabo, II. 272, 231–2. Name of Bhojas who worshipped snake gods under the form of Ṣiva, II. 275.

Ṣiva or *Ṣankara.* Great god of the Panchālas, I. 347, note 2. Special connection with snake worship, I. 347; II. 311. Ṣiva the snake god who, as the planet Saturn, dominated the winter solstice when the lunar year of the snake and moon-worshippers began, II. 321–4.

Snake, Nāga or *earth worship.* Great prevalence in India and impossibility of its having an Aryan origin, I. 325–6. Importance of Nāga gods, I. 326–7. Distinctive of the Dravidian races, I. 333–4; II. 188. Really worship under symbol of the snake or phallus the vital creative power of nature inherent in the earth, which made it the father and mother of all things, I. 333; II. 188, 320. Earliest snake worshippers Accad immigrants, who worshipped the snake and the moon and called themselves Haihayas or sons of Ea or Hea, the great Accad snake, II. 264, note 4, 265, 325–6. Culminated in worship of Ṣiva, chief of the lunar year, II. 324. Later solar-lunar snake-worship of Vāsuki or Vishnu, Sun-god, under form of snake, of Suvarṇa Bhojas, who introduced solar-lunar year from Assyria, II. 323–4. Snake gods worshipped by opponents of Aryans in Rig-veda, I. 335–6. Dravidian snake gods objects of universal reverence in Mahābhārata, II. 195. Totemistic origin of, II. 188, 227. Descent of demi-gods and five chief tribes of Northern India from five snake gods, II. 195, 239, 243, 267, 291. Seven snake ancestors of tribes, II. 297. See Haihaya, Nahusha, Bhārata, Kurus, Suvarṇa, Takkas.

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Solomon. Trade of Palestine in his time with India, I. 337; II. 203–4.

Soma. Means both the moon and strong drink, latter original meaning, II. 321, note 4. Soma used, in Rigveda, to mean fermented drink imbibed at the village dances, II. 254.

Soma. The moon, husband of the Nakshatras, II. 302. As centre of Nakshatras in Rigveda, II. 321.

Sṛnjaya. One of the tribes named in Rigveda, II. 189. Same people as those called Pṛthu, II. 224–5, 300. Connection with Panchālas in Mahābhārata, II. 224. Defeat Turvaṣu and Vrisivats or Vrishnis, II. 228, 245–6. Chief of five tribes of Panchāla, II. 300. Lighting of sacred fire for the Sṛnjaya, II. 308–9. Aryan sacrifices learnt by Suplan the Sṛnjaya, II. 309, 328–9.

Sudras. Son of Divodasa, the leader of Aryan Tṛtsus and their allies in the battle of the ten kings, II. 191, 222, 234.

Sun-worship. Early non-Aryan worship of Vāsuki or Vishnu as snake god of the sun or solar-lunar year, II. 304, 324. Later Aryan sun and fire-worship, II. 304–6, 324. See Aryans, Suvarṇa, Vāsuki.

Surasena. Country of the Yādavas or Vrishṇis, II. 192. Tribe so called, allied with Bhāratas and Panchālas in the great war of the Mahābhārata, II. 199. Vrishṇis, called Surasena, II. 231. Driven out of Mathura by Eastern tribes, II. 211.

Surna. Name of sacred groves of the Kolarians, remains of primæval forest left in clearances for residence of forest or local deities, I. 357; II. 254, 290.

Sūrpāraka. One of chief western ports named in Mahābhārata at mouth of Tapti on Gulf of Kambay, II. 206, 209.

Suvarṇa, Sauvīra, Saos or *Suari.* Proved to be a widely spread tribe, I. 354–5. Great trading race of India, II. 199, note 1; 203, 211. Intermixed with Yadu-Turvaṣu, II. 255. Descended from Sus of Euphrates valley, II.

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256. Worshippers and sons of snake god Vāsu or Vāsuki, II. 243, 257, 267. Settled in Chedi (Bundelkund), whence they went to Bengal, II. 257–8. United in Sindhu-Suvarṇa and Kāthiāwāṛ with Sākas or Bhojas, who also came from Euphrates valley, II. 259. Jain religion originated among Suvarna, II. 259. Licchavis of Vaisāli were Suvarṇa, II. 260–2. Were the caste called Vaisya, originally Vāisya, sons or worshippers of Vāsu, II. 263. Ikshvāku were Suvarṇa united with Bhojas or Sākas, II. 256, 276, 278, 312. Descended from Semite-Accads, who introduced solar-lunar calendar and worship of Vāsuki or Vishnu into Pātāla and thence through India, II. 324. See Bhojas, Licchavis, Sākas, Vāsuki.

Takkas or *Takshakas*. Powerful tribe in Northern Punjab on Asikru or Chenāb, I. 343, 347; II. 219. Alliance of Kurus with Takkas, II. 221. One of two tribes called Vaikarna, II. 222, 229. One tribe included under the name Purus in Rigveda, II. 239. Their territory lay north of the Purushṇī, II. 233, 234, 240, 268. Rulers of Madradesh, south of the Chenāb, II. 240, 241. Takka, not a name of Sanskrit origin, II. 238. One of the five snake races, II. 243, 267, 291. Connection with the Haihayas, II. 275. Sons of Yayāti, Druhyu, Anu and Puru, descended on mother's side from Takkas, II. 212. Intermarried with Bhojas, II. 273. Descendants of one of seven snake kings of Nishadha, II. 297. Could not have been one of the five tribes of Panchālas, II. 300. Obstinate snake worshippers, but saved by Asṭika the eighth Vasu, II. 308.

Takkasilā or rock of the Takkas. Capital of the Takka country, I. 343, 347; II. 219.

Tamil. A Tamil dialect probably formerly spoken in Delta of the Indus and country extending thence to the ports on the Gulf of Kambay, I. 337, note 2; II. 209, 210, 326, note 4. Tamil dialect now spoken by the Brahuis

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of the Bolan Pass, II. 326. Proof that the Tamil year is the old lunar year of the Haihaya races, II. 321, note 3.

Trade. Indian trade can be traced back to the founding of Ur or Mugheir at least 4000 B.C., II. 204. And by fact that the lunar calendar was introduced into India by immigrants from Assyria at a still earlier period, II. 306. Activity of early trade shown by manufacturing and mining industry, II. 199, 200. By trade with Palestine, I. 337; II. 203–4. With Assyria, I. 337; II. 204–5. With Egypt, II. 206. With Ceylon, II. 210. Exports and imports from and into Pātāla, Ujjen, Proklais, on river Swat in Kabul and Baragyza, II. 207–8. Could not have originated with Aryans, who were ignorant of the sea and navigation, I. 338. And because almost all manufacturing classes, artisans, and traders, are, and always have been, Sudras or non-Aryans, II. 199, 200. Strong government required to establish trade supplied by Dravidians, II. 201–2. Evidence from word rice, *ὄρυζα* in Greek, that the western traders originally spoke a Tamil dialect, II. 205. From names of goods imported by Solomon, I. 337, note 2; II. 209, 326, note 4.

Trāsadasyu. Puru or Kuru king, successor of Kutsa, possibly his daughter's son, II. 217. Added to conquests made by Divodasa, II. 219, 220. Probable meaning of name, II. 220, note 1.

Trigartā or *Tugra.* Tribe named in the Rigveda, II. 189. Defeated by Vetasa under Kutsa, II. 214. Lived in Julundhur Doab, and were one of the most powerful tribes in northern Punjab, II. 214. Called sons of the serpent in Rigveda, II. 215. Allies of Kauravyas in raid on Matsya cattle, II. 214, note 7; II. 218. Aryans passed through Tugra country on their way to Sarasvatī, II. 214, 219. Were the Ṣiva who allowed the Tṛtsus to pass through Julundhur Doab to attack the Kuru-Bhārata on the Purushṇī, II. 232-33.

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Tṛtsu. Chief Aryan tribe in Rigveda, same as Arṇa, II. 189, 190. Short account of, II. 190, 192. Early alliance with Purus, II. 192. Purus were their opponents in war of the ten kings, II. 234. Allies of Tṛtsu in this war, II. 230–233. Subsequent alliance with Kurus, II. 234.

Turvaṣu. Mentioned in Rigveda, generally in connection with Yadus, II. 189, 241. One of sons of Yayāti and Devayanī, II. 189, 192, 212, 241. Turvaṣu, said in Mahābhārata to be Yavanas, II. 213. Yaksha, chief of Turvaṣus, one of leaders of Kuru-Bhārata in war of ten kings, II. 233–4. Paid tribute to Tṛtsus after defeat, II. 234. In account of sons of Vāsu Turvaṣu called Mavellya, II. 242. Turvaṣu and Vriṣivāts defeated by Sṛnjaya, II. 245–6. Connection with bards of Kanva family, 192, 246. See Yavana.

Ujjen. Called by Greeks Ozene, trade from, II. 207–8. Same as Avanti and ruled by Bhārata kings, II. 291.

Ur, see Mugheir.

Uṣīnara. Father of Ṣiva or Eastern Bhojas in Gālava legend, II. 231–2, 306.

Vaikarna. Meaning two races. Perhaps means Kuru Krivi, or Kuru Panchāla, I. 346–7. This shown to be wrong, and Vaikarna proved to be Kuru-Takkas, II. 222, 229. Named in Rigveda, II. 189, 222, 229.

Vaisāli. Capital of the Licchavis, I. 356; II. 261. Probably founded by trading and fighting races of Sindhu-Suvarṇa and Saurāshṭra (Suvarṇa Bhojas), II. 262.

Vaisyas. Name probably originally Vāsyus or worshippers, or sons of Vāsu, and applied to the Sauvīra or Saos, who were made into the third caste, II. 262–3.

Vashatkāra. One of the thirty-three gods, II. 304. Means "he who makes the seasons and establishes them," II. 304, note 1, 323.

Vasishṭha. Bard of Tṛtsus, representative of orthodox and

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exclusive Brahmins, I. 345–6; II. 191–92. Two different forms of legend of theft of Vasishtha's sacred cow, first, I. 345; second, II. 304–5. Difference between schools of Vasishtha and Viṣvāmitra, I. 345–8; II. 229. These differences did not cause war of ten kings, II. 227–9.

Vasu. King of Chedi, shown to be god Vāsu or Vāsuki, II. 241–4.

Vāsuki or *Vāsu.* Identified with Krishna, II. 243. With Vishnu, II. 324. God and father of the Suvarṇa, II. 257. First and king of five snake gods, ancestors of tribes, II. 243, 257, 267, 291, 300. God of the solar-lunar year, introduced by Semite-Accads, and solar god of the black races, II. 322, 323, 327. See Krishṇa.

Vasus. Eight Vasus, sons of Gungā and Ṣantanu, meaning of, II. 304–5. Same as eight Vasus, sons of Āditi in Rigveda, II. 305, note 1. Eighth Vasu is the Aryan Sun identified with Visvāmitra, II. 305–306.

Vasudeva. Mythical father of Krishna, reason for invention of the name, II. 242.

Vāsudeva. Pali name of Krishṇa, II. 243.

Vidarba. Country between Nerbudda and Tapti, also south of Tapti, II. 206, 208; conquered by Bhojas, II. 209.

Videhas. People of the Vajjian country of Vaisāli, I. 361. Kingdom founded after older parts of the Mahābharāta were written, II. 195, 196.

Vikarna or *Vikarmika.* Said by Hemachandra to mean Kashmir, I. 347; II. 229. Meaning country of Vaikarna, which see.

Virāta. See Matsya.

Vishānin. Allies of Tṛtsus in battle of ten kings, meaning sons of Vishnu, identified with Yādavas or Vrishṇis, II. 230–1. See Vishnu.

Vishṇu. Same as snake-god Vāsuki, and sun-god of the solar-lunar year, II. 324. And of the black races, immigrants from Assyria, II. 327. See Vāsuki, Krishṇa.

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Viṣvamitrā. River of Guzerāt on which Baroda is situated, II. 266, 286.

Viṣvāmitra. Supposed to be bard of the Bhāratas and author of 3rd Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, I. 345. His school allowed non-Aryans to receive initiation as Aryans, and to be made dwi-ja (twice-born), I. 352; II. 229. Proved to be the sun or eighth Vasu, also called Dyu, II. 304–306.

Vrishṇis. Name of Yādavas, which see.

Vṛtra. Name in Rigveda of serpent-races, enemies of the Aryans, II. 223.

Vyāsa Rishi. Also called Krishṇa Dwaipayana, supposed author of Mahābhārata, son of Satyavati and the Rishis Parasara, and father of Dhritarāshtra and Paṇḍu, II. 197.

Yādavas or *Yadu.* Descendants of Yadu, son of Yayāti and Devayanī, II. 189, 192, 212, 213, 241. Also of Vasu, king of Chedi, *i.e.* the god Vāsu, II. 241, 242. There are eighteen tribes of Vrishṇis and Bhojas, II. 211. Are the people called Surasena or army of the sun, II. 192, 275. Called Vishānin or sons of Vishnu, II. 230, 231. The sons of Rohinī, mother of cows, and therefore partly of Kolarian descent, II. 270. A race of cattle-herdsmen, II. 246. Intimately connected with Turvaṣu, II. 241, which see, also Krishṇa.

Yavanas. Same people as Turvaṣu, II. 213. In the Mahābhārata a name for Kolarian tribes living in Punjab, south of the Purushni, Rajputana, Delta of the Indus, and Kāthiāwāṛ, II. 248–250. Same people as Malli, 250–252. Name afterwards given to the Greeks, II. 246. In name Yavanāni, or writing of Yavana, Yavana means the Phœnicians, II. 247. See Turvaṣu.

Yayāti. Father of five tribes living between the Indus and Jumna, II. 213, 239, 288, note 1. Also through his daughter Mādhavī, ancestor of the tribes of north-eastern India, II. 306, 307. Legend of Yayāti probably originated in Avanti and the Nerbudda country of

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the Bhṛigus before close of Vedic period, II. 288, also note 1. Legend of Yayāti framed after nine Rudras had been increased to eleven, II. 283. Son of Nahusha, and therefore a Haihaya, II. 264. Legends of fall of Yayāti from heaven, one places it at Naimisha in Ayodhya, and the other on the Viṣvāmitrā in Guzerāt, prove wide extent of Haihaya dominions, II. 266. See Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvaṣu, Yadu.

Yudishṭhira. Eldest of Pāṇḍava princes, remarks of, showing intermixture of races prevalent in early times, II. 196, 197.

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ART. IV.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part VIII. *The Kirais and Prester John.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., M.P., M.R.A.S.

BEFORE reporting the history of the Kirais in detail, so far as we can recover it, I will shortly dissect the story of Prester John. That a Christian king ruled over an Eastern people, remote from the centre of Christian life and isolated from the world, was a story that was very widely spread in early times; and inasmuch as more than one community answered to this description in distant parts of the world, it was natural that this king should be identified with the rulers of very different races. He was generally known as Presbyter Johannes or Prester John, and most travellers who went far afield in early times claimed to have discovered him.

At one time he was identified with the ruler of Abyssinia, where a dynasty of Christian kings has reigned for a long time. It is there that his country is placed in the Catalan map of 1375. There Shiltberger, who tells us he lived "in der zerschlossenen rumany," seems to place him (ed. Neumann, p. 109). There also he is placed by De Lannoy (ed. Webb, p. 324). The position of Abyssinia was only vaguely known, hence when it was discovered that there was a Christian king in Georgia, who styled himself king, both of Georgia and Abkhazia or Abasia, which is very like the Arabic name of Abyssinia, Habsh, while the Georgian kings were occasionally called Ivan or John, it was easy to transfer to the Caucasian country of Abkhazia the stories which had been grouped about Abyssinia; hence we find the Master of the Teutonic Knights, Conrad of Yungingen, writing on the 20th of January, 1407, and addressing his letter to the King of Abasia, called Prester John (Regi Abassiae sive Presbytero

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Johanni, Karamzin, French translation, iii. p. 388, note 29). Thus Alberic, in his Chronicle, states that the Legate Pelagius "misit nuntios in Abyssiniam terram et Georgianorum qui sunt Catholici" (Carpini, ed. D'Avezac, p. 167). So, in the Genoese map of the year 1447, close to the Iron Gates in the Caucasus are inscribed the words, "Hae turres con-[struxit] presbiter Johannes rex . . . . ad eum pateret accessus" (Lelewel. Geog. du M. Age, Epilogue, 169). John de Hese of Utrecht, in his account of his journey to Jerusalem in 1489, speaks of Prester John as "Maximus Indorum et Ethiopum christianissimus patriarchus," and describes him as suzerain of 72 kings, by which the kings of the traditional 72 tribes of the Caucasus are probably meant (*id.* note 39, and Bruun, Notices sur les Colonies Italiennes en Gazarie, p. 74 note, whence I have derived these references).

India takes us to another region where a Christian community is said to have existed under King Gondophares, the patron of St. Thomas, and thither also we may go and find another Prester John. Carpini, *inter alios*, makes him an Indian ruler.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the story, in the hands of the romance-loving chroniclers of the middle ages, becomes as vague in regard to the personality of King John as it does in regard to the geography of his kingdom and its whereabouts, and that they fill a rôle in the eyes of mediæval inquirers, like the Fortunate Isles, etc. The case was complicated when some letters were produced, claiming to have been written by Prester John himself, and by Pope Alexander in reply. These well-known epistles are found both in prose and in rhymed versions, and are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity. Colonel Yule, whose critical acumen in such matters few will question, thus speaks of them: "Letters alleged to have been addressed by him were in circulation. Large extracts of them may be seen in Assemanni, and a translation has been given by Mr. Layard. By the circulation of these letters, *glaring forgeries and fictions as they are*, the idea of this great Christian conqueror was planted in the mind of the European nations" (Cathay and the Way Thither,

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p. 175). Dr. Oppert speaks of them as of similar authority to the story of Sindbad the Sailor (Oppert, Der Presbyter Johannes, preface); and every dispassionate scholar who reads them will see at once, both from their style and contents, that Colonel Yule's strictures are well deserved. In them Prester John calls himself lord of the three Indies as far as where the Apostle Thomas preached, as far also as Babylon and the tower of Babel. "Our land," he says, "is the home of the elephant, dromedary, camel, crocodile, meta collinarum, cametennus, tinserete, panther, wild ass, white and red lion, white bear, . . . wild men, horned men, cyclopes, men with eyes behind and before, centaurs, fauns, satyrs, pigmies, giants twenty ells high, the phœnix," etc.—in a word, of all the repertory, real and imaginary, of mediæval and monkish natural history. Among his subjects were cannibals, Gog and Magog, the Anie and Agit, Azenach, Fommeperi, Befari, Conei Samante, Agrimandri, Salterei, Armei, Anafragei, Vintefolei, Casbei, Alanei. "These and many others were driven by Alexander the Great," he says, "among the high mountains of the moon." Assuredly the author of our letter was near akin to the author of Baron Münchausen. Who ever heard of these wonderful races save the Casbei and Alanei? But this is only a sample of the beginning, the absurdities continue to the end, nor is it profitable to quote them. They are printed at length in Dr. Oppert's work (Oppert, pp. 167-179), and are followed there by a portion of the journal of the travels of Johannes de Hese in several parts of the world, in which may be seen the confused geographical notions about India the greater and India the less, about the Asiatic and the African Ethiopians, etc. It is probable that the letters were concocted after Abyssinia had been fixed upon as Prester John's country, most of the marvels described in them being such as have their home in Africa; while to suit the topography with the old stories about the evangelizing of the further East by St. Thomas, the land of Prester John was made to include the further India, which was the special field of his labours, and the intervening country; and other details were filled in from the accounts brought home by the missionaries

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of Tibet, where another pontiff-ruler reigned. The river Yconus, whose source was in Paradise, which flowed through Prester John's country, according to the letters, is no other than the river of Paradise Gyon or Gihon, thus described by John de Marignolli in the middle of the fourteenth century: "Gyon is that which circleth the land of Ethiopia, where are now the negroes, and which is called the land of Prester John. It is indeed believed to be the Nile which descends into Egypt by a breach made in the place which is called Abasty, *i.e.* Abyssinia" (Cathay and the Way Thither, p. 348). Colonel Yule adds the note that many fathers of the Church believed the Gihon passed underground from Paradise to reappear as the Nile, that Pomponius Mela supposes the Nile to come under the sea from the Autichthonic world, and other heathen writers believed it to be a resurrection of the Euphrates (*id.* p. 348, note). These vague and indefinite notices about Prester John acquired definiteness and form in the pages of the Nestorian missionaries to the far East, and in those of the Franciscan friars and others who visited the Mongol dominions, and who claimed to have met Prester John himself and his people. It then became clear that the person who had the chief claim to the style and distinction was neither the king of Abyssinia nor the ruler of Georgia, of Tibet, or of India, but one of the chiefs living on the borders of the Mongols; and opinion became settled that he must be identified with the chief of the Kirais or Keraits, for reasons which I will presently condense. This view was shared by every responsible author until, a few years ago, M. Gustav Oppert startled the world with an entirely new theory, which captivated one or two inquirers of fame, but which I believe to be baseless, and to have no better credentials than novelty and audacity.

The mainstay of M. Oppert's theory are some passages in the chronicles of Bishop Otto of Freisingen, of Benjamin of Tudela, and of William of Ruysbrok or Rubruquis, which we must now examine.

Otto of Freisingen tell us that when at Rome in 1145 he saw the Syrian Bishop of Gabala (Gibal, south of Loadicea, in Northern Syria), who had gone there to lay before

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Pope Eugenius the Third the peril of the Church in the East since the capture of Edessa. "He also told us," says Otto, "how, not many years before, one John, king and priest, who dwells in the extreme Orient beyond Persia and Armenia, and is with his people a Christian, but a Nestorian, had waged war against the brother kings of the Persians and the Medes, who are called the Samiardes, and had captured Ecbatana (of which he had spoken above), the seat of their dominion. The said kings having met him with their forces, made up of Persians, Medes, and Syrians, the battle had been maintained for three days, either party preferring death to flight. But at last Presbyter John, for so they are wont to style him, having routed the Persians, came forth the victor from a most sanguinary battle. After this victory (he went on to say) the aforesaid John was advancing to fight in aid of the Church at Jerusalem; but when he arrived at the Tigris and found there no possible means of transport for his army, he turned northward, as he had heard that the river in that quarter was frozen over in winter time. Halting there for some years in expectation of a frost, which never came owing to the mildness of the season, he lost many of his people through the unaccustomed climate, and was obliged to return homewards. This personage was said to be of the ancient race of those Magi who were mentioned in the Gospel, and to rule the same nations as they did, and to have such glory and wealth that he used (they say) only an emerald sceptre. It was (they say) from his being fired by the example of his fathers, who came to adore Christ in the cradle, that he was proposing to go to Jerusalem when he was prevented by the cause already alleged" (Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd edition, vol. ii. pp. 539, 534). We may add that Otto elsewhere identifies Ecbatana with the Armenian town Ani (*id.* p. 541). Such is the statement upon which the theory of M. Oppert is mainly founded. He identifies the "Persarum et Medorum reges fratres, Samiardos dictos" with Sanjar and his brother Barkiarok, the Seljuki rulers of Khorasan and Persia, etc., arguing that Samiardos and Sanjar are the same word. He then goes on to identify the battle

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above named with the great defeat sustained by Sultan Sanjar at the hands of the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, whom he in turn identifies with Prester John (Oppert, op. cit. p. 135). But, as has been urged by M. Bruun, at the time of Sultan Sanjar's celebrated defeat, his brothers had been long dead. Ani was certainly not his royal residence, nor yet was Hamadan, which M. Oppert identifies with the Ecbatana of Otto, in spite of the latter's own interpretation of the name (Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 540). Nor is there the slightest evidence in the Persian and Arabic historians, so far as I know, that the Gurkhan either captured Ani or advanced to the Tigris, nor that he and his people were Christians; in fact, they were, on the contrary, almost certainly Buddhists. The fact is, the narrative of Otto is unreliable from end to end. The only foundation of fact it probably contains is this: a belief in an Eastern powerful Christian king named Prester John was then prevalent in the East, and the Christians there, who were being harassed by the attacks of the Seljuki Turks and the Saracens, were only too ready to identify any potent enemy of their oppressors who came from the East with Prester John. Such an enemy was he who defeated Sultan Sanjar, and it may be that his victory is the foundation of Otto's distorted narrative; and that is all we can say.

We will now consider the statements of Benjamin of Tudela. Few mediæval authors read more suspiciously in many places than does Benjamin of Tudela, and so fly-blown are his pages that his work has been pronounced a forgery by some critics. Mr. Asher, his latest editor, who has published an elaborate translation of the work with notes, has to make apologies for his narrative, and tells us that he did not go to many places described in his itinerary. Among the suspicious passages in his narrative few are more suspicious, and even incomprehensible, than the passage relied upon by M. Oppert, as has been hinted by Mr. Asher (*vide* Benjamin of Tudela, by Asher, vol. ii. p. 175).

This passage I shall abstract from Mr. Asher's translation;

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it says, "The cities of Nishapur were inhabited in his day by four tribes of Israel, namely, Dan, Zabulon, Asser, and Naphthali, being part of the exiles who were carried into captivity by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, as mentioned in Scripture, who banished them to Lachlach and Chabor, and the mountains of Gozen and the mountains of Media; their country was twenty days' journey in extent, and they possessed many towns and cities in the mountains; the river Kizil Ozein was their boundary on one side, and they were subject to ther own prince, who bore the name of Rabbi Joseph Amarkh 'la Halevi. . . . Some of them were excellent scholars, and others carried on agriculture; others again were engaged in war with the country of Cuth by way of the desert. They were in alliance with the *Caphar Tarac, or infidel Turks, who adored the wind* and lived in the desert. They ate no bread and drank no wine, but devoured their meat raw and quite unprepared. They had no noses, but drew breath through two small holes, and ate all sorts of meat, whether from clean or unclean beasts, and were on very friendly terms with the Jews.

"About eighteen years before this nation invaded Persia with a numerous host and took the city of Rai, which they smote with the edge of the sword, took all the spoil, and returned to their deserts. Nothing similar was seen before in the kingdom of Persia, and when the king of that country heard of the occurrence, he was wrath; . . . he raised a war-cry in his whole empire, collected all his troops, and made inquiry for a guide to show him where the enemy had pitched his tents. A man was found who said he would show the king the place of their retreat, for he was one of them. The king promised to enrich him if he would. He told them fifteen days' provisions of bread and water would be needed for crossing the desert, for there were no provisions to be had on the way. They accordingly marched for fifteen days, and at length suffered great distress; the guide excused himself by saying he had missed his way, and his head was cut off by the king's command. The remaining provisions were equally divided, but at length everything eatable was

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consumed, and after travelling for thirteen additional days in the desert, they at length reached the mountains of Khazbin, where the Jews dwelt. They encamped in the gardens and orchards, and near the springs, which are on the river Kizil Ozein. It was the fruit season, and they made free and destroyed much, but no living being came forward. On the mountains, however, they discovered cities and many towers, and the king commanded two of his servants to go and ask the name of the nation which inhabited those mountains, and to cross over to them either in boats or by swimming the river. They at last discovered a large bridge, fortified by towers and secured by a locked gate, and on the other side of the bridge a considerable city. They shouted; when a man came out to ask what they wanted, they could not make themselves understood, and sent for an interpreter who spoke both languages. Upon the questions being repeated, they replied, 'We are the servants of the King of Persia, and have come to enquire who you are and whose subjects.' The answer was, 'We are Jews, we acknowledge no king or prince of the Gentiles, but are subjects of a Jewish prince.' *Upon inquiries after the Ghuzi, the Caphar Tarac or infidel Turks, the Jews made answer, 'Verily they are our allies; whoever seeks to harm them, we consider our own enemy.'*

"The two men returned and reported to the king of Persia, who became much afraid, and especially when after two days the Jews sent a herald to offer him battle. The king said: 'I am not come to war against you, but against the Caphar Tarac, who are my enemies; and if you attack me, I will certainly take my vengeance, and will destroy all the Jews in my kingdom, for I am well aware of your superiority over me in my present position; but I entreat you to act kindly, and not to harass me, but allow me to fight with the Caphar Tarac, my enemy, and also to sell me as much provision as I need for my host.' The Jews took counsel together, and determined to comply with the Persian king's request for the sake of his Jewish subjects. They were thereupon admitted, and for fifteen days were treated with most honourable distinction and respect. The Jews, however, meanwhile sent

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information to their allies the Caphar Tarac. These took possession of all the mountain passes and assembled a large host, consisting of all the inhabitants of that desert; and when the King of Persia went forth to give them battle, the Caphar Tarac conquered and slew so many of the Persians that the king escaped to his country with only very few followers." In his escape he carried off a Jew named R. Moshé, and it was from this person that Benjamin claims to have heard the story (Benjamin of Tudela, Asher's Translation, vol. i. p. 129, etc.).

I have preferred to extract the whole piece, so that it may speak for itself. The Caphar Tarac, or rather Kofar al Turuk or infidel Turks, of Benjamin M. Oppert identifies with the Kara Khitai, and the defeated Persian king with Sanjar. He alters the Nishapur of Asher into Nisbin, which he also writes where Asher writes Khazbin, *i.e.* Kazvin; the Kizil Ozein of the latter he reads Gosan, and identifies the country described as the neighbourhood of Samarkand. Granting that these emendations are good, which I see no reason to do since Asher's names are those of perfectly well-known places, what a marvellous geographical jumble Benjamin's story remains! But it is not with this we have to deal. We know the history of the campaign which Sanjar fought against the Kara Khitai in tolerable detail from Persian and other sources, but not one syllable of this queer romantic story is found among them; but we need not trouble ourselves to go outside the document itself: does not it identify the Caphar Tarac, not with the Kara Khatai, but with the Ghuz, who were infidel Turks, although the Mussulman Seljuki and other Turkomans sprang from them? Were not these Ghuz at this very time harassing Persia, and did not they eventually carry off Sanjar as their prisoner? There is surely no answer to this except M. Oppert's, who makes the passage to be a corruption—surely a very easy way out of the difficulty. From end to end of it there is nothing about Kara Khitai or Prester John; nor, as M. Bruun has remarked, is it to be forgotten that Benjamin expressly tells us that the Caphar Tarac worshipped the wind, while the subjects of Prester

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John were Christians. This second authority of M. Oppert's therefore fails entirely. Now for the third.

The story of Rubruquis is as follows: "At the time when the Franks took Antioch, the sovereignty in these Northern regions was held by a certain Coir Cham. Coir was his proper name, Cham his title, the word having the meaning of soothsayer, which is applied to their princes because they govern by means of divination.[1] And we read in the history of Antioch that the Turks sent for succour against the Franks to king Coir Cham, for all the Turks came originally from those parts of the world. Now this Coir was of Cara Catay; Cara meaning black, and Catay being the name of a nation, so that Cara Catay is as much as to say the Black Cathayens. And they were so called to distinguish them from the proper Cathayens, who dwelt upon the ocean in the far East. But those Black Cathayens inhabited certain mountain pastures (*alpes*) which I passed through, *and in a certain plain among those mountains dwelt a certain Nestorian, who was a mighty shepherd and lord over the people called Naiman, who were Nestorian Christians;* and when Coir Cham died, that Nestorian raised himself to be king (in his place), and the Nestorians used to call him King John, and to tell things of him ten times in excess of the truth."

This is tolerably correct history, except, as I shall show presently, in its identifying the chief of the Naimans with Prester John, but it is anything but a support to Dr. Oppert's theory. Rubruquis here identifies Prester John, not with the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, but with Gushluk or Kushluk, the Naiman king who supplanted him; while it is the Naimans, and not the Kara Khitai, who are said to have been Christians.

Rubruquis is not content with this passage, but in another later on he says expressly, "Post hoc intravimus planiciem illam in qua erat curia Keucan (i.e. Kuyuk Khan) quæ solebat

[1] A corruption between Khan, chief, and Kam, the medicine man of the Shamanists.—Cathay and the Way Thither, p. 176, note 2.

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esse terra Naiman, qui erant proprii homines ipsius Presbiteri Johannis." Here he expressly tells us it was the Naimans who were the people of Prester John.

It must be confessed that so grave a theory was seldom based upon so slender a foundation. There is no evidence that either the Kara Khitai or their chief were Christians; on the contrary, Abulfaraj, as we shall see, distinctly tells us that the king of Kara Khitai persuaded Wang Khan to apostatize from the Christian religion and to join his own.

Let us now turn to the direct evidence for identifying Prester John's people with the Kirais or Kerait, and we will begin with the very first notice we can find of Prester John, which is reported by Bar Hebræus.

Gregory Abulfaraj was the son of a Jewish physician named Aaron, whence he was styled Bar Hebræus. He was a native of Malatiya, and became a Jacobite Christian. He was born in 1226, and in 1244 fled from the invading Mongols to Antioch. In 1245 he became Bishop of Guba, later Bishop of Aleppo, then Primate of the Jacobites, and died in 1286 (Oppert, der Presbyter Johannis, p. 87, note). He wrote two chronicles (or rather two versions of one chronicle), one in Syriac and the other in Arabic. The Syriac text was translated by Bruns and Kirsch, but apparently Assemanni, the author of the Bibliotheca Orientalis, had a more complete copy before him. The latter, who is a very careful writer, quotes from Bar Hebræus as follows: "In the year 398 of the Hejira, *i.e.* 1007, a tribe called Keryt, living in the inner land of the Turks, was converted to Christianity, and their king was baptised. . . . At that time Ebedjesus, metropolitan of Merv, wrote to the Nestorian Catholicos or Patriarch, saying, "The king of the Keryt people, who live in the inner Turk land, while he was hunting in a high mountain of his kingdom, and having got into the snow and lost his way, suddenly saw a saint, who thus addressed him: 'If you will believe in Christ, I will show you a way on which you shall not perish.' Then did the king promise to become a sheep in Christ's fold. Having been shown the way, the king on reaching home summoned

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the Christian merchants who were at his court and adopted their faith. Having received a copy of the gospels, which he worshipped daily, he sent me a messenger with the request that I should go to him or send him a priest who should baptise him. In regard to fasting, he inquired how they should fast who had no food but flesh and milk. Finally, he mentioned that the number of his people who had been converted was 200,000." Upon this the Catholicos sent to the metropolitan for two priests and deacons, with the necessary altar furniture, to baptise these people and convert them. And in regard to fasting, that they should abstain from meat, and live on milk, inasmuch as the meats prohibited during the forty days' fast were not found in his country (Assemanni, Bibl. Orient. vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 485; D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 48, note; Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 88). The same event is referred to in the life of the patriarch Maris Bar Tobi by Mares, and is reported there upon the evidence of the same letter (Assemanni, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 484; Oppert, p. 88, note).

Here, then, is the very first mention we have in a western writer of a Christian people in Inner Asia, and strangely enough the name is Keryt, while the details of the story have all the air of truth about them. If the Keryt were an insignificant tribe, as Oppert argues, and if the real Prester John was the sovereign of Kara Khitai, how is it that the name Keryt should have reached the ears of the Syrian chronicler at all, and why should the Catholicos have called them Keryt? Surely this one fact outweighs all M. Oppert's arguments put together. Again, Abulfaraj mentions that:

"In the year of the Greeks 1514, of the Arabs 599 (*i.e.* A.D. 1202), *Unk Khan*, who is the Christian King Johannes, ruling over a tribe of the barbarian Huns called Keryt, was served with great diligence by Chinghiz Khan." . . . The chronicler goes on to describe the struggle between the two, and then proceeds: "But it must be known that the King Johannes, the Keryt, was not overthrown without cause. This happened when he forsook the fear of Christ, who had raised him up, and had taken a wife from a Chinese nation

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called Karakhata; then he forsook the religion of his fathers and served strange gods. God took away his kingdom and gave it to one worthier than he, and his heart was upright before God."

In these notices we have another important fact. If the dates attached to them are reliable, it makes it impossible to identify Prester John with the chief of Kara Khitai, for that empire was only founded in 1125, on the overthrow of the Khitan empire in China by the Kin dynasty, and in them we have a mention of the conversion of the Keryt more than a century earlier. We also see clearly that Abulfaraj identifies the well-known Unk or Wang Khan of the Kerait with Prester John, and goes further, for he attributes his defection from the Christian faith to his marriage with a daughter of the Khan of Kara Khitai, who, according to Dr. Oppert, was himself the Presbyter Johannes of that day.

Let us now turn to the narrative of Rubruquis. He says that "the Nestorians spread great tales about the King John, although when he (Rubruquis) passed over the land that had been his pasture grounds (*i.e.* the Naiman country), nobody knew anything about him except a few Nestorians. Those pastures were then occupied by Keu Cham (*i.e.* Kuyuk Khan). . . . Now this John had a brother who was also a great pastoral chief, whose name was Unc, and he dwelt on the other side of those alps of Cara Catay, some three weeks' journey distant from his brother, being the lord of a certain little town called Caracorum, *and ruling over a people called Crit and Mecrit* (*i.e.* Kerait and Merkit). *These people were also Nestorian Christians, but their lord had abandoned Christianity and had taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are all addicted to sorcery and invocation of demons.*" This account is a strange mixture of truth and error. It seems almost incredible to suppose that the Naimans were Christians. I have already identified them with the Turkish tribe Naiman, which forms a section of the middle horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and we have no evidence anywhere else that Christianity prevailed among them; they were probably Shamanists, like many of their

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descendants are still, while their chiefs were perhaps Buddhists. Rubruquis's own statement that when he passed through their country nobody knew anything of Prester John save a few Nestorians is conclusive. Again, it is very certain that Kushluk, chief of the Naimans, who supplanted the ruler of Kara Khitai, and thus became himself Gur Khan, was no brother of Unc or Wang, the chief of the Kirais or Kerait. But this mistake was easily made, for Wang Khan had an uncle styled Gur Khan, to whom I shall refer presently, and it is this uncle who has doubtless been confused by Rubruquis with the other Gur Khan, and who has sophisticated his narrative. This seems clear when we continue his story, which goes on thus: "Now King John being dead, without leaving an heir, his brother Unc was brought in and caused himself to be called Cham, and his flocks and herds spread about even to the borders of Moab," etc. It is of course absurd to argue that Wang, chief of the Kerait, succeeded Kushluk, the Naiman leader, but not so ridiculous to suppose he supplanted his own brothers, which we in fact know that he did. The story of Rubruquis, when cleared of this obvious confusion, confirms remarkably the testimony of other witnesses that Prester John was the ruler of the Kerait.

In the first place, while the probabilities are very great that the Kara Khitai and the greater part of the Naimans were Buddhists, the evidence that the Kerait were Christians is overwhelming. Thus Rashid-ud-din, a very independent authority, says of them: "The Kerait had their own Padishahs, and professed the Christian faith."

Elsewhere he tells us that Khulagu's chief wife was Dokuz Khatun, the daughter of Iku, son of Wang Khan. She had been his father's wife, and he goes on to say: "*As the Kerait had for a long time been Christians,* Dokuz Khatun was much attached to the Christians, who, during her life, were in a flourishing condition. Khulagu favoured the Christians in consequence all over his empire, new churches were constantly built, and at the gate of the Ordu or Camp of Dokuz Khatun there was a chapel, where bells were con-

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stantly rung" (Quatremère's Rashid, pp. 94, 95). Khulagu's mother was Siurkukteni Bigi, daughter of Jakhanbo, the brother of the king of the Kerait. Rashid says of her, "Although she was a Christian, yet she showed great consideration for the Moslem Imams, etc."

These extracts from a most unexceptional witness will suffice to show that the Kerait were Christians. Not only so, but the southern part of their country and the neighbouring province of Kansu seem to have been strongholds of Nestorian Christianity. Tanchet, *i.e.* Tangut, is expressly named as one of the metropolitan sees of the Nestorians (Cathay and the Way Thither, p. 179).

The concurrence of evidence, which is by no means exhausted in the preceding paragraphs, makes it plain that the only Prester John of whom we can safely predicate that we have knowledge at first hand was the ruler of the Kerait, as has been held by all the most responsible historians of the further East.

The next question is, Where did the Kerait live? Where was their home? Upon this and many other matters about them the most satisfactory authority is that discovered not many years ago by the Archimandrite Palladius in the Imperial Library at Peking, being apparently the main source whence Rashid-ud-din drew his account of Chinghiz Khan and his ancestors. This chronicle, composed in Mongolia in 1240, is known by its Chinese name of Yuan chao pi shi. It was translated into Russian in the "Memoirs of the Peking Mission." I shall have to quote it frequently. According to this authority the main seat of Tughril, the chief of the Kerait, was on the river Tula. It is to the Black Forest on the river Tula that he continually returns home after his various expeditions. When Yessugei restored Tughril to his people in the year 1171, we are expressly told they were living on the river Tula (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 92). When Chinghiz Khan returned home with his young wife for the first time, he repaired to Tughril's camp, which we are told was on the Tula (id. 48, 49), and so in other places.

Rubruquis also assigns the same district as the home of

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Unc, the chief of the Crit and Mecrit, who he tells us was the lord of a little town called Karakorum: that is, of the famous town which became the first capital of the Mongols, and which the researches of M. Paderin and others enable us to fix the site of, close to the Orkhon.

D'Ohsson in fact tells us (I do not know on what authority), that the Kerait occupied the banks of the Tula and the Orkhon, as well as the neighbourhood of the Karakorum mountains. Rashid-ud-din says vaguely that the Kerait lived in outer Mongolia, in a district bordering on the Onon and the Kerulon, and also on the borders of Khitai or China (Berezine, vol. i. p. 94, Erdmann, Temudjin, pp. 230, 231).

This statement of Rashid goes to show that the Kerait country stretched across the so-called Mongolian desert to the frontiers of China, and this is amply confirmed by the notices of other writers.

The Yellow River at one portion of its course makes a very extraordinary bend, almost at right angles with itself. The district bounded on the north and west by this elbow is the well-known country of the Ordus. North of the river is the camping ground of the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, the Urads, Maominggans, etc. West of the river is a great stretch of country, which before the days of Chinghiz was very thriving and populous, and which formed the empire of Hia, with its capital at Ninghia. To the Mongols it was known as Tangut, and it was the scene of some of their most dreadful butcheries. This empire of Hia included the Ordus country (Timkowski, vol. ii. p. 266), and it stretched away westward as far at least as Sachiu (Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 444), while it extended northwards to Etzina, on the borders of the desert (*id.* vol. i. p. 225).

Marco Polo has given us the best description of this district. In describing the province of Egrigaia, which belonged to Tangut, he tells us its capital was Calashan, which Colonel Yule identifies with great probability with Din yuan yin, the capital of the modern kingdom of Alashan, situated a little west of the Yellow River (*id.* vol. i. p. 273). After describing this province, he continues,

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"we shall now proceed eastward from this place and enter the territory that was formerly Prester John's" (*id.* vol. i. p. 272). This territory he calls Tenduc, and he tells us its capital was also called Tenduc, that it had been the capital of Prester John, and that his heirs still ruled there (*id.* vol. i. pp. 275, 276). After leaving the province, he proceeded eastward for three days, and then arrived at Chaghan nur (*id.* vol. i. pp. 276, 286). This description answers exactly to the site fixed upon by Colonel Yule, namely, "the extensive and well-cultivated plain which stretches from the Yellow River past the city of Koko Khotan, which still abounds in the remains of cities attributed to the Mongol era" (*id.* vol. i. p. 277). Colonel Yule further suggests that it is not improbable that the modern city of Koko Khotan, which was called Tsingchau in the middle ages, is on the same site as Prester John's capital (rather of his southern capital.—H. H. H.). I am disposed to agree most emphatically in this, one of the happiest of the very many happy suggestions of Colonel Yule, not only because the site answers the description, but because we know how constant important trading posts and cities are to their old sites in the East, and that Koko Khotan is by far the most important city of this district. M. Pauthier identifies Tenduc with Ta thung, the name of a city and fu of Northern Shansi, south of the Wall, and not very far from Koko Khotan. We may take it therefore that the country of Prester John, as understood by Polo, included the district now held by the Tumeds of Koko Khotan and its neighbourhood.

From these notices we can roughly map out the country of the Kerait as extending from the watershed between the Selinga and the Tula to the Yellow River. On the North they were bounded by the Merkit, who, in my view, were a section of the Uighurs, and who occupied the upper waters of the Selinga; towards the East they were apparently bounded by the Jelairs, who lived on the Kerulon and who were also Uighurs. On the South they were limited by the empire of Tangut or Hia, and on the West they were largely bounded by the Naimans, whom I now believe to have been

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also Uighurs, and from whom they were partially separated by the so-called Ektag Altai, *i.e.* the Great Altai.

Their Northern capital was apparently Karakorum, and their Southern one Koko Khotan, or some place close to it; and at the beginning of the thirteenth century they were probably the most powerful tribe in Mongolia.

Let us now examine who they were, and whence they came. The earlier writers almost universally treated them as Mongols, and in writing the first volume of my history of the Mongols I did so also, and identified them with the Torguts. Presently, on examining the question further, I became convinced that they were Turks; and I embodied this view in a long note to the same volume.

So far as I know no ancient author calls them Mongols. Rashid-ud-din classes them among the peoples who afterwards adopted the name Mongol, and puts them in a separate class with five other tribes, none of which are Mongol, four being unmistakably Turkish, and the fifth the Tangutans of another stock than that of the Mongols. Khuandemir calls them Turks; while, as we have seen, Ebedjesus says they lived in the inner Turk land.

If we examine the direct evidence upon which the Kerait have been treated as Mongols, it will be found to be very feeble. It consists mainly in the fact that Chinghiz Khan had intimate relations with their chief. This is not much. So he had with the chiefs of the Karluks and Uighurs, who are everywhere allowed to have been Turks. Pallas and others pointed out that the chief family among the Torguts, a Kalmuk tribe, is still called Keret. This may be paired off with the corresponding fact that the royal stock among the Tartars of the Crimea was also called Ghirei or Kirei. In neither case is the fact of much importance, for the royal family among these broken tribes is in most cases of foreign extraction. It is much more important to find that not a mere family only, but one of the five great divisions of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks is called Kirai or Uvak Kirai; while a tribe of the Little Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks is called Kireit. A minor tribe among the Uzbegs

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is also called Kireit, while one of the five sections of the Kungrads is called Kir. All these are tribes of very decided Turkish blood.

As good evidence that they were Turks we may take the names of their chiefs, at least those whose orthography we can be at all sure of. The earliest of these mentioned by Rashid-ud-din is Merghuz Buirukh. The former of these names has been identified as the Western name Mark. I shall return to it again. Buirukh or Buyuruk is a Turkish word, and means Emperor (see D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 50, note). His eldest son was also entitled Buirukh, his personal name being Khurchakus. The sons of this last prince were the famous so-called Wang Khan and his brothers. In the Yuan chao pi shi Wang Khan's real name is given as Tu u ril, while Rashid gives it as Tughril, *i.e.* the very familiar Turkish name meaning a bird of prey (D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 51, note), and borne by some famous Turkish chieftains. His next brother was Erke Kara. Kara is Turkish for black, and Erke means strength in the same language. The next one was called Tai Timur. Timur is a very typical Turkish name, and means iron. The next brother was called Bukhua or Buka Timur. Here we have the name Timur again repeated, while Buka is a well-known Turkish name borne by the stem father of the Uighur princes, and meaning a bull. The fifth son was called Ilka Sankun. Rashid tells us the former was his name, while the latter meant in Chinese son of a chieftain. Ilka, according to Berezine, means a herd of horses in Turkish.

These names will suffice to prove that the Kirais were Turks and not Mongols. The next point to determine is which branch or tribe of the Turks did they belong to. I identified them formerly with the Uighurs, chiefly because for a long time the latter lived like the Kirais did in the neighbourhood of Tangut. This view I no longer hold; I believe them, in fact, to have been Kirghiz or Kirghiz Kazaks, a view which seems to me to considerably clear up a confused chapter in the history of Central Asia. Nowhere are the Kirais said to have been Uighurs, nor do we meet with their

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name among Uighur tribes. Let us therefore see what evidence there is to identify the Kirais or Kerait with the Kirghiz. First, in regard to their name, the final *t* in Kerait, like that in many tribal names, is the Mongol plural termination, and the name is really Kerai or rather Kirai. This name is the very one by which a principal branch of the Kirghiz Kazaks of the Middle Horde is still known, and the more recent Russian writers have no hesitation in coming to the very reasonable conclusion, in which I concur, that these Kirais of the Upper Irtish are descended from or rather belong to the same stock as the Kirais of the time of Chinghiz Khan.

There has been much confusion about the history of the Uzbegs and Kazaks, which I hope I have partially cleared up in the second volume of my History of the Mongols. Both confederacies of nomad tribes have several tribal names in common, showing that they have some common elements, if they are not of the same origin, and I believe that in the main, and with the exception of some imported factors which may be discriminated, they are so. The confederacies are political rather than social, and comprise the tribes once subject to Juchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz Khan, and the founder of the Golden Horde, and to Ogotai, the third son of that great conqueror. When the family of Ogotai was destroyed, a portion of his heritage passed over and joined the tribes subject to the house of Juchi. Among these were, I believe, the Naimans, the Jelairs, and the other nomad Uighurs. Excluding these latter tribes, and possibly some others, what remained formed the so-called Golden Horde dominating all the country from the Upper Irtish to the Volga, and from Ferghana to Siberia.

Uzbeg Khan of the Golden Horde is distinctly stated to have introduced Muhammadanism among these nomads, and to have converted them by force. A large number of tribesmen at this time took his name and were thenceforward known as Uzbegs. Those who remained pagans and refused to conform were in the main, in my view, people of precisely the same race and, as the tribal names show, of the same

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clans. They were known as Kazaks, or vagabonds. When the empire of Timur broke to pieces, as we have elsewhere shown, the so-called Uzbegs migrated into Ferghana and Mavera un Nehr, and founded the principalities of Bukhara, Khokand, etc. The Kazaks remained behind, and are still found in the same country under the name of Kirghiz Kazaks. The name Uzbeg is therefore a very modern one, and the confederacy a very artificial one.

The Kazaks, too, as we have seen, are formed of mixed elements, and this according to their own traditions. They have also invaded countries beyond their own original borders. Before the fifteenth century the country now occupied by the Little Horde of the Kazaks was the camping ground of the Nogais or Mangut; while the country to the east of the Nogais was occupied by the Kipchaks, who, like the Naimans and Jelairs, were, I believe, not original elements of the Kazak community. This view limits the true original Kazaks, both in race and locality, and brings them into very close contact in both respects with the so-called true Kirghises (Rock Kirghises, or Black Kirghises), and justifies the name which the Russians have always given them, and to which exception has been recently taken, namely, *Kirghiz* Kazaks. A legend of the Black Kirghises reported by Radlof states that formerly they had no Khan, and they thereupon asked the great Khan (*i.e.* Chinghiz) to give them his son Juchi as chief. He was only a boy, and while *en route* he met a flock of kulans, or wild asses, with which he went away. Aksak Kulan Juchi Khan was, they affirm, the first and last Khan of the Kirghiz (Radlof, "Aus Sibirien," vol. i. p. 533). They claim that among them are neither khans nor nobles as among the Kazaks. I believe that in this we have a key to the position. That section of the Kirghiz which submitted to the Khans of the Golden Horde, and became their subjects, and had among them princes and nobles of that stock, the so-called White Bones, were the Kazaks, while those who remained free and independent are the Kara Kirghises. I would suggest, therefore, that before the twelfth century the distinction and contrast now so often pressed between the

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Kirghises proper and the Kirghiz Kazaks did not exist, and that all were in fact Kirghiz. The free, the untameable, the vagabond, have retained their old names; while the cultivated, who have always been subject to princes descended from Chinghiz Khan, have acquired a softer language and less rude manners, and have their name of Kirghiz qualified by that of Kazak. The original home of the true Kirghises is largely the country now occupied by the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks.

The Black Kirghises migrated, in considerable numbers apparently so lately as the sixteenth century, to their present camping grounds, but their original home, their fatherland, is the country of the Lake Saissan and the Upper Irtish, the country where the Kirais still live, who, I would urge, have the best claims to be among the truest of true Kirghiz.

Before we turn to the history of the Kirais we will devote a few lines to a consideration of their name. Rashid-ud-din has a characteristic etymology of it. He says that it was reported how in olden times there was a Padishah who had eight sons, all of whom had dark skins, whence they were called Kerait (Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 231). It is not impossible that the name Kirai is connected with Kara, which in Turkish and Mongol (?) is black, although in that case it ought to read Karai and not Kerei. Berezine suggests (vol. i. note 91), that it may be connected with Kerie, in Mongol a crow. In another place (*id.* note 173) he suggests a connection with the Manchu Kereu, meaning common or general. These derivations are more or less far-fetched and I prefer to see in the name Kirai a mere corruption of Kirghiz. Among the Mongols, as may be seen in Ssanang Setzen, the Kirghiz were called Kerghud; *d* or *t* is the plural termination, so that the name of the tribe becomes Kerghu or Kerghi; and as is well known, the dropping of the soft guttural is a most common corruption of Mongol words, thus Baghatur is almost invariably written Baatur, Kaghan Kaan, Khulaghu Khulau, and so on, so that the natural name of the Kirghiz among the Mongols would

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be Kerei or Kirai. There is a Kirai lake in the Gobi desert which may possibly be connected with the Kirais.

The Kirais were divided into several clans, the most complete notice of which we owe to Rashid-ud-din, who names six of them. These are. 1. The Kerait, to which the royal stock belonged and which probably gave its name to the race. 2. The Tongkut, as Berezine reads the name, or Tunegkhait or Tungkait as it is read by Erdmann and D'Ohsson. 3. The Sakiyat. 4. The Jirkins or Chirkirs. 5. The Dobout or Tumaut. 6. The Aliyat or Albat (Berezine, Rashid-ud-din, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, Erdmann, p. 231, D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 405). In the Yuan chao pi shi we also read of a clan Kirai, of a second Dunkhait, of a tribe Tumian Tubigan, and of another Oman or Oluan (*op. cit.* pp. 75, 88, and note 241).

Let us now try and unriddle the history of the Kirais. We have seen what was the country which they occupied at the end of the twelfth century. Previous to the middle of the ninth century it is most clear that the same area was occupied by the Uighurs, who had their capital at Karakorum, whence they dominated over the various nomads of Central Asia, including the Kirghises. The latter then lived along the Irtish. According to the official history of the Tang dynasty, called the Tang shi, it was in the middle of the year Kian yuan (*i.e.* 758 A.D.) when the Kirghiz were subdued by the Uighurs, and thenceforward they no longer sent envoys to the Chinese court. The Asé or Oje, as their chief was called, became a tributary of the Khakan of the Uighurs, and their subsequent history is that of their suzerains.

In the fourth year Khai sing (*i.e.* 839), one of the Uighur grandees revolted, and led the S'a tho, a subordinate tribe, against the Khakan of the Uighurs and defeated him. The defeated Khakan killed himself in despair, and his successor had to face in the same year famine, pestilence, and a cattle disease. So that there was great distress among his people. Thereupon we read that the Asé, *i.e.* the chief of the Kirghises, rebelled too, and proclaimed himself Khakan, and gave his mother and wife the style Khatun, which in

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effect meant that he aspired, not merely to rule his Kirghises independently, but to be Emperor of Nomadic Asia (Schott, Die Aechten Kirgisen, pp. 456–7). His mother was a daughter of the chief of the Tukisi (?), and his wife a daughter of the ruler of the Kholoło or Karluks (Visdelou, Hist. de la Tartaire, ed. 1780, p. 79).

The Khan of the Uighurs sent an army against him, but could not subdue him. The war lasted twenty years without interruption. The chief of the Kirghises, inflated by his successes, sent word to the Khan of the Uighurs, saying, "Your time is ended; I will come presently and capture your golden tent, and will hold horse races in front of it (Schott says tether my horses before it), and plant my standards there. If you think you can resist me, I will await you; if you do not think so, you had better retreat at once." The Uighurs were unable to revenge this affront. On the contrary, one of their chiefs named Kiu lo mo ho actually guided the Kirghises in their attack. The Kirghises were completely successful, and cut off the Uighur Khan's head. Thereupon all his chieftains fled, and the Kirghiz ruler captured his camp, and the golden tent of the Chinese Kum chu or princess, whither he was accustomed to retire, and appropriated his treasures. He also captured the Kum chu of Thai ho, *i.e.* the Chinese princess so called, and transported her to the south of the mountains Ya lao, also called Tu pu; they are distant, we read, fifteen journeys on horseback from the ancient capital of the Uighurs, *i.e.* from Karakorum (*id.* 79).

Knowing that the Kum chu was a daughter of the Chinese emperor, the Kirghiz chief sent an embassy with an escort to conduct her to the Chinese court. They were waylaid, however, en route by the Uighur Khan, who put the Kirghiz envoys to death. In 844, the chief of the Kirghiz, having learnt of the death of his envoys, sent Chughu ho su to inform the Chinese emperor of what had happened. He was three years en route, and was received with special honour, the emperor placing him before the ambassador of the kingdom of Pohai, and it was ordered that the genealogy of the

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Kirghiz chief should be recorded alongside of that of the imperial family. The Uighurs were at this time being hard pressed by the Chinese troops, and their chief, Ukiai, retired among the He che tse Tartars or Black Wagon Tartars on the borders of Manchuria (Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 70, 80).

It would seem that the Kirghises now occupied the old country of the Uighurs, and we read that their chief proposed to the Chinese emperor to pursue and capture the Uighur Khan, in the autumn, when the horses were in good condition (*id.* p. 80). Meanwhile, however, the Uighur chief was put to death by the He che tse (*id.* p. 70).

The Chinese emperor at this time was called Tham vu tsum. He proposed to send envoys to the chief of the Kirghises, offering to give him the official title of Khan, with the further Chinese style of Tum im hium yu chim mim Khan, but died before his envoys could set out. His successor was persuaded to put off carrying this out, inasmuch as it was supposed it would inflate the pride of the Kirghises, as it had previously done that of the Uighurs. He eventually however sent Li ye, President of the Tribunal of Embassies, to confer on the Kirghiz chief the title already named.

During the reign of Tham yi tsum, from 860 to 874, three embassies went from the Kirghises to the Chinese, after which the Chinese historians mention no more such embassies, nor the fortunes of the Kirghiz chiefs (*id.* p. 80). We read elsewhere how seven hordes of the Shi wei (by whom in this instance apparently the Mongols are meant), having appropriated and divided among them a considerable number of the fugitive Uighurs, the Kirghiz were offended, and sent one of their chiefs with 70,000 horsemen, who fell on the Shi wei, rescued the Uighurs, and then returned home (*id.* p. 70).

We get some other details from other sources. Thus De Guignes, quoting the Lie tai ki su, tells us expressly that in the year 842 the Khan of the Kirghiz occupied the greater part of the country which had been subject to the Uighurs; *inter alia* Gan si, Pe thing, and the country of the Tartars (?). He offered the Chinese Emperor a present of two beautiful

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horses. The latter wished to ask for the restoration to the empire of Gan si and Pe thing, but he was persuaded by his ministers that their remote situation made them a burden rather than otherwise. An officer was appointed to watch the affairs of the Kirghiz. The Khan presently asked permission to be allowed to attack the Uighurs and *to settle at Karakorum*, which had been their capital. This was in 844. In the year 863 he asked for copies of the Chinese classics, and shortly after for the calendar (De Guignes, vol. ii. pp. 504–505). In the Kang mu the story is told very much the same way, and we read that the Kirghiz, having killed the Khan of the Uighurs, obliged them to fly from their country and to seek shelter at Tien te, on the Chinese frontier, whence they made continual attacks on the frontier, and were at last defeated and forced to fly eastwards to the He che tse (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 475 and 483). The same author confirms the statements about Gan si and Pe thing, which no doubt remained in the hands of the Kirghises (*id.* 484). We read further in the Kang mu that in the year 844 the Kirghiz sent an envoy to ask that their country should be created a kingdom, but it was not thought prudent to do this without first verifying the report that their ruler was descended from Li kuang. An envoy was sent to make inquiries, who on his return reported favourably of the generosity, bravery, and goodness of the Kirghiz, and especially praised their chief for the way he had received him, and further reported that according to the documents shown to him there could be no doubt he was descended from Li kuang, through the brave Li ling. Thereupon the Imperial diploma was sent to him, appointing him Khakan with the style of Yu u ching ming (*id.* 488). These extracts complete and apparently make quite certain the identification, on other grounds, of the Kirais, contemporary with Chinghiz Khan, with the Kirghiz. They prove that the latter, in the second half of the ninth century, were occupying the very country of the Kirais, with the same capital of Karakorum, and with their settlements reaching the Chinese frontier, and including the districts of Gan si and Pe thing.

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We know of no revolution of any kind which intervened and which could have dispossessed them of this country, and we may therefore rest assured that the Kirais whose history we are tracing invaded and settled in their new country about the year 840, and there founded a powerful state. As we have seen, they disappear from the Chinese annals about the year 870, when the frontier troubles of the Empire, and especially the growth of the power of the Khitans, interfered with the intercourse between China and the frontier tribes. They doubtless became subject to the Khitans at the end of the tenth century. It was shortly after the conquests of the Khitan ruler Apaokhi, that, in the year 1007 A.D., we read, as I have already stated, of the conversion of the Keryt by the Nestorians. In regard to this conversion, it is well to realize what a centre and focus of Nestorian influence Tangut and its neighbourhood were. Marco Polo is a very good authority for the fact. Speaking of Cam pi chu, *i.e.* the modern city of Kanchau, he says, "It is the principal town of Tangut," and he continues, "its inhabitants are idolaters, Saracens (*i.e.* Muhammadans), and Christians, which Christians have in this city three large and beautiful churches. Five days' east of Cam pi chu is Erguiul, a province of Tangut. Its people also are Nestorian Christians, idolaters, and those who worship Mahomet. South-east of Erguiul is Singu (*i.e.* Si ngan fu), also in Tangut, where are also some Christians." This is the town where the celebrated Nestorian inscription of the seventh century, written in Syriac characters, which has been much written about, was found. Again eight days' journey west of Erguiul was Egrigaia, another province of Tangut, where there were also Christians. In its capital, Calachan (*i.e.* Alashan), were five churches belonging to the Nestorian Christians. These passages suffice to show, what perhaps is hardly necessary, that Nestorian Christianity was a very active faith in the north-western borders of China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The next notice we have of the Kirghises is in the account of the western flight of Yeliu Taishi, the founder of the

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Empire of Kara Khitai, who is said, in the Chinese narrative, to have escaped first to the Kirghises and then to the Uighurs, and finally arrived in Turkestan (Bretschneider, Mediæval Researches, vol. i. p. 225). This can only, it seems to me, mean that the Kirais are identified in the narrative with the Kirghises. Yeliu Taishi subsequently sent an expedition against the Kirghises (*id.* 229), which may mean either against the Kirais or the Kirghises of the Irtish.

We will now turn to the history of the Kirais as preserved by the historians of the Mongols.

The first chief of the race recorded by Rashid-ud-din was called Merghuz Khan. He was also styled Merghuz Buirukh. Merghuz has been very generally identified with the Christian name Mark. At this time we are told the Tartars were very powerful and no longer obeyed either the Chinese or the Jurjis, *i.e.* the tribes of Manchuria. The Tartars about lake Buyur had a chief named Nor Buyuruk Khan, which name means Khan of Lake Buyur. Erdmann in one place by mistake calls them Naimans, who lived a long way off. Berezine has the passage right.

Nor Buyuruk, we are told, captured Merghuz, the chief of the Kirais, and sent him prisoner to the chief of the Jurjis, who put him to death by nailing him down to a wooden ass. Presently the widow of Merghuz (named, according to Berezine, Khutuktai Erekchi, Erdmann calls her Khutukti Hargeji, Rashid says the name means bright and lively) sent word to the Tartar chief that she wished to give him a feast. He accepted the invitation, and she duly provided a hundred sheep, ten oxen, and a hundred great skins of kumiz, wheeled on carts. The skins, instead of containing drink, however, concealed a number of armed men, who at the feast cut their way out and killed the Tartar chief and his companions (Rashid's Prolegomena, translated by Erdmann, Temujin der Unerschütterliche, pp. 232, 233, Berezine, vol. i. pp. 96, 97).

Merghuz Buirukh left two sons, Khurchakuz Buirukh (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 91, 92, D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 50, Erd-

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mann, p. 233), and Gurkhan, whom Rashid is careful to distinguish from his contemporary the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai.

Khurchakuz, according to the Yuan chao pi shi, had forty sons. Of these the names of five are recorded, namely, Tughril or Toghril, called Toli by the Chinese, whose history will occupy us at some length; Erke Kara, Tai Timur or Bai Timur, Buka Timur, and Ilkha Sankun or Sangun, who bore the Tibetan name of Jakhanbo, derived, according to Rashid-ud-din, from Tibetan Ja 'country' and Khanbo 'great chief.' Khanbo is probably the Dsanbo which occurs in so many Tibetan names.

Gurkhan outlived his brother, and according to Eastern rule of succession was his heir. It is not improbable that he did in fact succeed to the southern part of the Kirai dominions, namely, Tenduc.

What follows as to the earlier career of Tughril is collected chiefly from the long letter of complaint written to him by Chinghiz Khan in later days, in which he records the many services he rendered him. This is very fully reported in the Yuan chao pi shi.

According to this authority, Tughril, when a boy of seven years old, was captured by the Merkit and made to grind grain, and when thirteen years old, he, with his mother, were seized by the Tartars and made to tend cattle (*op. cit.* 76). The same authority tells us that on his father's death, being the eldest, they made him ruler, and that he afterwards killed his brothers Tai Timur and Bukha Timur. He also wished to kill his third brother, Erke Kara, but he saved himself by fleeing to the Naimans (*op. cit.* p. 91.) Rashid-ud-din says that on their father's death the brothers sent Tughril to the frontier, and while he was absent two of them, Tai Timur and Buka Timur, usurped the throne, upon which he returned and killed them (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc. p. 233). The former authority goes on to say that Gurkhan, to revenge the death of his nephews, made war upon Tughril and compelled him, with only a few hundred men, to seek refuge in the Karaun mountains. Tughril

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thereupon betrothed his daughter, Kujaur Ujin, to Toktu, the ruler of the Merkit, who lived on the Selinga and its tributaries, in order to secure a passage through his country to that of Yessugei, the ruler of the Mongols, who lived on the Onon. Having reached the camp of Yessugei, the latter went with his people and drove Gurkhan to seek shelter at Khashin (*i.e.* the Mongol form of the Chinese Ho Si, meaning the district west of the Yellow River, otherwise known as Tangut).

These events are reported in greater detail in a Chinese work entitled Huang yüan sheng wu ts'in cheng lu, *i.e.* a record of Chinghiz Khan's warlike doings, of which Palladius possessed a MS. copy, which has apparently never been printed, and of which he published a translation in the Russian Oriental Record, vol. i. 1872. This work agrees remarkably in its statements with that of Rashid-ud-din.

Rashid says that Gurkhan attacked his nephew in his chief camp, called Karaun Kipchak, *i.e.* in the Black Forest (meaning the so-called Black Forest on the river Tula, Erdmann, p. 289). The Huang yuan calls the place the defiles of Khalaun (*op. cit.* p. 170), while Gaubil, in his notes to the Yuan shi lei pien, gives the place at some rugged gorges in the mountains south of the river Orkhon (Gaubil, Hist. des Mongols, p. 8, note 1). Tughril was accompanied in his flight, according to Rashid-ud-din, by Udur Noyan and Bugachi (read Durpugan and Bukhasi, by Erdmann), and Yessugei in helping him marched first to Karabuka (called Khalabukhua chuga in the Huang yuan). Then crossing a mountain whose name is missing in Rashid's MSS., but is written Abujabukhuagen in the Huang yuan, then to Tulatan Tulanguti, which are written in the same way both in Rashid and the Huang yuan, and are therefore reliable names, then, according to the Huang yuan, by Tsian-sutan-lingu, the pass of Kuikun and lake Kuisaoi, Rashid says by Karaun Kipchak, *i.e.* the Black Forest, and Kushaurnor or lake Kushaur. Thence Yessugei marched to Kurban Talasut, where Gurkhan lived, whence he was driven, after being wounded, to seek refuge in Khashin with only twenty or

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thirty men (Berezine, vol. ii. p. 135, Erdmann, pp. 289–290, Huang yuan, p. 170). Yessugei thus restored Tughril to his people, who, he says, lived in the Black Forest on the river Tula. The two then became Anda or sworn friends (*op. cit.* p. 92). Palladius, the editor of the Yuan chao pi shi, says that in the Si sia shu shi or Official history of Tangut, the flight of Gurkhan is dated in 1171.

After the death of Yessugei, his son Temujin, the future Chinghiz Khan, lost most of his supporters, and was greatly distressed. We are told that directly after his accession, being then only fourteen years old, *i.e.* about 1180, he went to fetch his wife home. When she returned with him she took with her a *kaftan*, or robe made of black sable, as a present for her mother-in-law. Temujin, who doubtless thought it might be made more useful in another way, recalled the fact that his father had once been on good terms with Tughril Khan, who was therefore likely to prove a father to him, and he determined to present him with the kaftan. He therefore rode off with his brothers to the river Tula, where Tughril lived, and told him he had brought him a present which his wife had meant for her mother-in-law. Tughril was much pleased, and said, "I will bring your people together again, and reunite the scattered once more to you, and will treasure this in my heart" (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 48, 49). Petis de la Croix reports this saga from Muhammadan writers. He says that when Temujin was twenty years old, he fled from his enemies, and sought shelter with Wang Khan, that is to say, Tughril (*vide infra*), who was living at Karakorum, and who received him well, having heard from Kharachar Noyan, who filled the office of Chinghiz Khan's tutor, the story of his persecution by his enemies. Wang Khan promised to support him, and to bring the recalcitrant tribes which would not obey him to their duty. We are told further that he called his young friend son, placed him above the princes of the blood, committed to him the conduct of his armies in the war he had against the Khan of Tenduc (?), *i.e.* his uncle Gurkhan, and undertook nothing without his counsel. He also gave him his

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daughter Wisulujin in marriage. She had been loved by Chamukha, whom she rejected in favour of his rival, and whose jealousy we are told was thus kindled. This story appears in none of the older authorities. De la Croix quotes part of it from Abulfaraj, but I can nowhere find it in his works, either in the Syriac or Arabic chronicle. In the latter there is merely the bare statement that Chinghiz married a daughter of Wang Khan. He quotes the rest from the Turkish author Abu'l-khair, who died in 1554, and who was the main authority followed by him. Von Hammer, who treats the whole account as a fable, says, however, that it is met with earlier than in the pages of Abu'l-khair, namely, in the Mokhademmei Zafar Nameh of Sherifu'd'dinah of Yezd, 1424 A.D., in Khuandemir's Habib es Siyer, and in the Tarikhi Haidari.

We next read how Temujin was hard pressed by the Merkit, who had carried off his wife. He therefore sent his brothers, Khazar and Belgutei, to the Black Forest on the river Tula to ask Tughril's help. He promised to destroy the Merkit and to restore his wife, offering to supply two Tumans, that is to say, twenty thousand men, and bade them go and inform Chamukha, the chief of the Jajirats, who would furnish another two Tumans, to form the left wing. Chamukha, on being approached, replied, "Tell Tughril and Temujin that I have already equipped my army, let the former pass along the front of the mountain Burkhan, *i.e.* the chain of Kentei, and meet me in the place called Botokhan Boorchi (doubtless somewhere on the upper Onon). I have here some people belonging to Temujin. From them I will collect a tuman of warriors, and will also take a tuman of my own, and with these two we will go up the river Onon to the place Botokhan Boorchi, where we will unite." After this he began to move. Tughril also set out for Temujin's hunting ground. He was accompanied by his brother Jakhanbo, and they met Temujin on the banks of the Kimurka, or Tsimurka, which, according to Palladius, is an affluent of the Onon. When they reached the place at the sources of the river Onon where they had agreed to meet Chamukha, he had already

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been waiting there three days, and angrily complained at their not keeping their appointment. Tughril conciliated him, and they set out together for the river Kilho (no doubt the tributary of the Selinga, so called in the map attached to De Mailla, and otherwise known as the Khilok). They crossed it by a bridge made out of a plant called the pig's bristle, plaited into cords and arrived at the Buura (very likely the little river Buura falling into the Selinga south of the Chikoi). There they seized the wives and people of Tokhtu, chief of the Merkit. After their campaign the three allies returned home by way of Talkhini Aral, which, we are told, was situated between the Orkhon and the Selinga. Thence Tughril, going behind the mountain Burkhan, passed the three places Khokortu-jurbu, Kachauratu-subchit, and Khuliyatu-subchit, and occupying himself with hunting, eventually reached the river Tula (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 54–57).

We now reach a notable event in the lives both of Tughril and of Temujin. The Tartars (*i.e.* the tribes properly so called living on the borders of Manchuria), having revolted against the Kin Emperor, who ruled over Northern China, Temujin, who had a private grudge to revenge since some of his relatives had been treacherously undone by them, suggested to his friend and patron, Tughril, who, as we have seen, had a similar grudge, that they should help the Kin Emperor. Tughril agreed, and in three days was ready and had set out. They advanced along the river Ulja and captured a Tartar fortress at a place called Khusutu Suiltuyan, and killed the Tartar leader, Megujin Suultu, and others (Yuan chao pi shi). The Kin general was much pleased with his allies, and, we are told, gave each of them a title. Tughril was rewarded, we read, with the title of Wang or prince (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 66, 67, and notes, Yuan shi, Erdmann, p. 267, D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 46). Thenceforward he is generally referred to as Wang Khan.

We are told in the Yuan chao pi shi, that in the year of the Hen, *i.e.* in the year 1201 A.D., the Ulus Khatagin and others, to the number of eleven altogether, assembled at Alkhuibulaa, and after consultation agreed to ask Chamukha,

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i.e. the chief of the Jajirats, to be their head. Having killed a horse and sworn a pact, they set off along the river Argun, and at the island of the river Kan Muran they proclaimed Chamukha as their ruler. They gave him the title of Gurkhan, and decided to make war upon Chinghiz and Wang Khan. First, let us consider the locality of these proceedings. The Alkhuibulaa of the above notice is called Arubulak in the Yuan shi as translated by Hyacinthe, and the Alai Springs in Mr. Douglas's translation. It is clear it was near the Argun, and I am disposed to identify it with the Uro-bulak, which falls into the Argun near New Zurukhaitu. Palladius quotes a suggestion of a Chinese commentator that it is a feeder of the Argun called Imu, which at its outfall is called Jou, *i.e.* island. I would remark that a river falling into the Argun on its right bank near New Zurukhaitu, almost opposite the Urobulak, is called Gan or Han. In the Yuan shi this river is said to be in the district of Kulanergi, *i.e.* the Red Cliffs. Hyacinthe reads this last name Tulabiri, *i.e.* the river Tula, while Gaubil gives it from the Yuan shi lei pien as Tulu-pir, and identifies it with the Toropira, a tributary of the Nonni in Northern Manchuria. I prefer to follow Palladius's reading. All the accounts agree in fixing upon the Argun and its tributaries as the scene of the adventure. Having fixed the locality, let us now try and discriminate who the confederates were who sided with Chamukha. In the Chinese translation of the Yuan chao pi shi these are given as "the Khatagin with others, eleven Ulusses altogether;" but in the original Mongol text, according to Palladius, the names are set out as follows: The Katagins, Sajiu (*i.e.* Saljiut), Durben Tartar, Tatalun (?), Ikilesun (Inkirasses), Ungila (the Kongurut), Kholola (Khorlos), Naiman, Merkit, Uirad, and Taijut. Palladius says very truly that only some of these tribes, namely, the Katagins, Saljiut, Taijut, and Uirad, were of Mongol blood. Rashid-ud-din tell us the chiefs of the alliance, beside Chamukha, were Buirukh, the leader of the Naimans, Tokhtu of the Merkit, Ukhutu Bahadur of the Kongurut, and Khotugabeki of the Uirad.

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To revert to the Yuan chao pi shi. When Chinghiz Khan and Wang Khan heard of the formidable alliance, they advanced down the river Kerulon. Chinghiz sent on three of his relatives to reconnoitre, and Wang Khan similarly sent his son Sankun with two companions. Presently the enemy was encountered at a place called Koitian, which was apparently situated near the Dalai lake, and we are told that during the fight the chiefs of the Naimans and the Uirad proceeded with their incantations to cause wind and snow and rain; but, contrary to their expectations, the elements went against their own people. The air became dark, and Chamukha's people, not being able to see, fell into holes. He thereupon said that heaven was unpropitious, and his army scattered (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 70, 71). Chamukha withdrew along the river Argun, which, with the Onon, are the head streams of the Amur. He was pursued by Wang Khan, who is next said to have assisted Chinghiz Khan in crushing and subduing the Taijut, a Mongol tribe living on the river Onon (Rashid-ud-din, ed. Berezine, pp. 118, 119, Erdmann, p. 275, D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 59, 60). We have seen how Wang Khan on his accession killed two of his brothers, and how a third fled to the Naimans. We are now told that Inanj, the chief of the Naimans, collected an army and drove him away. He thereupon fled to the Khoikhoi or Muhammadans, and then sought shelter with the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, whom he found on the river Chui, which is still well known. In less than a year he quarrelled with the Gurkhan, and returned once more to Mongolia through the country of the Uighurs and Tangutans. On this journey, according to the Yuan chao pi shi, he lived on the milk of five ewes, and also drank the blood of a camel, which he obtained by piercing its body, and rode on a blind and lame horse (*op. cit.* p. 92). The Huang yuan says he tied the ewes with a cord; it also says he boiled the blood he got from the camel for food. He made his way to the camp of Chinghiz Khan at Guser (a feeder of the Onon is still called Aguza). Chinghiz Khan, in consequence of the old attachment which bound him to his friend, sent the

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brave Sukiga to meet him. The Huang yuan says he sent his relatives Takhaya and Syuegaya. He presently set out himself to the heights above the Kerulon. Having met Wang Khan, he conducted him to his own camp, and ordered his people to supply him with food. They spent the winter together at the place called Khubakha, already mentioned. About this time, while Tughril was with him, Chinghiz Khan had an expedition against the Merkit and defeated one of their tribes, the Udut, west of the mountain Khadin khi, in the district of Munuyuli. He obtained much cattle, and many loads of booty, which he gave to his friend. Rashid-ud-din calls the place where the struggle with the Merkit took place Berezobie Kholm, or, as Erdmann reads it, Beshmeh Fatilikh, behind Murichak Mual (Huang yuan, pp. 170, 171, Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137, Erdmann, p. 290, D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 74, 75). According to the Huang yuan, Chinghiz conducted his friend to the Black Forest on the Tula, where they formed an alliance as father and son (*op. cit.* p. 159). It would seem that Wang Khan was now reinstated in power, doubtless by the influence of Chinghiz Khan (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 77). His truculent disposition presently broke out again however, and we are told that his brother Jakhanbo and nobles concerted together and recalled his various acts of tyranny, and that he still had evil designs against them. Their conversation was reported to him by one named Altun Ashukh. He thereupon, according to the Yuan chao pi shi, seized three of the leaders, Elkhutura, Khulbar, and Arintaishi. Jakhanbo alone escaped, and found shelter with the Naimans. The other three were tied together and had cangues or wooden collars fastened on their shoulders. Wang Khan reproached them, saying, "When we were passing through the country of Uighur and Tangut, what did you promise?" He then ordered those present to spit in their faces, and afterwards set them at liberty (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 77). The Yuan shi, which reports this story, makes Cha-si-gam-bu, as Hyacinthe reads the name, the chief conspirator, and tells us that Wang Khan reproached Ekertor, and reminded him of

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the oath of friendship they had made in returning from Hosi. It also says that Ekertor accompanied Jakhanbo to the Naimans (Douglas, pp. 26, 27, Hyacinthe, p. 19, De Mailla, tome ix. pp. 23, 24). The story here related is also told in the Huang yuan, and by Rashid-ud-din, which authorities so frequently agree. They state that it was in winter or at the approach of winter, when Wang Khan was moving with his army from the Kerulon towards the mountain Khuba Khaiya (Huang yuan, p. 162, Berezine, p. 121, Erdmann reads it Khuta Khias, *op. cit.* p. 277, and D'Ohsson Kurta Kaya, vol. i. p. 62), that his brother Jakhanbo concerted a revolt with four Kirai generals. Rashid-un-din calls them Altun Ashuk, Il Khutur, Il Khunkgur, and Kulburu (Berezine, p. 121). He said to them that his brother was of an intolerable character, unfortunate in his undertakings, fickle in his plans, and that he had so tyrannized over his relatives that the greater part of them had already sought refuge in Kara Khitai, and there was no ulus which he had not trampled upon. Why should we stay with him? Altun Ashuk repeated these words to Wang Khan, who ordered Il Khutur and Il Khunkgur to be brought before him in chains. He reminded the former of the oath he had sworn as they were travelling together from Tangut, and, according to the Huang yuan, he spat in his face, and all got up and spat too. He also bitterly reproached Jakhanbo, who however escaped to the Naimans, accompanied by Il Khutur, Il Khunkgur, Narin Tughril, and Alin Taishi, called Tolin Taishi in the Huang yuan. Jakhanbo informed Tayang Khan of the Naimans how he had been treacherously treated by Altun Ashuk, and asked permission to enter his service (Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122, Erdmann, pp. 277, 278, Huang yuan, p. 163).

After this Wang Khan wintered at Khubakha, and Chinghiz Khan in the mountains Checher situated at the lower end of the Kerulon, and some time after we find Jakhanbo joining Chinghiz while the latter was encamped at Tersu. The two were closely united by a series of marriages. One of Jakhanbo's daughters, named Abaka or Abika, was married to

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Chinghiz Khan himself; a second, called Begtutemish, married his eldest son Juchi; and the third, Siurkukteni bigi, married his youngest son Tului, and became the mother of the Khakans Mangu and Khubilai (Rashid-ud-din, quoted in Quatremère, Hist. des Mongols de la Perse, pp. 85–91, and notes).

In the year of the dog, *i.e.* 1202, Wang Khan fought against the Merkit, and pursued their chief Tokhtu to Barguchin Tokum (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 80). Palladius suggests that by Tokum a wide fissure on the lower Selinga is meant (*op. cit.* p. 259). The Huang yuan says it was on the river Ula (? the Uda), and Rashid-ud-din at Bukher gereh (? the plains of the Buura, a tributary of the Selinga). He also killed Togusibek, Tokhtu's eldest son, made his two other sons, Khudu and Chilaun, surrender with their tribes, and captured the Khatuns Khudutai and Chalikhun, wives of Tokhtu, his brother and his two daughters, and subdued the Udut, a tribe of the Merkit people. On this occasion we are expressly told Wang Khan did not reciprocate Chinghiz Khan's former generosity, nor did he give him any of the plunder (Yuan shi, tr. Hyacinthe, p. 16, Douglas, Genghiz Khan, pp. 21, 22, De Mailla, vol. ix. p. 20, Huang yuan, p. 160, Berezine, vol. ii. p. 111, Erdmann, p. 271, and notes 76, 77, D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 55).

After this campaign Wang Khan and Chinghiz fought jointly against the Naimans and their chief Guchu gudun Buirukh, who, we are told, was then living in the district of Ulughtagh (doubtless the Chinese Altai and its continuation, the Kuku Sirkha ula), and on the river Siao khokh (? the Sirkha gol, south of the Sirkha ula). De Mailla says on the plain of Hesiupasi. Not feeling strong enough to oppose the allies, the Naiman chief crossed the Altai, *i.e.* the so-called Ektag Altai, and went to a place called Khumshiugir on the river Urungu (*i.e.* the river still so called which falls into lake Kizilbash). One of Chinghiz Khan's men captured a Naiman chief named Yeditublukh, whose saddle-girths broke, while their Khan, Buirukh, himself was pursued to lake Kizilbash, where he died (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 80). Yeditu-

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blukh is called Yeti tobu by De Mailla, Oshu Boro in the Kienlung edition of the Yuan shi, and Yedito bohy in the Huang yuan. One account says he had gone to reconnoitre on a scarped mountain when his saddle turned round and he was captured (Hyacinthe, p. 16, Douglas, p. 22, De Mailla, vol. i. p. 160, Huang yuan, p. 160). Rashid calls him Ede Tughluk, which he says means one knowing seven sciences, while Von Hammer explains it as one having seven banners or commanding seven squadrons (Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 112, 113, Erdmann, pp. 271, 272, note 81, Von Hammer, Gesch. des Gold. Horde, p. 62, note 8). Rashid-ud-din makes Buirukh escape to the Kirghises and Kemkemjuts, *i.e.* to the Black Irtish.

Meanwhile, however, a feud arose between the two allies which was caused by Chamukha, chief of the Jajirats, and Chinghiz Khan's mortal enemy. He suggested that the latter was having secret communications with the Naimans. He then saluted Wang Khan as Khakan or Emperor, and said, "I am like the ever-present lark,[1] but Kungur is like the migratory swallow which returns in the summer towards the south." For this he was rebuked by a man who is named Gurin Baatur, from Ubchukhtai, in the Yuan chao pi shi, and Ujir Kurin Baghadur, or, as Erdmann reads it, Bahriti gurin Baghadur, by Rashid (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 80, 81, Berezine, vol. ii. p. 114, Erdmann, p. 272).

The effect of it was that Wang Khan and Chamukha both lit a number of fires and decamped. The former withdrew along the river Asauli or Asiul, called Khasuilu in the Huang yuan, which is no doubt correctly identified with the Hasui, a tributary of the Selinga, by Gaubil (Gaubil, Genghiz Khan, p. 7, notes 1 and 2, Yuan chao pi shi, p. 80). While Chinghiz Khan and Wang Khan were engaged on their campaign, a Naiman general named Keksiu Sabrakh (Rashid-ud-din says he was called Sabrakh, and was surnamed Gugsu or Kuksu, meaning in Turkish a pain in the chest) apparently

[1] Palladius says the larks in Mongolia are stationary. The Yuan shi uses the snow-bunting and the wild goose for its illustrations.

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made a raid upon the camp and effects of Wang Khan's brothers and relatives. This was at a place called in the Yuan chao pi shi, Baidarakh Belchur (doubtless Baidarik, on the river Baidarik, which rises in the Kuku Daban range and falls into lake Chaghan, see map of Western Mongolia, Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1872). Rashid says it was so called from a princess of the Ongut named Bai Barakh (? Bai Darakh), who married a Naiman chief at Belchira (Berezine, vol. ii. p. 113, Erdmann, note 83).

When Chinghiz Khan found that his ally had gone, he said, "He has forsaken me, deceiving me by lighting these fires as if he were going to cook some food." He in turn withdrew, and marching by the defile of Yetir Altai, he reached his quarters of Sari Keher on the Onon in safety (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 81). Wang Khan was not so lucky as his friend, for we are told that Keksiu Sabrakh pursued him on his retreat, seized the wives of his son Sankun, and captured one half of his people and cattle in the defile of Tiligetu, on the frontier of the Naimans and Kirais. Khudu and Chilaun, the two sons of Tokhtu, chief of the Merkit, also abandoned the Kirai chief and went down the Selinga to rejoin their father (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 81). Wang Khan was now in desperate circumstances, and he deemed it prudent to send to Chinghiz Khan, whom he had recently treated so badly, and to bid him send his four famous generals, Boghorji, Mukhuli, Buraghul, and Khilaun, to his assistance. They were styled Kuesie. Chinghiz complied with his friend's request. Before the arrival of the four braves, Sankun had begun a struggle at Khulaankhut(?). Sankun's horse was wounded in the leg during the fight, and he was about to be captured, when the four heroes arrived and rescued him, and also recovered his wives and people. Rashid-ud-din tells us that in the battle which Sankun fought with the Naimans on this occasion, the two Kirai generals, Tekinkuri and Iturken Yadakhu, were both killed. Boghorji gave Sankun his own charger, and himself mounted the famous grey horse which Chinghiz Khan had given him, with injunctions that he must not strike it, but only stroke it

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with his riding whip, when he wished it to fly like lightning. Wang Khan was deeply grateful, and we are told he rewarded Boghorji with a present of a set of robes and ten golden cups. According to the Yuan chao pi shi, when Wang Khan heard of what Chinghiz Khan had done for him, he said, "Formerly his good father set free and restored me my people whom I had lost: now the son sends four champions who release and restore to me my people. I swear by the shielding power (or aid) of heaven I will try and repay this obligation." He then went on to say that he was growing old, that his younger brothers were unworthy to succeed him, and that he only had one son, Sankun, of whom he spoke disparagingly, saying it was the same as if he did not exist. "I will consider Temujin as the elder, so that I shall have two sons when I am at rest," and he accordingly met Chinghiz Khan at the Black Forest on the river Tula, and adopted him as his son. Hitherto Chinghiz had called him father merely out of respect, and because of his friendship with Yessugei. Now they made a bond of father and son, and declared, "In the struggles with our foes we will fight side by side; in hunting the wild animals we will unite together. If people try to make us quarrel, we will not listen to them, nor believe them until we have had mutual explanations, and spoken about matters face to face." In order to secure this friendship still further, Chinghiz asked for the hand of Wang Khan's daughter Chaurbiki for his son Juchi, while he offered his own daughter Khojin to Sankun's son Tusakhi, called Kushbuka by the western writers (Erdmann, p. 441). Sankun, who deemed his people superior to the Mongols, and looked upon Chinghiz Khan as belonging to an inferior horde to himself, expressed his feelings thus: "When the maiden of our house goes into theirs, she will stand behind the door with her face to the north" (*i.e.* in the attitude of a servant or slave), "while if their maiden comes to us, she will sit with her face to the south" (*i.e.* in the position of a mistress). He therefore objected to the two matches, which were broken off, thereby naturally causing some heartburning to the proud Mongol chief. This notice may be com-

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pared with that given by Marco Polo, in whose words the story runs as follows: "In the year of Christ 1200, Chinghiz Khan sent an embassy to Prester John, and desired to have his daughter to wife. But when Prester John heard that Chinghiz Khan demanded his daughter in marriage, he waxed very wroth, and said to the envoys, 'What impudence is this to ask my daughter to wife? Wist he not well that he was my liegeman and serf? Get ye back to him and tell him that I had liefer set my daughter in the fire than give her in marriage to him, and that he deserves death at my hand, rebel and traitor that he is.' So he bade the envoys begone at once and never come into his presence again. The envoys on receiving this reply departed straightway and made haste to their master, and related all that Prester John had ordered them to say, keeping nothing back." Marco Polo, it will be seen, says nothing of Sankun, and attributes "the proud words" to Wang Khan himself. In the Yuan shi, which says the betrothals were broken off amidst angry and fierce words, Juchi is called Jotsin or Chotsin, and Wang Khan's daughter Chanurh Pe-tsi, while Chinghiz Khan's daughter is called Koh tsin Petsi or Gatsin Petsi, and her proposed husband To-sze-ho or Toskho. De Mailla's authority tells us that Temujin having asked the hand of Wang Khan's daughter Serpechu for his eldest son Juchi, and been refused, some time after revenged himself by refusing the hand of his daughter Hoakin to Wang Khan's son Tosaho. In the Huang yuan we are told that when these negociations for alternate marriages were in progress, Chinghiz was encamped at the mountain Abuli Kyaekhoger, and Wang Khan in the sandy desert of Tsu-belik.

The coolness created by the failure of these negociations was taken advantage of and fanned by Chamukha. He first aroused Altan and other relatives of Chinghiz Khan's, with whom he had had a quarrel about the division of the booty in the recent struggle with the Tartars, and then went on to have a consultation with Sankun, who was encamped at Berkeeli on the north side of the Checher ondur near the Kerulon. He declared that Chinghiz was carrying on a furtive correspon-

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dence with Tayang Khan of the Naimans all the while that he seemed so frank. Sankun having heard what Chamukha and the others had to say, sent Saikantodayah to inform his father. Wang Khan asked why they should distrust the Mongol chief, adding that heaven would not shield them if they cherished ill feelings towards him, and he characterized the language of Chamukha as deceitful and unworthy of belief. Sankun sent a second messenger to assure his father that the charges were in everybody's mouth. The latter was still unconvinced. He therefore determined to go in person, and declared that if, while Wang Khan was still living, Temujin could treat them thus cavalierly, was it likely that after he was dead he would allow him, Sankun, to rule over the people which had been brought together with such pains by his father and uncle? Wang Khan still urged his former arguments until, noticing that Sankun was displeased, and was going away, he called him back and said, "Apparently heaven is not propitious. Have your way as you wish" (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 83–85).

Rashid-ud-din, in reporting these events, describes how at this time the people of Chinghiz Khan and of Sankun were mingled together like butter and milk, and the latter kept a close watch upon his rival, so that he should not escape him; but some suspicion seems to have crossed the mind of Chinghiz Khan, for he gradually drew his people away. Sankun began in turn to fear that his plans might miscarry, and in the spring of the Swine's year, 1203, despatched another messenger to his father. Rashid does not mention Sankun himself as having had an interview, but, according to him, it was to this messenger that Wang Khan gave his answer. He says that the latter explained to him how he and Temujin (*i.e.* Chinghiz) had been *anda* or sworn friends, how he had owed his life to him, how his hair and beard were growing grey, and his bones needed repose, how he wished to die peaceably, and how, if they were determined to carry out their plans, they must do it without him, and must separate themselves from him (Erdmann, Temujin, pp. 283–285).

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Let us now revert to the Yuan chao pi shi. We there read that after Sankun had received his father's answer, he took counsel with his companions and urged, that as Chinghiz had been anxious to ally himself with his sister Chaurbeki, *i.e.* by marrying his son Juchi to her, it would be well to fix a day and invite him to the betrothal feast, and that on his arrival they might seize him. He accordingly sent a man to invite him. Chinghiz set out with ten companions. On the way he stayed the night in the yurt of an old man named Munlik. The latter reminded him that when he had formerly courted them, the Kirais, in their pride, refused his advances; what motive could they have in asking him now? It was better to refuse, and to make the excuse that in spring the horses are lean, and that they were then in their pastures. Chinghiz took this advice, and sent Bukhataya to the feast and himself went home again (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 85). The Huang yuan calls the messenger sent by Sankun to invite him to the feast, Bukhuataikicha. Rashid-ud-din calls him Ukdaya Kunjat, he is named Bukdai Kunjat by Abulghazi. Ukdai was accompanied, according to Rashid, by Bekit Tudan (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 285). When Sankun found that his messengers returned without Chinghiz, he suspected that his plot had been discovered, and determined to try and surprise him, and the best plan of doing so was resolved upon at a consultation. Ekecheryan, the younger brother of Altan, who had attended this council, in returning home, began to talk carelessly, and said, "The assembly has determined that we depart to-morrow to seize Temujin; if some one were to inform him to-day, I don't know how he would reward him." His wife Alakhait said, "Do not speak unguardedly. The domestics may overhear you and accept your words as really meant." At this time Badia, a horse-herd, who had brought in mares' milk, having overheard the words, returned and reported what had been said to his comrade, Kishlikh. The latter said, "I will go and listen further," and going into the yurt he noticed that Nurin Kayan, the son of Ekecheryan, was sharpening arrows, and he heard his father warn him against letting the servants know what they were going to do.

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Ekecheryan ordered Kishlikh to go and catch a mottled horse, as he wished to depart the following morning. Kishlikh returned to his companion, and said he had confirmed his report, and the two determined to go and warn Chinghiz. Having caught and tethered two horses, they went into their yurt, and dressed a lamb in a fire made from the wood nari, and setting out arrived the same night at Temujin's dwelling, and reported what they had overheard. The latter, having consulted with his people, forsook his camp, and hastily retired to the north of the mountain Mao-undur, *i.e.* the Bad Mountain. Having ordered Jelmi to go and reconnoitre, he the next day reached Khalakhaljitelet (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 85, 86). This is the Khalaljin Alat or hills of Khalaljin of Rashid-ud-din. To revert to our main authority. After Jelmi had gone out to reconnoitre, a herdsman of Alchidai, named Chigdai, arrived with his companions to say that from the mountain Mao-undur and from the direction of the camp Khulaanburakhat dust could be seen, and that the foe was advancing. Chinghiz took horse and rode on. At this time Wang Khan arrived, and asked Chamukha what troops Chinghiz had with him. He replied, the two hordes Uruut and Mankhut; that his warriors and that his positions were well taken, and that his standards were either coloured or black. Wang Khan said that it would be well to take heed when they hove in sight. He ordered that the brave Khadakhgi of the horde Jirgin should first advance, then the brave Achikhshirun with the tribes Tuman Tubigan, Oman and Dunkhait. Then Khari-shilimuntaiji with a thousand body-guards, and lastly, his own army corps. Wang Khan also entrusted Chamukha with the chief command. The latter sent secretly to inform Chinghiz of this, and to tell him that, as he had control of affairs, he should take care the Kirais did not win. When Chinghiz got this news, he proposed to the old man Jurchidai to be his commander-in-chief, but meanwhile Khuildar stepped forward and said, "I will be the leader, take care of my orphans." Jurchidai said, "The Uruut and Mankhut will fight in front before the Emperor," and he accordingly

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put them in array before Chinghiz. He had hardly done so when the first division of the Kirais, the Jirgins, came up. The Uruut and Mankhut smote them. While they were pursuing this division they were attacked by another section of the enemy, commanded by Archikhshilun, of the tribe Tumayan Tubigan, who had a personal encounter with the Mongol leader Khuildar, and dragged him from his horse. His men were, however, defeated by the Uruut, led by Jurchidai, who, still advancing, encountered the clans Oman and Dunkhait, and also smote them. Shilemintaitsi, with the thousand body-guards, was also defeated. Things were going badly with the Kirais, and we read that Sankun, without his father's knowledge, threw himself into the fray. One of Jurchidai's arrows struck him in the cheek, and he fell, whereupon his men retired and gathered round him. Chinghiz having been successful in this struggle, which was apparently a preliminary skirmish rather than a decided battle, and seeing it was already late, collected his men and ordered Khuildar to be carried away. During the night he moved on, and at length encamped far from the battle-field (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 88).

Palladius tells us that in the biography of Jurchidai, appended to the Yuan chao pi shi, it is reported that the Kelis, *i.e.* the Kirais, the Khalakhachins (?), and the Shato, *i.e.* the so-called Desert Turks, attacked the people of Chinghiz, whereupon the latter's near relative Khuildar urged that the matter would not brook delay, and that he must summon the brave people of Jurchidai. Jurchidai accordingly assailed the enemy, shot Sankun, and smote the leader of the Shilimin and others. In the life of Khuildar, in the same work, we read that in this fight the army of the Ulu (*i.e.* the Uruut) was ordered to move to the front but its leader, Juchitai (*sic*), putting his whip across his horse's mane, did not respond. Khuildar thereupon entrusting his three yellow-haired children to Chinghiz Khan's care, attacked the enemy and received some wounds in the head (Yuan chao pi shi, note 296). According to the same authority, the day after the battle, at daybreak, Chinghiz mustered his men and

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called the roll-call. He found that three of his famous warriors were missing, Okotai (probably his third son Ogotai, who must then have been quite a boy), Borokhul or Burghul, and Boorchu or Boghorji. Chinghiz remarked that Ogotai had lived with the other two and they had died together, not wishing to be separated. Fearing a fresh attack, he kept his men well together, and presently a man was seen coming from the battle-field who proved to be Boorchu. Chinghiz made an exclamation suggesting that all was over, when Boorchu reported that during the fight his horse had been shot by the enemy and he was dismounted; but when the Kirais gathered round Sankun, he caught a runaway horse on which he had escaped. Presently there arrived a second horseman, and, as he drew near, they noticed that two other legs besides his own were hanging down. The new arrivals proved to be Ogotai and Borokhul, riding on one horse. The latter's mouth was smeared with blood, for he had sucked the clotted blood from an arrow-wound in Ogotai's neck. Chinghiz wept, had the wound seared, and gave Ogotai something to relieve his thirst. Borokhul reported that there was a large dust where the enemy were, and they were apparently retreating towards the mountain Maoundur in the district of Khulaan Burkhat. Chinghiz forming his army in order, marched along the river Ulkhuishilugeljit, and retired towards the district Dalannemurgesi. Afterwards Khadaandaldurkhan, one of Chinghiz's dependents who was separated from his wife, and had apparently been a prisoner with Wang Khan, came and reported that after Sankun had been wounded, his father said reproachfully that they had begun a struggle with a man who ought not to have been provoked, hence, he says, "this wound in my son's cheek. He is still alive. Let him take warning." Thereupon Achikshilun replied, "Sire, cease to talk thus. When you had no son, you prayed for a successor; now that you have one, be more considerate towards him. We have still more than one half of our Dada, *i.e.* Tartars. The people who have left us and gone to Temujin, where will they fly to? They are cavalry, and will certainly halt for the night under trees. If they will

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not return to us, we will enclose them like a herd of horses." Wang Khan then gave orders that his son should be carefully tended. Chinghiz having left the district of Dalan-nemurgesi, went along the river Khalkha. Having mustered his people, he found there were two thousand six hundred of them who went along the western, while the other half with the Uruut and Mankhut, went along the eastern bank. They amused themselves with hunting, in which, contrary to the wish of Chinghiz, Khuildar took an active part. His wound had not yet healed. It opened afresh, and he died. His body was buried on the steep side of the mountain Orneu, near the river Khalkha. At the outfall of the Khalkha into lake Buyur, there lived Terge and other Ungirs (*i.e.* Kongurut) Chinghiz sent Jurchidai at the head of the Uruut and Mankhut to these Kongurut, to say to them, "Remember my ancient descent and submit to me; if not, prepare to fight." It will be remembered that the Kongurut had sided with Chamukha against him. On receiving his message, they at once submitted, and he did not therefore molest them. He now returned homewards to the eastern bank of the river Tungeli, doubtless a feeder of the Onon, whence he sent a message to Wang Khan, to which we shall revert presently (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 90, 91).

We can easily fix the geography of this campaign. The river Khalkha, flowing into lake Buyur, still bears the name. The Ulkhui Shilugelgit is doubtless the Olkhui or Ulkui, which rises in the so-called Soyolki mountains, a part of the Khingan, whence flow the northern affluents of the Khalkha. The Olkhui flows into a small lake in the eastern part of the Gobi. This again is confirmed by Rashid-ud-din, who tells us the battle of Khalaljin Alat was fought on the frontier of the land of the Jurchis, *i.e.* of Manchuria, not far from the river Olkhui. In D'Anville's map, one of the mountains of the Soyolki range is called Halgon, which answers in part to the form of the name as it appears in the Yuan shi, namely, Khalagun Ola. Ola, or Ala, means mountain, and has been corrupted into Alat by Rashid. We will now return to our story. Having retired to the river Tungeli, a place rich in

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grass, and excellent for horses, Chinghiz wrote a plaintive letter to his old friend recalling the many services he had done him. Inter alia, he said, "Father, why are you thus angry with me, causing me terror? If you wish to upbraid me, why not do it in a quiet fashion, and without destroying all my possessions? Probably there are people who have come between us. Did we not make an agreement at Khulanu on the mountain Shorkhelkun, that if people came to slander either of us to the other, we were not to believe them until we had had a personal interview? Father, have we had such an interview?" (Yuan chao pi shi). The latter parts of the address, as reported in the Huang yuan, and by Rashid, have a certain local flavour which tempts me to quote them. The former says, "Did we not agree that even if we should be bitten by a serpent with poisonous fangs, we would not be moved by it, and that we would never part asunder until our lips should produce teeth? Have you been bitten by a serpent. Have teeth appeared on your lips, that you should depart? Father Wang Khan, at that time like a young falcon, starting from the mountain Chikhurkhi (*i.e.* probably the mountains elsewhere called Checher ondur), I flew over to the lake Buyur, seized the spotted-legged heron and returned. What was this but the tribes Khatagin, Saljiut, and Kongurut" (*op. cit.* p. 171). The concluding paragraph of the letter, as reported in the same authority, runs as follows: "Father Wang Khan, have you ever done me a service where I have done so many for you? Why do you now threaten me? Why don't you let my people rest at their firesides, and sleep on their beds? Why don't you leave me, who am your stupid son, and my stupid wives alone? I am your son. I am very weak. I cannot compel you to love the power of others. I am very stupid and cannot make you love the wisdom of others. If you detach one wheel from a cart, you cannot drive it, and your ox would sweat in vain. In that case, to unyoke it and let it go would be to tempt thieves, while to tether him would be to let him die of hunger. With a broken wheel it is clear an ox may strain himself till he

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breaks his neck, and all in vain. Am I not also one of the wheels of a cart?" Rashid-ud-din tells the same story, only that in his version the ambiguous sentence above quoted comes out quite clear. It runs thus: "I who am your son, I have never said—My part is too small, I want a larger one; it is bad, I want a better one," and he concludes the paragraph thus: "We two are the body of this two-wheeled cart, and I am a wheel of thy cart."

When Wang Khan received the list of grievances indited by Chinghiz Khan, as I have described, we are told in the Yuan chao pi shi that he reproached himself, and cutting his little finger with a knife, he filled a little birch-bark vessel with the blood, and said, "If I in future do my son Temujin any harm, may I be cut to pieces," and with these words he gave the blood to the envoys, who brought it to Chinghiz.

The latter now sent a bitter message to Chamukha. "Out of envy and malice you have sown discord between the Khan my father and me," he said. "In former days it was customary for the one who was up first to drink mare's milk out of the father's (Wang Khan's) green cup.[1] I always rose early, and in consequence you hated me. You may now drink out of the full green cup of our father. It will be very little diminished." This somewhat enigmatical message doubtless conveyed a threat. Palladius says it seems to hint that Chinghiz Khan in his young days lived with Wang Khan (*op. cit.* note 320).

Chinghiz also sent a message to his relatives, Altan and Khujer or Khuchar. "I do not know why you determined to desert me. Khuchar, you as the son of Nikuntaishi,[2] would have been made ruler of our people, but that you refused it." "Altan, your father, the Khan Khutula, once ruled, and the people therefore wished to make you their Khan, but you refused.[3] The sons of Bartan, Sacha and Taichu, were senior branches of the family, but they also

[1] Perhaps jade cup is meant.
[2] Nikuntaishi was Yessugei's elder brother, so Khuchar had better claims to the throne than his cousin Temujin. See Palladius, note 322.
[3] Altan was cousin to Chinghiz Khan's father.

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refused.[1] By general consent you elected me Khan against my own wish. Now that you have deserted me, pray help Wang Khan diligently, but don't begin a business which you cannot complete, and thus secure the people's hatred for yourselves. Trust in Temujin, for you cannot do without him. Defend to the last the sources of the three rivers (*i.e.* the Onon, the Kerulon, and Tula, the cradle-land of the Mongols), and do not let any one occupy them." To Tooril or Tughril, whom he addressed as brother, he said, "I call you brother because in former times Tunbina (*i.e.* Tumeneh Khan) and Charakhailinkhu (*i.e.* Jerki Lingun) had a slave called Okhda, and Okhda had a son called Subegai, who had a son Kokochukirsaan, who had a son Yegaikhuantokhar, who was thy father. For the sake of whom are you flattering Wang Khan? If Altan and Khuchar will not have me, they will never allow any one else to rule over our people, and you are my slave by descent" (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 93, 94). Chinghiz also sent a message to Wang Khan's son, Sankun. "I am your father's son, and was born with clothes: you are his son, but you were born naked. Our father never caressed us both equally. You became suspicious and afraid that I should come before you; you hated and sent me away. Cease now to cause your father grief and suffering. Go to him and dispel his sorrow and loneliness. If you do not rid yourself of your old jealous spirit, you will be trying to become ruler during his lifetime and cause him suffering."

When Arkhaikhasar and Sugyegaijiun had delivered Chinghiz Khan's message to Sankun, the latter said, "When he gave my father the title of Khan, he really meant to call him 'the Butcher of the people,' and when he styled me Anda, he meant to say Tokhtoashuin.[2] I have discovered the hidden meaning of his words. They mean

[1] Sacha and Taichu were not sons of Bartan, but sons of Khutukhtu-Jurki, son of Ukin Barkhakh, Bartan's elder brother, and had therefore also superior claims to the latter's descendants.

[2] This is no doubt some proverbial phrase in use among the Mongols. Palladius says the last expression means to have connection with the Myerkitams, to whom was allotted the plaiting of sheeps' tails and curls, and was a term of opprobrium, since sheeps' tails and curls were deemed useless (Id. notes 330, 331).

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war. You Bilgebike and Todoyan raise the great standard and feed the horses. There is no room for further doubt." Then Arkhaikhasar (*i.e.* Chinghiz Khan's envoy) returned, but his companion Sugyegaijiun remained behind, inasmuch as his wife was in the hands of Tughril, *i.e.* of Wang Khan (*op. cit.* pp. 94, 95).

The Huang yuan adds a little local colour in a phrase in which Chinghiz explains how, when the others refused the Khanship, he took it *because he did not wish to see an old inhabited country overgrown with wild grass, nor the cart roads obstructed by broken doors* (*op. cit.* p. 173). This authority and Rashid-ud-din close the letter with a reminder how Chinghiz had made over to his relatives the booty in cattle in *kibitkas*, women and children which he had captured, and how he had enclosed for them the wild game of the plains and driven to them the wild game of the mountains (Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140; Erdmann, pp. 292, 293; D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 77, 78; Huang yuan, pp. 172, 173).

Mr. Douglas has printed an anecdote somewhat like the one above quoted from the biography of Chapar or Jabar, which, as it does not occur in Hyacinthe, is probably derived like other stories from the She-wei or Woof of History, by Chin-Yun-Seih. According to this account, Chinghiz Khan having suffered a very severe defeat at the hands of Wang Khan, had to fly with but nineteen followers, and escaped to the river Panchuni, *i.e.* the Baljuna. His provisions being exhausted, and being in distress, a crow passed by, whereupon a flight of arrows was shot, which killed it. A difficulty arose as to how it was to be cooked, upon which Chapar or the Ghebr, a tall, square-eyed, broad-foreheaded western worshipper of fire, said, "Give me the bird." He took it, and skinned it, and having put as much of the flesh as would make a meal for Chinghiz Khan into the skin, and having added water from the river, he boiled the flesh in the skin over the fire (Douglas, p. 38). Mr. Douglas says that the Chinese editor adds a marginal note of exclamation, "A wonderful pot, indeed!" I would remark that Chapar is mentioned in the Yuan shi lei pen as one of Chinghiz Khan's companions at

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this time. In that work we are told he belonged to a royal family of the west called Sai-i (Descendant of the Sassanian princes). He was well skilled in war, and was a worshipper of fire, and the Chinese text adds as a gloss to his name Cha-pa-ul (the Chinese way of writing Chapar), the character *ho* meaning fire, and the text explains that this is added to show what the religion of Chapar was.[1] The Yuan shi lei pen also refers to the distress of Chinghiz at Pan chu ni, tells us that Khazar killed a horse for him there, and that he and his companions swore a solemn oath of fidelity to each other, drinking meanwhile from the muddy water of the Pan chu ni. It adds that the officers with their families who thus drank together were always highly regarded and piqued themselves on their special fidelity (*op. cit.* p. 9).

Rashid-ud-din says that after the battle of Khalaljin Alat, Chinghiz Khan was obliged to withdraw, and retired to Baljuna, where both men and cattle had to drink from turbid water, inasmuch as there was only an insignificant and scanty supply. On his way the greater part of his army left him under the pretext that he had altered the existing laws and regulations, and that he had grown too weak to make a stand. He thereupon insisted that those who were faithful to him should swear with their eyes raised to heaven and their hands clasped, to remain true, through bitter and through sweet, and that if they broke their word that they might become like the muddy water of the Baljuna. Having drunk from the bowl, he gave it to his companions, who also drank. These faithful companions, we are told, were afterwards known as Baljuntu, and were magnificently rewarded. Von Hammer compares the name with that of Mohajirin, *i.e.* outcasts, borne by the companions of Muhammad's early misfortunes (Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 132, 133; Erdmann, p. 288;

[1] Gaubil, pp. 6, 9. Chapar or Jabar is mentioned in chapter 120, in the biographical section of the Yuan-shi. Bretschneider reads Dja-ba-r huo-djo. He says that he was reported to belong to Sai yi in the Si yü (*i.e.* the Western land, meaning here Persia). He was the chief of his tribe, whence the title of *Huo-djo*, which, we are told, in their language was the name of an office (doubtless the Persian *Khojah*). He was tall, with a long beard, large eyes, and broad forehead, brave, and a skilful rider and archer.—Bretschneider, Notices, etc. p. 49.

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D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 71, 72; Von Hammer, Golden Horde, p. 65). The Yuan shi says that Chinghiz Khan, while in his weak condition at Panchuni, was joined by a section of the Kongurut and by Putu, the chief of the Ekhilasze or Inkirasses, who had been driven away by the Khurulas (Hyacinthe, pp. 28, 29; Douglas, pp. 38, 39). The Yuan shi lei pen says he was joined by his brothers-in-law Wa chen, chief of the Hongila, *i.e.* the Kongurut, and Pu tu, of the Ikiliesse, by Kueli, brother of Toli (*i.e.* of Wang Khan), by Chapar and several other chiefs (Gaubil, p. 9). The Huang yuan and Rashid-ud-din also mention that the Inkirasses, who were being pressed by the Khurulas, joined Chinghiz Khan at this time (Huang yuan, p. 175; Erdmann, p. 288). All the authorities mention that he was also joined by his brother Khazar. The Yuan chao pi shi tells us that Khazar, who had been with Wang Khan, left his wife and his three sons Yegu, Yesungi, and Tukhu in the latter's hands, and escaped without anything, and with some of his companions went to search for his brother. He got as far as the Karaun, *i.e.* the Khing-gan, but could not see him from its summit. His provisions were exhausted, and he was reduced to feed on the raw hide and the sinews of a cow. In this condition he reached lake Baljuna, where he had an interview with Chinghiz (*op. cit.* p. 92).

In the Yuan shi we read that Chinghiz was joined by Khazar (called Khojar by Hyacinthe, and Hochar by Douglas) with his little son To-kan or Tokwan, who came from the Kalagun-ol (Douglas reads it Holakwan, but Hyacinthe's is doubtless the correct reading, the name being the Chinese transcript of Karaun). He had been routed by Wang Khan, who had captured his wives and his other children. On the road he had run short of provisions and been forced to subsist on the birds' eggs he found on the way (Hyacinthe, p. 29; Douglas, p. 39). De Mailla tells the same story (*op. cit.* tom. ix. p. 32).

The two brothers having met, consulted together, and arranged a plot to circumvent Wang Khan. They agreed to send Khaliutar of the tribe Jaorid or Juriat, and Chaur-

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khan of the tribe Uriangkut, to him. They were to profess to have come from Khazar with the following message: "I have not seen the shadow of my brother. I have traversed many roads, but have not met him; have called to him, but he has not heard me. At night I have slept with the earth for my pillow and with the stars overhead. My wife and children are in your hands; Father Khan, if you will send me a trusty man, I will come to you." Chinghiz bade the messengers go with this message, and told them he should order the camp to be raised and to be moved to the plain of Arkhalgougi on the river Kerulon. Having made these arrangements, he ordered Jurchidai and Arkai to lead, and pitched his camp with Khazar in the plain just mentioned (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 96).

The two messengers on their arrival delivered their master's message. Wang Khan had only just erected a golden tent and was feasting. On hearing their story, he said, "If this be really so, then let Khazar come." He then sent them back, and with them one of the most trusty of his people, Iturgian. On nearing the appointed rendezvous, Iturgian noticed in the distance a number of figures and shadows. Suspecting something, he halted, turned round and galloped towards home. Khaliutar, who rode a swifter horse, speedily overtook him, but not daring to touch him, merely blocked up the road, so that he could not proceed. Thereupon Chakhurkhan, who was on a heavier horse, took aim and shot Iturgian's horse in the hip. The horse fell; and he then seized its rider and took him to Chinghiz, who handed him over to Khazar with orders to kill him. His messengers informed Chinghiz that Wang Khan was feasting, and that if he marched speedily he might surprise him. He accordingly ordered the army to set out, and told Jurchidai and Arkhai to lead (*id.* p. 97). According to the Yuan shi, Chinghiz, before fighting with Wang Khan, wanted to secure the safety of Khazar's wives and children, and he accordingly sent two of his trusty dependents, who feigned to be Khazar's servants, and said the latter offered to submit himself with bound hands, if the Khan would forget their

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recent quarrels and renew their old friendship. These words put Wang Khan off his guard. He sent back a bag of blood with which to consecrate the oath of friendship he was prepared to swear with Khazar (Hyacinthe, pp. 29, 30; Douglas, pp. 40, 41). Rashid-ud-din tells the story at greater length. He calls the place where Khazar had been living Karaun Chidun, and his two messengers Khaliudar the Juriat and Chaurkhan (called Jarwergha Ilaghan by Erdmann) the Uriangkit, and reports their message as follows: Juchi Khasar has sent us with this message:

"May it be well with my patron. My heart is indeed full of my elder brother, my lord, and yet I know not if I may be permitted to see him. Although I wish to unite myself closely with thee, yet there is no way open for me to do so? I have heard, O Khan my father! that my wife and children are with thee. I have already passed a long time on barren journeys and arid pastures, my pillow has been the rock and hard clod, and I have wandered about without friend or helper. I have the highest confidence in thee, and that is why I have sent these messengers to show thee my condition and ask for my wife and children again, that with all my belongings I may attach myself to thee."

As Wang Khan knew the messengers to be dependents of Khazar, as he also knew the unsettled condition of Chinghiz Khan's affairs and the miserable position of Khazar, he did not suspect any treachery, but received the messengers with special marks of favour, and when he dismissed them he also sent back with them one of his people called Iturgin (Erdmann reads it Ayatürgan), and also sent some blood taken from his hand, in a horn, for, says Rashid-ud-din, it is the custom with the Mongols to seal a compact by the shedding of blood. The three companions set out on their return, while Chinghiz Khan at the head of his army rode night and day to surprise his enemy. Presently Khaliudar saw Chinghiz Khan's *Tuk* or standard in the distance, and fearing that Iturgin, if he also saw it, would at once set off on his swift horse and give his master warning, he dismounted, pretending that a stone had got into his horse's

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hoof, and asked Iturgin to dismount too and hold the foot, thus causing some delay. Meanwhile Chinghiz Khan arrived. Iturgin was dumb-foundered. He was handed over to Juchi Khazar, inasmuch as he had appropriated his wives and children and worldly goods (Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 143–45; Erdmann, pp. 296, 297; D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 80, 81). The Huang yuan as usual tells the story like Rashid-ud-din. It calls the place where Khazar took shelter after the battle of Khalaljin Alat, Khalakhunjidun (*i.e.* Karaun Chidun), and says the blood which Wang Khan took from his hand he sent in a vessel used for boiling water (*op. cit.* pp. 175, 176).

We have seen how, having put his enemy off his guard, Chinghiz Khan marched against him swiftly and furtively. When he reached the defile of Jerkhabuchikha in the mountains Checher ondur, doubtless on the Lower Kerulon, he surrounded Wang Khan and his people, and a battle ensued which lasted three days; on the third day, the Kirais being completely overcome, submitted. Wang Khan and his son fled.

One of the Kirais who had fought in the battle said to Chinghiz: "It would have been wrong for me to have let you take and kill my rightful Lord, therefore I have fought you for three days so as to give him a better chance of escaping. If you now order me to be executed, I shall no doubt die; but if you spare me, I will serve you faithfully." Chinghiz replied, "He who did not wish to desert his lord, but fought against me to give him time to escape, is a brave fellow. Be my companion." Chinghiz thereupon made him a commander of a hundred men, and gave him to the widow of Khuildar as her slave and dependent. Khuildar, it will be remembered, had been the first volunteer to fight, and had thus earned for himself and his descendants the right to ask for the rewards due to the widows and children. Chinghiz Khan now proceeded to divide the Kirais among his allies. To Takhai-baatur of the tribe Sulduda (? Suldus) who had given him assistance, he gave one hundred tents of the Jirgin tribe. Wang Khan's brother Jakhaganbu (Ja-

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khanbo as Rashid calls him), of whom we have previously spoken, had two daughters; the elder one, Abakha, Chinghiz had married himself, while the younger one, called Siur-kukteni, had married Tului (*i.e.* his son Tului), whence he would not permit Jakhanbu's people to be distributed. Bada and Kishlikh, the two herdsmen who had first warned him of Wang Khan's hostile intentions, were given the latter's golden tent and its contents, together with the people who had charge of his golden vessels. He also made over to them the family of Bankhojin of the race of Kirai, to form a body-guard, granted them the privilege of wearing their bows and arrows during the feasts, and ordered that at such feasts they were each to have a flagon of his own. He also gave them the right to retain the booty they should capture in battle and the wild animals they should secure in the hunt without sharing them with others. He extolled them, saying they had saved his life, and that now he had annihilated the Kirais, he had secured the throne of the Mongols. "Let my descendants notice the rewards due to such services." During the winter following his victory, Chinghiz remained in the district of Abujiakodiger (Yuan chao pi shi, pp. 97–99).

Rashid-ud-din mentions that the defeat was preceded by a conspiracy among some of Wang Khan's allies. In this there took part Daritai Chigen, Chinghiz Khan's uncle, Altan Jiun, Khujir or Khuchar Biki, Chamukha, Khum Barin, Suekei or Suwagi, Toghril of the race Tuken Tudul (written Nugteh Buul by Erdmann), Tugai, Khaguri the Mangkut, and Khutu Timur, a Tartar prince. They agreed to fall upon Wang Khan in the night, and then to become independent leaders, obeying neither Wang Khan nor Chinghiz. Having heard of their plans, Wang Khan fell upon them, took much of their wealth from them, and scattered them, whereupon Daritai Chigen, Khum Barin (Erdmann and D'Ohsson both make this a tribal name and read it a section of the Niruns), and the Sakhiat, a tribe of the Kirais, joined Chinghiz Khan, while Altan, Khujir and Khutu Timur went to Tayang, the chief of the Naimans. At this time Wang Khan was

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encamped at Kit Khulu khat alat (written Cait culgat alt by D'Ohsson; Berezine, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143; Erdmann, p. 295; D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 79, 80).

We are told in the Yuan shi and by Rashid-ud-din that the Kirai chief in his flight reproached himself for having been persuaded as he had been by his son, whom he accused of being the author of his misfortunes (Douglas, p. 42; Hyacinthe, p. 30; Berezine, vol. ii. p. 145; Erdmann, p. 297). The Huang yuan says he exclaimed to Sankun, "We are relatives, can we die apart now that we have been undone by these people?" (*op. cit.* p. 176).

Father and son according to the Yuan chao pi shi escaped to the district of Didiksakhal, and the river Nyekun, which Palladius suggests was probably the boundary between the Naimans and the Kirais. There Wang Khan, wearied with his journey and suffering from thirst, went to drink in the river. He was seen by a Naiman scout called Khorisubechi, who captured him, and although he explained who he was, he would not believe him, but killed him on the spot. Sankun, who was some distance off, rode away to Chual.[1] There he arrived with his companions Kokochu and his wife, and while looking for water saw a wild horse being bitten by flies. Dismounting from his own, he gave it in charge of Kokochu, and crept towards the other, intending to shoot it. Kokochu thereupon determined to desert him. His wife reproached him, saying, "He clothed you in fine clothes, fed you with good food, wherefore would you forsake your lawful lord?" Kokochu replied that as she would not go with him, she perhaps wished to marry Sankun.

She retorted with a Mongol aphorism, "Let them say that women have dogs' skin on their faces" (*i.e.* have no shame); "nevertheless I must ask you to give him this gold cup from which he may drink." Kokochu threw down the cup, and then with his wife repaired to Chinghiz, to whom he related how he had deserted Sankun. That exacting

[1] I find a station Chel on the map, north-east of Barkul and south-west of Chaghan Tala, which possibly answers to this Chual.

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master said: "How can I receive such people as companions?" He thereupon had Kokochu put to death, but rewarded his wife, and gave her to one of his officers (*op. cit.* pp. 99, 100). This authority does not tell us what was the end of Sankun. In the Yuan shi we are told he first fled to Si Hia or Si Sia (*i.e.* Western Hia or Tangut, comprising the modern Kansuh and the northern part of Shen si). There, being convicted of plundering, he went to the kingdom whose name is written Kuchaskiya by Hyacinthe and Kweisil by Douglas (Hyacinthe, p. 31; Douglas, p. 42). De Mailla says that having been driven away from Hia he fled to the Kuessê, by whose king he was attacked and killed (*op. cit.* tom. ix. p. 34). The Yuan shi lei pen says that after Wang Khan's defeat, his rival returned to the Onon, whence he sent detachments in pursuit of him. He was captured, but the same day he again escaped and fled to the Naimans, where he was killed. It calls the place where Sankun was put to death by order of the ruler of the country Kutse (Gaubil, p. 10). Rashid-ud-din says that after his defeat Wang Khan fled to a place in the country of the Naimans called Nirgun Ussun (D'Ohsson calls it On Ussun, which name means the ten rivers in Turkish, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 82, note 2). There he was seized by Khori Subaju and Tung or Iteng Shal, two frontier commanders of Tayang, the Naiman ruler. They put him to death, and sent his head to their master. Sankun fled to a place whose name is read Ashik Balgasun by Berezine, and Istu Balghasun by Erdmann (see Erdmann, note 160), but the name is evidently corrupt. It doubtless ought to be read Itzina, as it is given in the Huang yuan (it was a town of Tangut). Thence he hastened on to the frontiers of Jul or Chul on the extreme borders of the Mongols (*i.e.* the Chual of the Yuan chao pi shi above mentioned), and thence he went to Buri Tibet (*i.e.* to the country of Tibet, which is so called by Carpini, D'Avezac, p. 658). Having engaged in plundering there, he was attacked by the inhabitants; he again fled to the country of Khoten and Kashgar. D'Ohsson says to the district of Kumen on the borders of Kashgar and Khoten. Erdmann

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says to the borders of Jin and Kashgar and the district of Gushan.

There he was attacked and killed by Kilij Arslan, the chief of the tribe Kilij or Khalaj, in a place called Kusaku-char-kusha (Erdmann reads it Gusatu-jau-gasmeh, D'Ohsson Keussatu-char-kashme), who sent his wives and children prisoners to Chinghiz Khan, and shortly after himself submitted to that chief (Berezine, vol. ii. p. 146: Erdmann, p. 298; D'Ohsson, vol. i. pp. 82, 83). The Huang yuan calls the place where Wang Khan was captured the river Nikiun uli, and names the Naiman chiefs who killed him Kholisu bachi and Tedusha. It says that Sankun fled to Sisia, passed the town of Itzina, and reached the country of the Bolin Tufan (*i.e.* the Buri Tibet of other authors). He fell upon the people there, and plundered them, but the Tufans drove him and his followers away westwards. He was eventually killed by Khelinchukhala (*i.e.* Kilij Khan) in the country of Chergeziman (*i.e.* the Kusaku char kusha of Rashid, Huang yuan, p. 176).

Ssanang Setzen, whose narrative of these events is of hardly any value, dates the defeat of "Ong Khaghan," as he calls Wang Khan, in 1198. He places the battle at the outflow of the river Onon (clearly a mistake for the Kerulon) near Külen Buira (*i.e.* the well-known lake Buyur, which was near the heights of Checher). He further tells us Chinghiz Khan's army was led by Tôrôlji Taishi of the Uriat, Jelme Noyan of the Uriangkhan and the son of Kiluken Baghatur of the Sunid called Tudai Tsarbi, who defeated Ong Khaghan and subdued the Kerait (*op. cit.* p. 87).

The conquest of the Kirais and their ruler was a great step in Chinghiz Khan's career. It made him a widely notorious person, and we consequently find the campaign referred to by other and independent authorities than those we have quoted, and notably by the Christian chroniclers, who were specially interested in the overthrow of Prester John, as they styled Wang Khan. I propose to close this instalment of my story by bringing together two or three of these notices.

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Abulfaraj, whose narrative at this period is largely constructed on the basis of that of Juveni, tells us that in 599 Hijra, *i.e.* the year from 20th September 1202 to 9th September 1203 A.D., when Unach Khan, who is the same with the Christian king John, ruled over a certain race of the barbarous Huns called Kherith, Chinghiz Khan was in his service. He became jealous of him, and secretly determined his ruin and death. Of this Chinghiz was warned by two youths. Unach Khan fell suddenly upon his tent, but he had withdrawn with his people in time and concealed himself. Abulfaraj then tells us how a battle was fought at Balshuia between the rivals, in which Chinghiz was unfortunate. This was followed by a second, in which he was victorious. His rival was killed and his wives and children made prisoners. He then describes how the two youths were rewarded as we have already mentioned. Abulfaraj accounts for Unach Khan's defeat by the fact that he had married a daughter of the ruler of Kara Khitai, who had persuaded him to apostatize (*Chron. Syr.* pp. 447, 448). Abulfaraj dates this struggle as we have seen in 1202–3, in which he agrees with Rashid-ud-din and the Yuan shi (Berezine, vol. ii. p. 143; Hyacinthe, p. 24; Douglas, p. 33).

Rubruquis has a confused account of Wang Khan, whom he calls Unk, and makes him the brother of Johannes. He tells us he ruled over the Crit and Merkit, who were Nestorian Christians, but that he had become an apostate and a worshipper of idols, and had surrounded himself with idolatrous priests, who had recourse to necromancy, etc. He says he was master of a certain town called Caracaron. On the death of his brother Johannes, Rubruquis says that Unk caused himself to be proclaimed Khan, and moved with his flocks and herds to the frontiers of Moal, *i.e.* of the Mongols. At that time Chinghiz, a certain Mongol who was a smith, harried some of Unk Khan's animals. The latter marched an army against him, whereupon he fled among the Tartars and there concealed himself. Unk Khan, having plundered the Moals and Tartars, returned home; thereupon Chinghiz addressed the Tartars and Moals, saying, "It is because we

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have no leader that our neighbours oppress us." They thereupon made him the chief of the Tartars and Moals. Having collected an army furtively, he fell upon Unk, and defeated him. He fled to Cathaia (by this Rubruquis no doubt means Kara Khitai). Unk's daughter (really his niece), our author adds, was captured and given by Chinghiz in marriage to one of his sons, and she became the mother of Mangu (D'Avezac, pp. 261, 262).

According to Joinville, "The Tartarins lived in a great berier (of sand),[1] and were subject to Prester John and the Emperor of Persia, whose country bordered on theirs, and to many other bad kings (*roys mescreans*), to each of whom they did homage for the pastures where they kept their cattle." They were held in such contempt by their suzerains that when they took them their tribute they turned their backs and not their faces to them. Among the Tartarins was a sage man who visited the various steppes and conferred with the men whom he met and pointed out to them the condition of servitude in which they were, and having summoned them to a meeting, showed them how, if they chose themselves a leader, they might break the yoke. Accordingly each of the fifty-two clans who were present produced an arrow which was marked with its name, and by the wish of the whole people they were placed before a child five years old, and it was decided whichever name appeared on the arrow selected by the child, they should nominate themselves a chief from that clan. The choice fell of course on the sage man, who was no other than Chinghiz Khan, and who demanded that if they wanted him to lead them they must swear by Him who had made heaven and earth to obey the laws he should make for them. He accordingly drew up some regulations against theft, adultery, etc. He then told them that the most powerful of their masters was Prester John, and ordered them to be ready to march against him the following day. "If we are beaten, which God forbid," he said, "each one must seek safety in flight. If we win, I

[1] Col. Yule says the Arabic *bŏriya*—a desert; Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 233.

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order that the pursuit must continue for three days and nights, and no one, on pain of death, must seize any of the booty, which shall be fairly divided." The next day they fell on the enemy, and defeated him, killing all those whom they found bearing arms. The priests and other religious they allowed to go free, while the rest of the people were reduced to slavery (Joinville, Dom Bouquet, vol. xx. pp. 262, 263).

Marco Polo gives a longer account of the struggle. I have already quoted his notice of the ill-starred negociations between the two chiefs for a marriage between their families. He goes on to report that Chinghiz was greatly enraged at Prester John's insolent message to him, and threatened him with vengeance. He collected his people, and marched against him. Prester John professed to have contempt for this army, but he in turn collected his forces. Chinghiz, he says, advanced to a vast and beautiful plain called Tenduc, which was in Prester John's country, where he pitched his camp, having an innumerable host with him. Prester John pitched his camp twenty miles away, and both armies rested for two days that they might be fresher for the fight. During this delay Chinghiz summoned his astrologers to foretell who was going to win in the approaching battle. The Saracens essayed in vain to forecast the issue, but the Christians were more successful. Having split a cane in two, they put the two halves side by side, so that no one should touch them. One piece they named Chinghiz Khan, and the other Prester John. They then read a psalm from the Psalter, and went through other incantations, upon which the cane which was called Chinghiz approached the other without any one touching it, and got on the top of it. This very promising augury greatly delighted the Mongol chief, who always after treated the Christians very kindly. In the battle which followed, Polo says the slaughter was very great on both sides, but eventually Chinghiz won the victory, and Prester John was slain, and his kingdom passed into the hands of Chinghiz Khan (*op. cit.* ed. Yule, vol. i. pp. 235-239).

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We have seen how Wang Khan was killed by the Naiman frontier commander. The Yuan chao pi shi says that when the mother of Tayang, the Naiman chief, who was called Gurbyessu, heard of his death, she said, "Wang Khan was a great ruler, bring me the head to see if it be really his; if so, then we will make a sacrifice to it." She accordingly sent some people to Khorisubichi, who had killed him. They cut off the head and took it to her. On seeing that it was really his, they began playing musical instruments to it, so as to attract the spirit of the dead chief, and also made a sacrifice. During this proceeding a smile passed over the face of Wang Khan. Tayang, noticing this smile, and taking it as a bad omen, crushed the head with his foot, whereupon one of the bystanders named Keksiusabrakh said, "You have cut off a dead man's head and crushed it with your foot, now even your dog anticipates misfortune" (Yuan chao pi shi, p. 100). De la Croix, apparently quoting Abulkhair, has a passage somewhat like the one abstracted from the Yuan chao pi shi. He tells us that when Tayang saw the head of Wang Khan, he could not help insulting it, on which Abulkhair remarks, "'Tis a base action to rend the beard from a dead lion." Rashid-ud-din merely tells us that Tayang reproached his followers for having killed the old chief, saying they ought to have captured him alive; and that he then had his skull encased in silver, and placed it on a throne facing the door of his yurt or tent. One day the tongue of the dead chief was seen to protrude from the mouth. This happened several times, and was interpreted as an evil augury by the Naiman chiefs (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 236).

Wang Khan, according to Rashid-ud-din, had two sons, Sankun or Sengun, whose history I have related, and Iku. Iku, we are told, had a son Sarijeh. I would suggest as possible that Sarijeh is a corruption of George, and that he was the George mentioned by Marco Polo and others. Marco Polo says, "Tenduc is a province which lies towards the east, and contains numerous towns and villages, among which is the chief city, also called Tenduc. The king of the province is of the lineage of Prester John, George by name, and he

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holds the land under the Great Kaan; not that he holds anything like the whole of what Prester John possessed. It is a custom, I may tell you, that these kings of the lineage of Prester John always obtain to wife either daughters of the Great Kaan or other princesses of his family (Yule's Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 275). Again, he says, you must know that it was in this same capital city of Tenduc that Prester John had the seat of his government when he ruled over the Tartars, and his heirs still abide there; for, as I have told you, this King George is of his line, in fact he is the sixth in descent from Prester John (Yule's Marco Polo, vol. i. pp. 275–6). Later on Marco Polo reverts to this George, whom he now calls the grandson of Prester John. This is in his account of the struggle of the Grand Khan Khubilai with his rival Kaidu, and he tells us that George, the grandson of Prester John, was posted at Karakorum with Khubilai's son Mirungan, and that they had a great force of cavalry with them. He also calls him the Younger Prester John (Yule, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 457–460).

John of Monte Corvino, who was born in Calabria in 1247, became afterwards Archbishop of Khanbaligh or Peking. In his letter of January, 1305, from that city, he speaks of Polo's King George in these terms: "A certain king of this part of the world, by name George, belonging to the sect of the Nestorian Christians, and of the illustrious lineage of that great king who was called Prester John of India, in the first year of my arrival here (*circa* 1295–6), attached himself to me, and, after he had been converted by me to the verity of the Catholic faith (*i.e.* converted from Nestorianism), took the Lesser Orders, and when I celebrated mass used to attend me, wearing his royal robes. Certain others of the Nestorians on this account accused him of apostacy, but he brought over a great part of his people with him to the true Catholic faith, and built a church of royal magnificence in honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of our lord the Pope, giving it the name of the Roman Church. This King George, six years ago, departed to the Lord, a true Christian, leaving as his heir a son scarcely out of the cradle, and who

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is now nine years old. And after King George's death his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought over to the Church, and carried them back to their original schismatical creed. And being all alone, and not able to leave his majesty the Cham, I could not go to visit the church above mentioned, which is twenty days' journey distant. Yet if I could get some good fellew-workers to help me, I trust in God that all this might be retrieved, for I still possess the grant which was made in our favour by the late King George before mentioned. . . . I had been in treaty with the late King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin ritual, that it might be sung throughout the extent of his territory; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate mass in his church according to the Latin ritual" (Cathay and the Way Thither, pp. 199–202). Colonel Yule says: "The distance mentioned, twenty days' journey from Peking, suits quite well with the position assigned to Tenduc, and no doubt the Roman Church was in the city to which Marco Polo gives that name" (Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 278).

Friar Odoric, travelling westwards from China in 1326–7, says that he arrived, after a journey of fifty days, at the country of Prester John, whose principal city was Tozan, which although the chief city, Vicenza would be considered its superior. Besides it, he had many other cities under him, and by a standing compact always received to wife the Great Khan's daughter (Cathay and the Way Thither, pp. 146–7). This Tozan Colonel Yule identifies with Tathung, a circle of administration immediately east of Tung hia, and embracing a part of the country where the Mongol tribe of the Ordus now encamp (*id.* p. 146, note 2).

I have suggested that George, who is made chief of the Kirais by Marco Polo and John of Monte Corvino, may be Sarijeh, the grandson of Wang Khan. The date would suit him well, and the names George and Sarijeh are very like one another, while the fact that two of Sarijeh's sisters were married to the great founder of the Ilkhan dynasty, Khulagu, would make him an important personage. These two sisters

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were Dokuz Khatun and Tukteni Khatun; the former is described as a Christian and very friendly to the Christians.

The daughter of Sarijeh, we further read, became the wife of the Ilkhan Arghun and the mother of Uljaitu, or Kharbenda. Sarijeh's brother was called Abreiyin (Berezine, Erdmann, Temudschin, etc. p. 235).

Abulfaraj tells us a curious story about what happened when Chinghiz Khan determined to invade the west and crush the Khuaresm Shah. He sent an envoy, who was killed at Otrar by the frontier commander there. This greatly enraged Chinghiz, who, we are told, climbed a mountain, where, uncovering his head, and throwing his girdle over his shoulder, he invoked the vengeance of God, and passed three days and nights fasting; on the third night a monk dressed in black and bearing a staff in his hand appeared to him in a dream, and bade him fear nothing, and that he would be successful in the campaign he meditated. On awakening he repeated the dream to his wife, the daughter of Wang Khan, of the Kirais. She assured him that the monk was a bishop who was in the habit occasionally of visiting her father, and of giving him advice. Chinghiz Khan appealed to the Uighur Christians if they had any such bishop among them. They accordingly summoned Mar-Denha, who wore his black tiara, upon which Chinghiz said that, although the bishop was similarly dressed to the apparition which he had seen, his face was different. The bishop then said it must have been one of the Christian saints who had gone to him. After the adventure we are told Chinghiz treated the Christians with especial consideration. Vincent of Beauvais also speaks of Rabbanta, a Nestorian monk, who lived in the confidence of Chinghiz Khan's wife, daughter of the Christian king David, or Prester John, and who used by divination to make many revelations to the Tartars (Yule's Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 237).

We have seen how, when he conquered the Kirais, Chinghiz Khan divided their tribes among his supporters, he accepted those which obeyed Jakhanbo, who had been faithful to him, and with whose family he had so many ties by marriage. I may add that the royal stock of the Kalmuk tribe of the

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Torguts, according to a chronicle written by a Torgut prince named Gabung Sharraf, claims to be descended from a certain Kaowang or Ki wang, who separated himself with the Torguts from his sovereign Wang Khan, who is identified by Pallas and Remusat with Wang Khan of the Kirais (Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach. vol. i. p. 56; Remusat, les Langues Tartares, p. 238). Ki wang, or Gui wang, is a mere Chinese title, and it was applied to one of Chinghiz Khan's great generals, Mukhuli Ki wang. The Ki wang of the Kalmuk Saga was not impossibly Jakhanbo already named. The same Saga tells us that Ki wang's son was Soffai, otherwise called Buyani Tetkukshi, whose son was Bayar, whose grandson was Makhatshi Menggo, with the surname of Kärät, which surname was borne by all his descendants among the Torgut princes (Pallas, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 56). It is not impossible that Jakhanbo may have been given a tribe of Mongolian origin, as well as some of the Kirais, for his subjects. According to the Persian historian, he detached one of Wang Khan's tribes, namely the Tungkait, from their allegiance to him, and appropriated them (Erdmann, Temudjin, p. 269).

Jakhanbo had, according to Rashid-ud-din, four daughters, Abika, who was married to Chinghiz Khan himself; Bigtutemish Fujin, who married his eldest son Juchi; Siurkukteni Bigi, who married his fourth son Talui, and became the mother of Mangu Khulagu, Khubilai and Arikbuka, all famous names in Mongol history; while the fourth daughter was married to a Prince of the Ongut or White Tartars.

Rashid-ud-din speaks of one of Wang Khan's chiefs named Khubedu, who abandoned him and joined Chinghiz Khan with his wife, his son, who was thirteen years old, a camel, and some horses. Chinghiz eventually rewarded him by making over to him a number of Kirais and Tunegkait, from whom he formed a hezareh. One of his twenty-four sons named Khurtukeh succeeded him as its commander. Another became a secretary in the Khakan's service; a third, named Tugun Bitikishi, became secretary to Khulagu, while others of the family rose to high rank in the Ilkan's service (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 237).

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Major Raverty, I do not know on what authority, tells us that among the tribes assigned by Chinghiz Khan as the portion of his son Chagatai were some Kerait. This seems very probable, for we meet with Kerait in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi and elsewhere. Thus, in the account of Timur's campaigns there given, he refers to Uzbeg Timur, called Oreng Timur, by Sherif-ud-din, as a chief of the Kerayet who joined Timur. The latter writer says he did so with his Horde. A little later the Tarikh-i-Rashidi speaks of Timur's troops defeating the Kerayet on the banks of the river Aishek Khatun, called Aishe Kaden, by Sherif-ud-din.

One of the sons of Abulkhair, the great chief of the Kazaks, was called Kirai or Ghirai Khan, just as the family of the Krim Khans in the Western Kipchak was. As we have seen, there are also clans attached to the Great and Little Hordes of the Kazaks, which are probably derived from the same source.

In an extract from the Kai thsing i tong chi, made by Stanislas Julien, which gives an account of Sungaria in the middle of the last century, we are told that at Yulduz, S.E. of Kungghes, were the ancient pastures of the Sougars and the Keliyet, *i.e.* Kerayet (Journ. Asiat. série 4, tom. viii. pp. 385, etc.). These Kerayet were doubtless the branch of the tribe mentioned by Sherif-ud-din and in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi.

Lastly in an account of the Khalkhas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by M. Podsneyef, we read that the third son of Giresandsa Nuhkukho received as his portion two tribes, the Keregut and the Khorlos, showing that a portion of the Kirais remained with the Mongols themselves.

In regard to the present country of the main body of the Kirais, Levshin, in his history of the Kirghiz Kazaks, says the Kirais or Uvak Kirais encamp on the rivers Ubagan, Ichim, Uya, Taguzac, Irtish, Issel, Sari Su, and Chui, as well as on the sandy wastes of Ich Kungur, the neighbourhood of the lake Kechu bai, Charkar, and opposite the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkhui Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zukrinogolofshoi and Presnogorkofskoi (*op. cit.* Fr.

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edition, p. 308). This shows how very widespread they have become.

Their original homeland on the Upper Irtish is, however, where they chiefly prevail, and there they have been studied by Potanin and others. Radde tells us the Kirais live for the most part on the Upper Irtish, under Chinese rule, but also in the more western steppes as far as Verkhui Uralsk. They form three main divisions, the Abak Kirais (the Uwak Kirais of other writers), Kara Kirais and Taraktu. Potanin tells us the Abak Kirais live in the eastern part of the Irtish and Saisan valleys, and the Kara Kirais in the western part.

The Abak Kirais consist of twelve clans, Jantykai, Jadyk, Shiraiishi, Itäli, Karakaz, Mulku, Shibar-Aigyr, Märkit, Itäugmän, Jäs Taban (copper soles), Sary Bas (yellow heads), and Shimoyin.

The Kara Kirais form three branches, Murun, Bai Jigit and Tört Aul (Radde, Aus. Sibirien, pp. 236, 237).

This completes what I have been able to bring together about the Kirais. As we have seen, in addition to their connection with Prester John, they also formed the most powerful and dominating tribe in the Mongolian steppes at the accession of Chinghiz Khan. In identifying them with the Kirghiz or Hakaz we are able to trace their first occupation of the country which they afterwards dominated, and where, as we have seen, they displaced the perhaps more famous and influential tribe of the Uighurs. Before tracing the history of this last people, I propose to consider that of the kingdom of Pohai, which during a part of the domination of the Kirais controlled the fortunes of Manchuria, and to it I shall devote the next paper of this series.

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ART. V.—*The Djurtchen of Mandshuria: their Name, Language, and Literature.* By Prof. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, Ph. & Litt.D., M.R.A.S.

SUMMARY.

I. THEIR NAME.

§ 1. Introductory. 2. It appears under several forms. 3. Testimony of the old Chinese documents. 4. They give an approximate rendering of one single form. 5. Three of the transcriptions indicate a medial *r*. 6. The Persian, Uigur, Mongol, and Marco Polo confirm the same fact. 7. The original name was *Djurtchen* or *Djurtchi*. 8. In Chinese *Niutchen* becomes *Niutchi*, because of a tabooed character. 9. *Niutchen* is an imitation of a K'itan peculiarity of pronunciation. 10. Similar phonetic change in the K'itan language and several ancient Chinese dialects. 11. Phonetic change *L*=*N* is most frequent. 12. The forms *Niutchen* or *Niutchi* are corrupted, and must be discarded. 13. Remarks on the successive Chinese processes of rendering *R* in foreign names. 14. Causes of the differences of finals *-en* and *-i*. 15. *Djurtchen* is the sole genuine and best form.

II. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

§ 16. The Djurtchen language lately shown to be only a dialect cognate to the Mandshu. 17. Fresh materials forthcoming from the *Hua y yh yü*. 18. Larger connection of the Djurtchen. 19. Its Mandshu relationship known to the Chinese. 20. Not looked upon as narrower. 21. Efforts in view of creating a literature. 22. A Djurtchen dictionary compiled before 1772. 23. British Museum edition of the *Hua y yh yü*. 24. A MS. copy in Paris more complete. 25. Dr. Hirth's MS. copy still more complete. 26. How the vocabularies were improved. 27. Importance of the newly-found Djurtchen documents for Ugro-Altaic linguistics.

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III. Written Characters.

§ 28. They had two sets of written characters. 29. The large characters and the inscription of Salikan. 30. The Djurtchen, or smaller characters, are not those of Kiu-yung kwan, which are Tangutan. 31. They are those of the Yen t'aï inscription, vocabulary, and texts of the *Hua y yh yü*. 32. The short-lived writings of Central Asia now less unknown.

IV. Their General Position.

§ 33. The Djurtchen literature has not passed to the Mandshus. 34. The latter made a fresh departure by themselves. 35. The two races were only cousins, though their ruling families may be in a closer relation. 36. The *pig-tail* of the Chinese called as a witness. 37. Its Mandshu, Djurtchen, and earlier origines. 38. It seems to be the apanage of a hegemonic family. 39. The present Mandshu dynasty, once called *Posterior Kin*.

Introductory.

1. This interesting people of Mandshuria occupied an important position in Eastern Asia during the Middle Ages. From A.D. 1115 to 1234 their rulers, under the name of *Kin* or Golden Dynasty, reigned over the northern half of China, and the all-powerful Mongols only were able to oust them. Unlettered at first, they invented two sorts of writing for themselves, and borrowed a literature from the Chinese. Notwithstanding these efforts, they had passed away beyond recognition. Their language, their written characters, their books, and even their exact name, had disappeared; and it has thus become the task of Orientalists, engaged in archæological linguistics, to rescue their literary remains out of the dust of ages.[1]

Their history, written in Mandshu at the beginning of the present dynasty of Mandshu rulers of China, who boast of them as their ancestors, was translated successfully in full

[1] One of their original seven tribes, the *Sumo*, had formed on the north of Corea (in Mandshu *Solgo*) the state of Puh-hai (exactly *Puthaï*), from A.D. 696 to 926, where the civilization was chiefly Chinese. Cf. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. pp. 207–208. D'Hervey St.-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine, de Matouanlin*, vol. i. pp. 347–372.

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in 1887 by Prof. C. de Harlez, of Louvain. The late Alex. Wylie in 1859, and at greater length in 1871, has written about their written characters. Prof. Léon de Rosny in 1872, and Mr. G. Devéria in 1881, have published learned dissertations on the same subject. It was at last in 1887 that a vocabulary and texts, in one of their own writings, has been found in China by Dr. F. Hirth of Shanghai. Visdelou, Klaproth, and A. Wylie have compiled lists of the words of their language found in Chinese books, and pointed out their close resemblance to the corresponding Mandshu terms. Last year, 1888, Prof. de Harlez again has treated of the same question more scientifically, but he has been less positive than his predecessors.[1]

Thus has light been gradually thrown on what was unknown and forgotten. The history, the language, and the writings of the Djurtchen will by and by take their place in the stock of our knowledge of the past, so useful for the future, concerning the history of the human mind and its manifestations in all sorts and conditions of races, countries, and times.

The present writer wishes that the following remarks may contribute in their small way to that desirable increase of knowledge.

I. Their Name.

2. We must first examine the question of their name, which is interesting under more than one philological aspect. It is variously written and spelt in Oriental literature, as well as by European scholars.[2] *Niutchi, Djutchi, Jutchi, Joutchen,* each form with several variants, have been and are still in use. A short *exposé* of the historical evidence on the matter will dispel the uncertainty, and show what is the most correct and suitable form to be finally preserved.

3. In the preface to the *Man tchöu yuen liu k'ao,* or Re-

[1] All the bibliographical references will be found in the notes, *infrà.*

[2] For instance, among European Orientalists, the late A. Wylie, Prof. Léon de Rosny, Prof. Ch. de Harlez, and Dr. E. Bretschneider spell *Niutchi* or *Niuchi*; De Guignes spells *Nutchin*; Klaproth, Ed. Biot, Dr. F. Hirth spell *Joutchi* or *Juchi*; Dr. Plath, Prof. Vassiliew, M. G. Devéria spell *Joutchen* or *Juchen*, etc.

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searches on the origin of the Mandshus, published by the Han-lin or Academy of Peking, the Emperor K'ienlung, agreeably with earlier Chinese authorities, wrote that "The *Kin* originated from the Moho clan in the old territory of *Suk shen* 肅 愼, afterwards *Tchu shen* 珠 申."[1] The name of the founders of the Kin dynasty has also been transcribed in Chinese *Sik shen* 息 愼 and *Tsik shen* 稷 愼.[2] The *Sik shen* race is mentioned as being in the occupation of the same region North of China since the beginnings of Chinese history, namely, under the reign of Shun; this first entry is perhaps one of the embellishments of later years, which were interpolated in the Annals of the Bamboo Books,[3] where alone it occurs. But the *Suk-shen* had really some intercourse with the Chinese at the beginning of the Tchöu dynasty (eleventh century B.C.), and this intercourse was the subject-matter of one of the lost books of the Shu King,[4] according to the summary which Confucius has given as a preface to the work. The *Yh Tchöu shu*,[5] in its curious enumeration of presents offered by various surrounding nations to the court of Tching Wang, the second ruler of the Tchöu dynasty, mentions a great deer, offered by the *Tsik-shen* (same as the *Suk shen*) of the region straight north. They are alluded to in the *Ts'o tchuen*[6] of Ts'okiu Ming, ninth year of Duke Tchao, *i.e.* 533 B.C. And in the *Kwoh yü*[7] or Talks of the States,

[1] G. Devéria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'aï*; *dissertation sur les caractères d'écriture employés par les Tartares Jou-tchen*, by Lin-k'ing Kien-ting, transl. in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. i. pp. 173-186; cf. note 4, p. 174. On the Djurtchen Writing, cf. L. de Rosny, *Les Niutchih, leur langue et leur écriture*, pp. 179-189 of his *Archives paléographiques*, vol. i. Paris, 1872. A. Wylie, *On an Ancient Inscription in the Neuchih Language* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1860, Vol. XVII. pp. 331-345); *On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung kwan*, in N. China (*ibid.* 1871, Vol. V. pp. 14-44, and plates). And also F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*, pp. 207-213 (*Journ. China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1887, vol. xxii. pp. 203-223). The learned author, while in China, has luckily been able to secure a complete MS. copy of the *Hua-y yh yü*, containing a vocabulary of 881 words of the Djurtchen language, and proposes to publish it in facsimile.

[2] Cf. also *Sheng wu ki*, Wars of the Mandshu Dynasty, bk. i. f. 1. A. Wylie, Introd. p. 2 of his *Translation of the Ts'ing wan k'e mung*, *A Chinese Grammar of the Manchu-Tartar Language*, Shanghai, 1855.

[3] *Tchuh Shu k'i nien*, Shun, year 25.

[4] *Shu king*, Preface 56.

[5] *Yh Tchöu shu*, also called *Kih tchung Tchöu shu*, sect. Wang huei.

[6] *Ts'o tchuen*, *Tchao kung*, ninth year, 2.

[7] *Kwoh yü*, k.v., *Luh yü*, 2. It is also reported in the *She ki* of Szema Tsien.

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compiled by the same author, who wrote in the fifth century B.C., a story is told about arrows sent by them to Wu Wang, father of Tching Wang. Their name appears also in the *Shan haï king*,[1] in the writings of Hwai-nan tze,[2] in the *She-ki*, and other works anterior to the Christian era, in the Annals of the After Han Dynasty[3] (A.D. 25–220), and in various later works. These Annals contain a descriptive notice of them. A *Suk-shen kwoh ki* or History of the Suk-shen State, was compiled in former times, but it seems to have been lost, and we know it only from quotations in the *Taï ping yü lan* cyclopedia, which was published in 983 A.D.[4]

4. All this evidence agrees with the historical fact that a continuous intercourse was kept up between this race and the Chinese until the end of the T'ang dynasty,[5] and that the Chinese records have preserved in various spellings its ethnic name. The Chinese sounds Sukshen, Sikshen, Tsik-shen, Tchushen are as accurate a transcription of it as is permitted by their clumsy orthoepy.

5. It is to be remarked that in three of these transcriptions the first syllable finishes with a fading consonant, which, in every case, when fully pronounced, was a *k*.[6] This device is the oldest one resorted to, as we shall see hereafter, in Chinese transcriptions of foreign syllables terminated by a consonant like *r*, formerly missing in their phonology. Therefore we must expect that the genuine appellative was fuller than shown by the aforesaid transcriptions. In the *Ta Kin kwoh tchi*, or History of the Great Kin State, *i.e.* the part of China ruled by that dynasty, it is stated[7] that the Kin were properly called *Tchu-li-tchen* 朱里真, a transcription in which *li* stands obviously for *r*. In the Djurtchen vocabulary of the College of Interpreters at Peking,[8] *Tchu-*

[1] *Shan haï king*, bk. 7, f. 4.
[2] Hwai-nan tze, *Tchui heng hün*.
[3] *Hôu Han Shu*, bk. 115, transl. A. Wylie in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. i. pp. 65–66.
[4] *Taï ping yü lan*, bk. 784, ff. 2, 3.
[5] Cf. *Kiu T'ang shu*, bk. 199.
[6] Namely *suk*, *sik*, *tsik*.
[7] E. Bretschneider, *Notices of the Mediæval Geography*, p. 34.
[8] On this vocabulary cf. below, § 25.

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sien 朱 先 is the Chinese rendering of the two Djurtchi characters equivalent to the Chinese *Niu-tchih*,[1] and shows the little care taken by the Chinese compilers of the work.

6. The Persian vocabulary of the same College writes the name *Tcho-erh-tche* 卓 兒 知, and *Djurdji*. The Uigur vocabulary of the same collection writes it *Tchu-erh-tché* 主 兒 扯 and *Djurdjog*.[2] In the *Teng t'an pi kiu*, a treatise on war, published in 1598, Mr. G. Devéria has found the name written *Tchu-erh-tch'ek* 主 兒 亦, and translated by *Haï si*, 'west of the sea.'[3]

The same form of the name finds its corroboration in the Persian authors. Rashid-ed-din, in his remarkable work *Djami-ut-Tewarik*, Collection of Annals, dated 1307, mentions it several times as *Tchurtche*; and Benaketi, in his *Tarikh-i-Khata*, History of China, dated 1317, says: "The Kathayans (*i.e.* the Chinese) call it *Niu tche*, the Mongols and other people *Tchurtche*."[4]

The testimony of Marco Polo will strengthen the series. The great Venetian states[5] that "originally the Tartars dwelt in the North, on the borders of *Chorcha*;" later on he speaks of the province of *Chorcha*, and without any possible doubt means Mandshuria.

The Mongol prince Ssanang Ssetzen, in his history of the Eastern Mongols,[6] speaks of them as *Djurchid*.

[1] Dr. F. Hirth had (7th Sept. 1888) the kindness to communicate to me some instances of this vocabulary, and the present one was among them. In the History of their Dynasty in Mandshu, that which was lately translated by Prof. C. de Harlez, the name is spelt *Niotchi*, a simple transcription of the Chinese form, which therefore is no proof in the question of the original name. The history here referred to is a part of the *Ilan gurun-i suduri*, or History of the Three Kingdoms (*i.e.* Liao, Kin, and Yuen), which was compiled so late as the years 1644–1646. On the conditions under which it was written cf. C. de Harlez in *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 309–311, and the *Manuel de la langue Mandchoue*, pp. 227–228, of the same author.

[2] G. Devéria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'aï*, *op.c.* p. 175.

[3] G. Devéria, *ibid.* I cannot explain this etymology, which probably is a simple pun. The word for 'sea' in Djurtchen is given as *lu-tih-lin*, Mandshu *mederi*. On the other hand, the Mandshu dictionary gives *Jus'en* as a term for 'Mandshu servants,' and also 'family people,' in C. de Harlez, *Le Manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (*Z.f.D.M.G.*), repr. p. 2.

[4] E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. i. pp. 196, 224 (London, Trübner, 1888, 2 vols.).

[5] i. 46, ii. 6; cf. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (2nd edit.), vol. i. pp. 225, 229, 335, 336.

[6] Transl. by T. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost. Mongolen*, etc., verfasst von

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7. The considerable number of statements we have been able to quote hitherto show undisputably that so far as concerns the race itself and its congeners, its name was Djurtchen or Djurtchi, the difference between the two being purely grammatical.

8. Now we have to inquire about the name *Niutchi*, and how it came into use.

The regular spelling in Chinese is *Niutchih* or *Niutchik* 女直,[1] since the year 1032. On the accession of the K'itan or Liao king Hing-tsung, whose personal name was *Tsung-tchen* 宗真, it became compulsory to alter the former spelling of their name 女真 *Niu-tchen*, because of the *pi-hwuy*[2] or *hwuy-fah* custom.[3] This practice, which is said not to have begun before the Shang dynasty, and which is not yet obsolete, consists in the tabooing of sacred names, such as that of the ruling sovereign; the written characters forming the name are out of use for the time; graphical alterations are made to them, or characters altogether different are used in their stead.[4]

9. The spelling *Niu-tchen* in Chinese, forcibly obsolete as we have just seen in the year 1032, had come into use some time earlier through the *K'itan*,[5] who ruled in Northern

Ssanang-Szetzen chungtaidschi (St. Petersburg, 1828, 4to.), p. 75. *Dschurtschid* in the German spelling of the translator.

[1] *Liu hieh*, also called *Liu-hin*, of the Liang dynasty, in his *Sin lun* or New Dissertations, bk. vi., has a special notice on the *Hwuy yen* or Respected Words.

[2] 避諱 or 諱法. The first of these expressions, *pi-hwuy*, was formerly *ti-vi*, as shown by the archaic sounds of the Sino-Annamite dialect. The *tepi* of Tahiti is much like it.

[3] *K'ang-hi Tze-tien*, 149-9, f. 87*v*. Cf. some interesting remarks in the *Ts'o tchuen*, Duke Hwan, year vi. 5 (*i.e.* in 706 B.C.). Also Medhurst, *Ancient China*, p. 371.

[4] Cf. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 266. A. de Rémusat, *Grammaire Chinoise*, pp. 16, 48. On the custom among the Annamites, cf. A. Bastian, *Sprachvergleichende Studien der Indochinesischen Sprachen*, p. 33. And similar customs, the *Tepi* of Tahiti, in Horatio Hale's *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. vii. p. 290; the *Ukholonipa* of the S. African Kafirs, in Appleyard, *The Kafir Language*, 1850, and Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd ser. vol. i. Cf. also E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 139, 147, 185-187.

[5] Cf. *Tung kien kang muh*, transl. De Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, vol. v. p. 393, vol. vi. p. 168 sq. De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. p. 201 sq. Mr. H. H. Howorth has treated of them in part v. of his researches on *The Northern Frontagers of China: The Khitai or Khitans* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1881).

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China as the Liao dynasty (916–1125). They had begun their incursions on Chinese territory unsuccessfully in 553 A.D., and successfully in 696. And continuing to do so until the final establishment of their just-quoted dynasty, they impeded the regular intercourse which had hitherto existed between the Djurtchen nation and the Chinese, without however stopping it altogether. But these relations had become so difficult and far between, that when a Djurtchen officer came to the Chinese Emperor Tai Tsung, of the Sung dynasty, in 991, asking for his intervention in favour of his people against the aggressiveness of the K'itan, he was met with an absolute refusal, which led to the submission of a part of them to their all-powerful antagonists.[1] Their old name of *Suktchen* or the like was then duly forgotten, and it is under the name of *Niutchen* that they are mentioned in Chinese history, from the time of the appearance of the K'itan. Therefore this variation in their appellative seems to have been caused by the latter. This surmise proves to be a fact, as shown in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, where it is distinctly stated that the K'itan used to call them *Liü-tchen* 虜 眞.[2] Bearing in mind their oldest name *Suhtchen*, the K'itan variant *Liütchen*, and the subsequent Chinese form *Niutchen*, we have to face two points of phonetic equivalence which are not altogether deprived of interest.

10. The equivalence of *li-* and *ni-* for a hissing or hushing consonant might be largely instanced, and is easily accounted for in physiological phonology. However small the remnants of the language of the K'itan may be, consisting only of some 55 words of Mongol-Tungusic kindredship, we find among them a collateral case nearly to the point. The K'itan *nungku* corresponds to the Tungusic *nungun*, and to the Buriat *zorgan*;[3] being a clear instance of the equivalence *n-*=*z-* in these languages. In the geographical history of Chinese phonetics, I have met many cases of equivalences of *L-* in the South-East for *Tch-* and *Sh-* of the North, North-

[1] *Tung kien kang muh*, *op.c.* vol. viii. pp. 116–117.
[2] *K'iu T'ang shu*, bk. 199.
[3] H. H. Howorth, *The Khitai or Khitan*, p. 4.

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East, and North-West. And the South-East does not mean further south than Kiangsu and N. Tchehkiang. The old consonant initial *Sh-*, preserved in the archaic phonology of the Sino-Annamite dialect, has often become *L-* in Mandarin Chinese. The ancient initials *s-*, *sh-*, *tch-*, *ts-*, still preserved in the less archaic phonology of the Cantonese dialect, have often become *Li-* in Mandarin Chinese. The initial *J-* of Standard Chinese is often pronounced as *L-* in Central Shantung.[1] Therefore the phonetic equivalence here alluded to is not unfrequent in these parts.

11. The fact that the *Liütchen* of the K'itan was written by the Chinese *Niütchen* may be easily accounted for by the regional phonetic equivalences between the dialects of the present day. For instance, an original *n-* initial often becomes *l-* at Nanking, and the tendency was formerly more extensive, as in Cantonese, which to a certain extent represents an early phase of the language, and where many words have kept the *n-* of former times. In Western China the change is a regular one. The sound-changes $n=l$ and $l=n$ are hard facts in East Asiatic phonology. In Yakut the suffix of plural is *-lar*, with euphonic changes of *l* to *t*, *d*, and *n*; in Turki it is *-lar*, *-nar*, or *-tar*; with the subordination of the vowel to the vocal harmony.

12. The various secondary points involved in a fuller discussion of the forms *Niutchen* or *Niutchik* need not be entered into at more length and with more completeness. It is quite clear, from what we have seen, that these forms are corrupted, and henceforth must be discarded.

13. Therefore we must return to the various forms which are wavering between *Suktchen*, *Djurtchen*, and *Djortchog*. The initial being pretty well ascertained to be a hissing or hushing sound, which various transcriptions in different times by several people of diverse races indicate to have been *Dj-*, we have now to examine and ascertain the existence of the medial *r* in olden times. The question comes to this: the Chinese orthoepy in olden times, *i.e.* before the thirteenth

[1] Cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, §§ 53–56.

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century, having no *r*, how did they represent it in transcribing foreign names? when they wanted to do so, as very often they were satisfied with an *à peu près*, and left the *r* altogether. Their processes of transcription have varied in time. But it would be out of place here to enter into so long a question, for the thorough study of which I have a long time ago gathered some material, in view of a special paper on rhotacism in China. Therefore it will be sufficient here to enumerate the five successive processes in chronological order.

I.) In the oldest time the *-r-* to be transcribed was supposed to be the final of a syllable, for which equivalence a Chinese syllable finishing with *-k* was selected. Acting in this way, the Chinese scribes were only true to a not infrequent sound-change in the Ugro-Altaic languages. For instance, Turk *dokuṣ* (طقوز), Tchuwash *turuch*, 'nine'; Turk *yumurta* (يمورطه), Tungusic *umukta*, 'egg'; Mongol *setser-lik* and *tsetsek-lik* 'nursery,' *dorokshi* and *doghokshi* 'away,' etc.[1] Therefore the transcriptions *Suk-shen*, *Tsik-shen*, for a name somewhat like Sur-shen, Tsir-shen, were as appropriate as could be.

II.) About the time of the Christian era, in the names of Central Asia a medial *r* was rendered in the same conditions as previously, but with a syllable finishing in *-n*.[2]

III.) Afterwards the influence of the Buddhist missionaries from India brought some changes. A more accurate transcription was sought for, and the *r* medial was looked upon as forming a syllable by itself, or being an initial of another instead of a final. The most approximate sound of Chinese phonology at the time, i.e. *l*, was taken as a regular substitute.[3]

IV.) The subsequent process was purely Chinese, and introduced as a simplification; it was a return to the former systems, which looked upon the *r* always as a final syllable.

[1] Cf. Wilhelm Schott, *Ueber das Altaische oder Finnisch-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht*, p. 118.

[2] I am glad to see that Dr. F. Hirth has independently arrived at the same conclusion in his *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 139.

[3] The *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanskrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois*, by Stan. Julien, is full of such instances. As initial *r* was rendered simply by *l* . . . or by *a-l* . . . or *ho-l* . . . Cf. *ibid.* p. 53.

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But the Chinese scribes had learned something of the physiological classification of sounds introduced among them by the Buddhist missionaries, though in many respects this classification is better fitted to the phonetic characteristics of an Indo-European language than to their own Chinese sounds. Instead of syllables in the *juh sheng* with a fading *k* final, they selected thence such syllables with a fading *-t* final.[1]

V.) The Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century has exercised a considerable influence on the Chinese sounds of the Northern provinces. One of the most striking was the passing of the three syllables rendered by 而, 耳, 兒, originally *ni*, afterwards *nji*, and at the time *ji*, to *erh*. This phenomenon solved the difficulty, and henceforth all the *r* of foreign names were transcribed by one or the other of these three symbols, and most generally by the third one.

None of these processes could supersede and cause the disappearance of the former systems, as tradition preserved the old spelling of well-known names, which were beyond the reach of innovation.

We have pointed out in the case of the name of the Djurtchen the application of the first process in olden times. I do not know any instance of the second, but the third process is exemplified in *Tchu-li-tchen*,[2] and the fifth was applied in the spellings *Tcho-erh-tche*, *Tchu-erh-tché*, and *Tchu-erh-tchék*.[3]

The existence of a medial *r* in the original form of the name, even in the Chinese garb of the oldest transcriptions known to us, cannot therefore be doubted.

14. Four different finals have appeared in the various transcriptions of the name. They are *-n*, *-i* or *-é*, *-g* or *-k*, and *-d*. The latter is simply a Mongol form, and occurs in *Djurtchid*, a form of the name as quoted in Mongol history. It is the dental suffix vocally harmonized to the stem, corre-

[1] Dr. F. Hirth, in his paper on *Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in Foreign Names* (*Journ. China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xxi. pp. 214–223), has collected many such instances. The learned author does not mention the first and fifth of the five processes here described.

[2] Cf. § 5.

[3] Cf. § 6.

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sponding to the Mandshu *-ta*, *-te*, Esthonian *-t*, Mordvin *-t*, Ostiak *-t*, etc., which in Mongol takes the place of a final *-n*.[1]

The *-g* or *-k* appears in the Uigur dictionary of the sixteenth century, and in several Chinese forms, the oldest of which dates from the eleventh century. There is no doubt also that this is a plural final foreign to the original name, but I am not ready to affirm under what immediate influence. The phenomenon is not unknown in the Ugro-Altaic languages, as we find it in Magyar and in Lapponic.

The *-i* or *-é* final is probably incomplete, and a shortened form of the regular plural in the Tungusic group to which the Djurtchen belonged.[2] In the standard dialect, the Tungusic Nyertchinsk, the sign of the plural is *-r* after the dropping of a final *-n*. But it may simply be the form in which both Tungus and Mongols could agree in speaking of the Djurtchen,[3] since their grammatical law required for both languages the disparition of the final *-n* of the original word and the addition of *-r* or *-d* respectively.

15. Therefore the ground is now made pretty clear. We have been able to ascertain that while the form *Niutchi* and similar ones are really corrupted, the other finals than *-n* are foreign to the original name. We may assume that, judging from the Mandshu, its nearest congener, the language of the Djurtchen did not make an absolute necessity of adding special affixes for the plural. Besides, let us remember that in the fragments of their vocabulary the final *-n* is preserved in the quotation of their own name. The spelling to be used, which answers to all that we know of the matter, must be DJURTCHEN and no other.

[1] For instance, the *Tun-hang* or *Tungwan*, forming the kingdom of the Si-hia in N.E. Tibet on N.W. China, between the years 881 and 1227, became the *Tangut* of the Mongols.

[2] The same thing occurred with the Liao or K'itan Tungus, who ruled over the northern part of China between the years 907 and 1225. Their name has become *K'itaï*, which is now the Russian appellative of China.

[3] For all these grammatical forms, cf., for the sake of convenience, the grammatical recensions in James Byrne, *General Principles of the Structure of Language*, vol. i. pp. 352–473. L. Adam, *La déclinaison Oural-Altaïque*, pp. 247–258 of *Revue de Linguistique*, tome iv. E. de Ujfalvy, *Etude comparée des langues Ougro-Finnoises*. in *Revue de Philologie*, tome i. And the special grammars of the languages spoken of.

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II. Language and Literature.

16. It is well known that the present dynasty of China is of Mandshu origin, and claims as its parents the Kin or Djurtchen dynasty, which ruled over Northern China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although the latest investigation on the matter by Dr. De Harlez shows their linguistic relationship to be more of a collateral than of a direct character.[1] The learned Professor of Louvain has carefully examined all the Djurtchen words which have been met with in the Chinese sources by Visdelou and Wylie. And the result of his careful comparison and study is, that out of 110 words: ten only can be found identical in Mandshu, whilst thirty are much like as many Mandshu words, but generally with suffixes somewhat different; fifty are altogether different from the corresponding words in Mandshu. A list of seventy-five proper names, collected by the same scholar, shows that forty-two might be explained by Mandshu words. As a conclusion, Prof. De Harlez says that "the Mandshus belong to the same ethnic family as the Niu-tchis (?), but they are not their direct descendants. Their language is closely connected with that of the Niu-tchis, the two being equally dialects of one and the same language, but these dialects are quite distinct, and present great discrepancies and at the same time great similarities."[2] We are certainly safe in adopting these conclusions, based upon the scanty materials in Chinese dress at the disposal of the author.[3]

[1] *Niu-tchis et Mandchous*, rapports d'origine et de langage (*Journal Asiatique*, 1888, 32 pp.).

[2] The Djurtchen language, so far as we can judge from the Chinese transcripts of its words, possessed the same degree of harmonization of vowels as its kindreds the Mandshu and Tungus languages. This remarkable phenomenon of the Turano-Scythian languages at large in various degrees, first pointed out with reference to the Ugro-Altaic languages since 1845 (Dr. J. L. Otto Rœhrig), 1849 (same author), 1850 (L. Dubeux), has been studied with care by M. Lucien Adam in 1874, from a functional point of view. In a recent paper by Herr Josef Grunzel, *Die Vocalharmonie der Altaischen Sprachen* (Wien, 1888), attention has been duly called to the physiological attractions of the vowels as an explanation of the phenomenon. Prof. Victor Henry, the successor of the lamented Abel Bergaigne in his chair of Sanskrit in Paris, has rightly remarked (*Revue critique*, 18 Feb. 1889), in his recension of the paper, that the vocalic attractions in their activity must find a resistance or a help in the respective force of the classes of consonants.

[3] *Niu-tchis et Mandchous*, p. 31.

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17. But in my opinion we must not press too much the question, until we have at hand the new materials promised by Dr. F. Hirth, of Shanghaï, who has been able to get in China a complete and perfect manuscript copy of a precious work, the *Hwa-Y yh yü*.[1] This work consists of vocabularies and documents in eight foreign languages, published formerly by the *Sze Y Kwan*,[2] the College of Interpreters at Peking.[3] One of the vocabularies consists of 881 words in the Djurtchen language and writing, with the Chinese transcription and translation.[4] Dr. Hirth tells me that he intends to publish it very soon in facsimile, so as to permit its thorough study and decipherment by scholars acquainted with Mandshu. The announced publication of this extensive vocabulary will permit the decipherment of one of the unknown writings of the Djurtchen, and of the inscriptions and texts written therewith.

[1] 華夷譯語.—This work was begun as early as 1389. In the year 1382, under the Yuen dynasty, a Mongol named Hwo-yuen-Kieh, was commanded to translate some Mongolian texts. He wrote in 1389 a work in two volumes called *Hwa Y yh yü*. This dictionary, Chinese and barbarian, is said to have been completed afterwards by the Persian division of the College of Interpreters. It was preceded by a preface from the pencil of Liu San-wu, and was composed on the same system as a previous work of the same kind, *Mung-Ku yh yü* due apparently to the same Hwo-yuen-Kieh. (From a MS. note kindly communicated to me by M. G. Devéria, lately Secretary of the French Legation at Peking, who has collected a large quantity of notes in view of a history of the College of Interpreters.)

[2] 四夷館 under the Ming dynasty. Now it is called 四譯館.

[3] Established in 1407. The languages taught there were Tartaric (Mongol) Djurtchen, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Persian, Pai-y, Uigur and Burmese. Seven students in 1469 and twelve in 1483 were in the Djurtchen class. M. G. Devéria, gives me also the following information on a work in his possession (MS. note). In 1580, Wang tsang tsai, a former administrator of the college, and governor of the Kiang-si province, wrote in two vols., called *Sze Y Kwan K'ao*, "Researches for Use at the College of Interpreters," some historical notices on the peoples, which the students of the College must study, "notices," says the author, "which ought to be placed at the beginning of the special vocabularies of each class of the College," *pien yü k'oh kwan yh yü tchi shou*. As every section of the work of Wang tsang tsai corresponds to one of the ten classes of the *Sze Y Kwan* where the Djurtchen formed the fifth class, M. G. Devéria concludes that printed vocabularies of the various classes existed already under the Ming dynasty. This distinguished Sinologist thinks, that the work of the same title, published after 1695 or in 1749 by Kiang-fan, described in the Imperial Catalogue (K. 83, f. 82) and quoted in fragments by P. Amiot, is the same work, with addition of an appendix, containing the petitions which have been copied by the Missionary for the Bibliothèque Nationale, and suppression of all that concerned the Mongols and Djurtchens.

[4] F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*, pass., and *Journ. China Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xxii. p. 207, April, 1888.

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18. With the help of these documents, we may expect soon some more information about the Djurtchen language. The dialectal relationship advocated by Prof. De Harlez, instead of the parentship with the Mandshu thought of by previous scholars, will be strengthened or shown to consist only in the variants which may be found anywhere when taking a language at two distant periods of its existence, especially in the case of a language still unfixed by literature. The literary period of the Djurtchen did not last long, and could not have exercised a sufficient influence to crystallize the forms of the language, and secure its predominance over its co-dialects. Many Djurtchen words have a wider kindredship than the Mandshu. For instance, *wolito* 'tent, court,' Mandshu *ordo*, is the same word as the K'itan *wuluto* and Mongol *ordu*.[1] The words *ancun* 'gold,' *hishilie* 'high,' for which Prof. De Harlez has no Mandshu kindreds, are certainly, albeit their Chinese garb, allied to the K'itan *nanku* and *asra*, which have the same meanings.

19. The relationship of the Djurtchen language to the Mandshu was known to the Chinese, as shown by the following fact. During the reign of Kien-lung, new editions of the histories of the *K'itan* or *Liao*, *Djurtchen* or *Kin*, and *Yuen* or *Mongol* dynasties, were issued, with extensive changes made in the spellings of the proper names therein, according to the views of the committee of editors. These changes have made the Kienlung edition unserviceable for historical and geographical investigations, and it was forbidden by imperial edict to employ in future any of the original spelling when quoting these names.[2] In 1781 the Emperor ordered the same committee to explain the meaning of the names in their new spelling. It is reported that they employed[3] the Mandshu for the names of the Djurtchen, the dialect of the Solons

[1] The *Urdu* of India.

[2] Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. i. pp. 181–182.

[3] *Sze k'u-tsuan shu tsang muh*, G. Devéria, *op.c.* p. 175. The *Liao Kin Yuen shih yü kiai*, which was compiled for that purpose, gives also the original spelling of the names. Cf. E. Bretschneider, *ibid.*

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for the names of the K'itan,[1] and the Mongol for those of the Yuen dynasties.

20. But if the Chinese knew of the relationship, did their behaviour towards the Djurtchen show that they did not consider it as close as a parentship to the Mandshu? We doubt greatly that their linguistic capabilities should have been equal to the emergency. The cumbrous system of the Djurtchen characters was all the difference to them. It seems most likely that when their dynasty was overthrown by the Mongols, those of the Djurtchen who returned to their northern steppes and nomadic life soon lost the light varnish of culture which they had acquired while in contact with the Chinese. Their influence on their sister tribes in language and race came therefore to naught. The Djurtchen characters however continued to be taught by the Chinese until 1658 at the College of Interpreters at Peking, but they were then a dead language, as a hundred years had elapsed since Djurtchen envoys had been interpreted by the eight special teachers of the College.[2] The event of 1557 shows that these characters lived more than four centuries, and therefore had outlived the actual writing of the Yuen-Mongol dynasty, the Bashpa characters. The latter had dragged along a scanty existence of some eighty-five years,[3] without having even reached any literary existence; and this, notwithstanding the mighty power of the Emperors of the Mongol-Yuen dynasty, which happened to be less strong than the hold of the Uigur alphabet was on the writing community, as they were compelled to adapt

[1] The *Solons* (a Mongol name meaning 'shooter'), also called *Manyarçs* (cf. the Turkish *menyak* 'prince'), on the upper waters of the Amur, claim to descend from the ancient subjects of the Kin dynasty; cf. H. H. Howorth, *The Ethnology of Mandchuria*, p. 21 (*The Phœnix*, 1871, vol. ii.). A very intelligent Solon has assured Mr. H. H. Howorth that his language was different from either Mandshu or Mongol. Cf. H. H. Howorth, *The Northern Frontagers of China*, V. *The Khitai or Khitans*, p. 7 (*J.R.A.S.* April, 1881).

[2] In 1658 the Tartar and Djurtchen languages were abandoned as branches of the college, because these two languages were henceforth taught in the schools of the Mongol and Mandshu banners then included in the Empire (G. Devéria, MS. note) or because, for the Mongol, there was less difficulty since the accession to the throne of a Mandshu family, and for the Djurtchen, its literature was then extinct.

[3] A.D. 1269-1354.

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it to the requirements of their language in the years 1307–1311.

21. The Djurtchen rulers had made powerful efforts to develope literary taste among their people, and resist the Chinese encroachments in that respect.[1] We see, for instance, their fifth ruler (Kin dynasty), She-Tsung Ulu, attempt repeatedly in the years 1173, 1176, 1185, and 1187, to promote the study and maintenance of their own language and writing.[2] In 1197 Tchang Tsung Madagu reiterates the same enactments concerning the use of the national writing.[3] Special schools were established in the years 1164, 1171, 1173, 1188, etc., with a regular system of examinations by gradual degrees, in imitation of the Chinese organization. Translations were made of important Chinese works. For instance, in 1164 the Annals of the T'ang dynasty were translated in this way;[4] the Chinese text was first translated in the small Khitan characters, and afterwards transcribed in Djurtchen characters. Let us remark that such a process would have been impossible with any other system than that of ideographic symbols. And at the same date the *Shu-King* was translated in the great and small national characters. A translation of the Annals of the Western Han appeared in 1176.[5] The *Hiao-King*, *Yh-King*, *Lun-yu*, the works of *Mengtze*, *Laotze*, *Yangtze*, *Wentchungtze*, and the History of the Posterior T'ang dynasty, were translated and distributed. A catalogue of the Chinese Imperial Library during the Ming dynasty gives a list of fifteen Djurtchen works therein,[6] which show that the translations were still more extensive than that. Not having the original text within my reach, I can only judge through the transcriptions of the Chinese symbols of the list. These are the *Kia-yü*, the *Peh kia sing*,

[1] In 1151 their fourth ruler, *Wan-yan-liang Digunai*, had established a central college in imitation of the famous *Kwoh tze Kien* of the Chinese. Cf. De Harlez, *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin*, p. 85; De Mailla, *Histoire*, vol. viii. p. 550.

[2] Cf. C. De Harlez, *ibid.* pp. 129, 136, 156, 166.

[3] G. Devéria, *Stèle de Yen-t'aï*, p. 180 n.

[4] *Mantohōu Yuan len*, bk. 7, f. 11, in G. Devéria, *Stèle de Yen-t'aï*, p. 179.

[5] *Tsien Han Shu*, by Panku; in some lists *Panku shu*.

[6] *Wen yuen koh shu muh*, bk. 18, p. 2; in A. Wylie, *On an Ancient Inscription in the Neuchih Language*; *Ancient Buddhist Inscription*, p. 36; and L. de Rosny, *Les Niutchih*, p. 187.

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and several Taoist but not Buddhist books; also several anthologies, besides two works which are peculiarly interesting for us here: *Niu-tchih-tze tze muh* or 'List of the Niu-tchih Written characters,' and the *Niu-tchih-tze tze-wei pin shu*, which seems to me to have been a dictionary. The possession of such works would be most valuable, and some may perhaps still be found in the private libraries so numerous in China. But all the titles show that there was no national literature, no original author; all the works, with the exception of the pedagogical last two, are translations from the Chinese.

22. The Emperor Kienlung, who published in 1772 a new and enlarged edition of the great Mandshu Chinese Mirror (such is the name of the Mandshu dictionaries), of which the first edition had been issued in 1708, states in his introduction that a dictionary, or dictionaries, of the languages of the *Kin* and of the *Yuen*, compiled by his orders, had been published.[1] The recovery of this Djurtchen dictionary is highly desirable, but I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. It is perhaps that of which a MS. copy has luckily fallen into the hands of Dr. F. Hirth, though his vocabulary is one of those published by the College of Interpreters, where, as we have seen, the teaching of the Djurtchen language had been discontinued in 1658. This scholar thinks for that reason, and because the linguistic documents therein belong to the period of the Ming, that the original work is somewhat older than the aforesaid date. He may be right, but then his MS. copy would be that of an enlarged edition. Indeed the work seems to have been published several times.

23. The British Museum has recently acquired a printed copy of the work through Dr. Edkins, in a dilapidated and almost illegible condition. Missing folios have been supplied in MS. It contains the following vocabularies:

[1] The statement has been translated by Prof. C. de Harlez, *Niu-tchis et Mandchous*, p. 30, as follows from the preface of the *Miroir augmenté de la langue Mandchoue*: "J'ai donné l' ordre," says the Emperor Kien-Lung, "de composer un dictionnaire explicatif des langues des royaumes de Kin et Mongol. . . . Je l'ai fait publier. . . . Maintenant j'ai fait achever le *Miroir augmenté et fixé définitivement de la langue Mandchoue*."

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Pai-y	103	ff. about	780	words.
Mien-tien (Burmese)	93	„	702	„
Si-fan (Tibetan)	104	„	780	„
Hwui-hwui (Persian)	108	„	820	„
Papehsihfu	108	„	820	„
Kaotchang (Uigur)	109	„	820	„

The number of the words I estimate at eight per page, with the exception of the front pages, where there are only two, in each of the twenty sections of the vocabularies.[1]

This copy consists only of six volumes printed apparently in the seventeenth century; but as it does not contain any documental part, it is incomplete, and therefore some vocabularies may be also missing. But we may remark, however, that these volumes belong to another edition, probably earlier than the two other editions we know of the same work. The number of words, not to speak of the languages, is smaller; for instance, it contains about 820 Uigur words only, against 914 and 988.

24. In the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the MS. copy,[2] sent by Father Amiot in the last century, is more complete and consists of sixteen tomes in seventeen volumes, nine of vocabularies and eight of documents, of the Ming period. Besides the six languages above named, there are two more, Sanskrit (very short) and Siamese.

25. Now the MS. copy belonging to Dr. F. Hirth is the most extensive; ten volumes of vocabularies and fourteen of documents. Two languages more are given in vocabularies and documents, the Mongol, otherwise the language of the Yuen dynasty, and the Djurtchen of the Kin dynasty. These are the very two languages mentioned in 1772 by the Emperor Kienlung as those of which dictionaries had been compiled and published by his orders. Surely it cannot be a coincidence. The differences that we know of between the work

[1] They are classified by order of matter, beginning as usual with heaven, earth, seasons, etc.

[2] List Stan. Julien, 986, my work *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 114. The copy in the British Museum was not mentioned there, because it was entered after the composition of that work.

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represented by this MS. copy and those represented in Paris and London do not come from incompleteness of the two latter. There is between the three copies a gradual increase in the number of words, as shown by the figures we have given of the Uigur words. The arrangement also is different;[1] in the Paris copy the Tibetan vocabulary is divided into two volumes,[2] while in Dr. Hirth's copy it occupies only one,[3] but probably as large as the other two.

26. We know something of these improvements of the vocabularies of the College of Interpreters, which existed partly in 1580.[3] In 1748, by order of the Emperor Kien-lung, printed copies were sent to the proper governors of provinces, in order that they should be verified and corrected.[4]

[1] None of the three copies show the original order or the vocabularies.

[2] A. Rémusat, *De l'Etude des langues étrangères chez les chinois*, p. 8 (*Magazin Encyclopédique*, 1811).

[3] F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*, p. 213, l.c.

[4] G. Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite*, p. 104. The decree of 1748 analysed in the *Ta Ts'ing huei tien* runs thus in the translation made by M. G. Devéria. "J'ai vu, dit l'Empereur Kien-lung, tous les écrits Tibétains et autres, conservés dans le Collège des Interprètes, ils sont divisés par ordre de matières dont chaque objet est accompagné de la traduction et de sa prononciation, mais je n'ai pu contrôler par moi-même que la partie relative à la langue Tibétaine et j'ai pu ainsi constater qu'elle n'est exempte ni d'erreurs ni d'omissions. . . . . Il existe déjà des recueils de ces différentes litteratures, il convient de les mettre en ordre et de les reviser en sections par ordre de matières et en former ensuite un tout selon ce qui a déjà été fait pour le Tibétain. . . . . On nous présentera ensuite les copies manuscrites de ces recueils, puis enfin on les remettra aux bureaux des Collège des Interprètes où ils témoigneront de la prospérité des littératures réunies (du polyglottisme)." When the *Ta Ts'ing huei tien* was compiled, the editors have remarked at this occasion that the College of Interpreters preserved writings of ten nations: *Huy-huy* or Persian; *Kao-tchang* or Uigur; *Si-fan* or Tibetan; *Si-tien* or India; *Sien-lo* or Siam; *Mien-tien* or Burma; *Pai-y*, a Shan people; *Pa-peh* or Shans of Xiengmai; *Su-lu*, and Wan-shang or Laocian of Vien-chan. In 1810, the revisers of the Great Encyclopedia of Administration discovered a manuscript work containing these ten sorts of writings, and formerly the property of the College of Interpreters, to which it was returned by Imperial command. M. G. Devéria, has had the good fortune of purchasing in Peking in 1879 a MS. work which answers to the description, and according to all possibilities is the very one spoken of. It is called the 會同四譯館各國番字書 *Huei tung sse yh kuan k'oh kwoh fan tze hua*, in thirteen volumes, containing ten vocabularies of the languages quoted above. The dates are indicated for the Siamese 1577, Sulu 1755, and Laocian 1762.—Mr. G. Devéria, from whose MS. note I have derived the above information, has been kind enough to send me a specimen of twenty-six words of the Sulu vocabulary. I find them to be exact representatives of the language of the Sulu archipelago on the N.W. of Borneo, with which the Chinese were in relation already under the Ming dynasty (cf. *Ming she*, k. 325). It is reported there that in 1417, the Eastern and the Western Kings (i.e. Kings of E. and W. Sulu) and the King of Klaibatangan (of N.E. Borneo) came to the Chinese court. For further details, cf. the extracts translated

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It must have been a difficult task to perform in some cases, as, for instance, for the Djurtchen, which was apparently extinct. But there is no indication that such a vocabulary existed previously; it may have been compiled to complete the series, and this would explain the special notice made by Kienlung of such a vocabulary compiled by his orders.[1]

27. The bilingual documents, Chinese and Djurtchen, contained in the above-mentioned complete copy of the *Hwa-y yh yü* are most promising for the study of the language and for history. Dr. Hirth states that they consist of twenty memorials. In these texts he has found mention made of several years in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; one address speaks of the sixty or seventy years which have elapsed since the reign of Tcheng-t'ung (A.D. 1436 to 1450).[2]

The publication of these documents, like that of the vocabulary, is most desirable. We may therefore expect that their language will not long remain unknown to comparative philology, and we may say that it will be a most welcome and valuable contribution to our scanty knowledge on documental evidence of the Ugro-Altaic languages in former times. We have some Mongol texts of the thirteenth century, and some Uigur ones of the tenth. Chinese literature has preserved for us the shadows of Turkish words of the fifth century, and, what is more astonishing, and probably still unknown to many, some Corean words of the second century before our era. Besides, we must go to the Magyar known in the twelfth century, or then to more remote languages of the same stock and families, such as the Japanese seventh century, the Medo-Scythic of the sixth century B.C., and the Sumero-Akkadian dialects very much older. The close connection of the Djurtchen language of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries to the Mandshu, known only in the

in W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources*, pp. 100-106.

[1] In the *Yh she k'i yü* of 1696? reprinted in the *Lung-wei-pi-shu* of 1794, sect. ix., there is a Mongol vocabulary, along with others of the Persian, Pai-y, Ugric, Burmese, Papeh, Sanskrit, and Tibetan languages. The Tibetan part contains 740 words in 20 sections, covering 103 pages. The Sanskrit is represented by 42 Devanagari characters.

[2] F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*, p. 216.

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seventeenth, makes it peculiarly interesting in the view of the natural evolution of these languages.[1]

III. Written Characters.

28. The Djurtchen had two sets of written characters; the Large characters made up of the calligraphic elements of the Chinese *Kiai-shu*[2] or pattern-hand characters, and about a thousand in number, were issued by decree in the eighth month of 1119, and ordered to be generally used. The second set of characters was framed in 1138 by the Emperor of the Kin-Djurtchen himself, and brought into use officially in the fifth month of the year 1145, as the Djurtchen characters;[3] after 1191 it was the sole writing in use.[4]

29. The Large Djurtchen characters, which were little more than an adaptation and selection of the K'itan characters,[5] are represented by the bilingual inscription of the Lang-kiun

[1] The Djurtchen language must take its place in the Tungusian group, Mandshu division, which according to recent investigations is no part of the Altaic class of the Ugro-Altaic languages. According to Dr. Heinrich Winkler: *Uralaltaische Völker und Sprachen*, Berlin, 1884, p. 479, and *Das Uralaltaische und seine Gruppen*, Berlin, 1885, who has more deeply studied the subject than previous writers, these languages, in consequence of their grammatical elements, must be divided otherwise than before, namely, into two large groups: 1) Mongol-Turk; 2) Finno-Samoyèd-Tungus-Japanese. Therefore the general classification of the Turano-Scythian stock given in my *Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 231, must be thus far rectified with reference to these two groups:

1) *S. W. Asiatic*: Sumero-Akkadian, &c.
2) *Uralic*: Ugro-Finnish; Samoyed; Tungusic; Japanese.
3) *Altaic*: Turkish; Mongol.
4) *Küenlunic*: Kotte; Chinese; Tibeto-Burmese.
5) *Himalaic*: Dravidian; Gangetic; Kolarian; Andaman; Australian.
6) *Kush-Caucasic*: N. Caucasian; Alarodian; etc.
7) *Euskarian*.

[2] *Kin she*, bk. ii. f. 14; *Hung kien luh*, bk. 214, f. 14; *Shu she huy yao*. A. Wylie, *Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung Kwan*, p. 37 (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. 1870). G. Devéria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-taï, Dissertation sur les caractères d'écriture employés par les Tartares Jou-tchen*, p. 174 (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. i. 1882).

[3] *Kin she*, bk. iii. f. 27; *Hung kien luh*, bk. 215, f. 13; A. Wylie, *ibid.*; cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, §§ 108–109.

[4] The *Aisin gurun-i suduri bithe*, translated by Prof. De Harlez, *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin* ou *Empire d'Or* (Louvain, 1887), mentions slightly the first of the two writings, p. 35, and says nothing of the other.

[5] Only five characters of the K'itan writing have been preserved as such, in the *Shu she huy hiao* or 'History of Writing,' and in the Topography of the Tcheng-teh Prefecture. Cf. A. Wylie, *Inscription of Keu-yung Kwan*, *o.c.* p. 37, and G. Devéria, *Stèle de Yen-taï*, *o.c.* p. 177. To these must be added those of the engraved fish-badge in the possession of Dr. S. W. Bushell, which were much like the writing of the Lang-Kiun inscription in Large Djurtchen character, but there

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Salikan in 1134, published several times already in Europe,[1] and of which the real nature, contents and date are known by the Chinese version. But the separate value of the characters has not yet been recognized.

30. As to the Djurtchen characters, also called the Small, in contradistinction to the Large, no certainty existed as to their real nature. A. Wylie thought them to be one of the six written languages of the Buddhist inscription of Keu-yung Kwan in Northern Tchihli, erected in 1345, and he published them accordingly in 1870. But this identification was a mistake. My friend Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Peking, came into possession of the squeeze of an inscription from Shensi province, described as written in the characters of Si-Hia, or Tangut, and he was able to identify these characters with the unknown ones of the inscription of Keu-yung Kwan. This similarity looked suspicious, and Mr. G. Devéria, in 1882, in publishing the inscription of Yen-t'aï,[2] near K'ai fung fu, (Honan) in another writing also unknown, was on the right path in casting doubts on the attribution proposed by Wylie. The question, however, can no more be a matter of uncertainty, as the legends of the well-ascertained coins of the kingdom of Tangut (N.E. Tibet and N.W. China) from the precious

is no certainty in this statement, as we do not know exactly whether this specimen was K'itan or Djurtchen, though it appears from the records that the Djurtchen at the beginning of their dynasty have made use of K'itan characters. The fish-badge was an old institution among these races. The *Puh-haï* of the N.W. (cf. *supra*, § 1, n. 1) used to bestow fish-badges in gold or silver. Wells Williams, in his *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 119, describes "*Pei Kin yü*, a prince royal among the K'itans, because he wore a fish made of gold," but I do not know his authority for this interesting statement. In the *K'ang hi tze tien*, 195, f. 1, a quotation is given from the *Kin she, yü fuh tchi*, from which it appears that the relatives of the Djurtchen King, as far as the fourth degree, wore a jade fish, which badge in the latter case was made only in gold, while the relatives of a more distant rank were simply entitled to a silver one. Now the specimen which was in the hands of Dr. Bushell, neither in jade, gold or silver, was 2¾ inches in length, ⅞ inch in width, one side convex, ornamented with scales inlaid with silver, the other flat, with the engraved inscription of which he kindly sent me a rubbing (27 May, 1881). M. G. Devéria, who has seen the object in question, writes to me (24 March, 1889) that it was the half incuse of a seal of command, implying the existence of another half with the same inscription in relief to fit in the former.

[1] Neumann, *Asiatische Studien*, 1837, p. 41. P. Hyacinthe, in his Russian work on the Statistics of China. A. Wylie, *On an Ancient Inscription in the Neuchih Language*, 1860 (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XVII. pp. 331-345). L. de Rosny, *Les Niutchih, leur langue et leur écriture*, 1872 (*Archives Paléographiques*, vol. i.).

[2] *Stèle de Yen-t'aï*, l.c. p. 185.

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Tamba collection, now in the British Museum,[1] prove most positively to be written with the same characters as those of the Keu-yung Kwan inscription. That the latter was written in ancient Devanagari, Utchen Tibetan, Bashpa Mongol, Uigur, Tangutan, and Chinese characters, must now be looked upon as an ascertained fact.

31. On the other hand, what could be the writing of the Yen-t'aï inscription? The characters, though much like the Large Djurtchen of the Lang-kiun inscription, are certainly much more simple; while on the latter stela the characters are generally twofold, as if composed of two signs, those of Yen-taï are simple and do not present the same double appearance. Mr. G. Devéria suggested that they might be either the Small K'itan or the Small Djurtchen characters. It is the last suggestion which I find to be the true fact. Dr. F. Hirth has already published some specimens of the Djurtchen characters from the vocabulary of his MS. copy of the *Hwa y yh yü*.[2] Now these specimens numbering thirty-six different characters, show unmistakably that they belong to the same set of characters as that of the inscription of Yen-t'aï, which therefore must be looked upon as a monument of the proper Djurtchen writing. Its decipherment will be now possible, after the publication of the Djurtchen vocabulary and the identification of the characters individually.

32. This recovery of a Djurtchen vocabulary in the Small character clears singularly the ground about several of the various writings which the unlettered Tartar nations, coming into contact with the civilized, or at least lettered, countries of China, Tibet, and Ugric lands, were compelled to have invented for themselves. The present state of our knowledge on the subject is still deficient, as may be seen from

[1] There are two specimens in the British Museum. Dr. S. W. Bushell had himself two in his private collection, of which he had kindly sent me some rubbings. Some are figured by Li Tsohien, in his remarkable numismatic work *Ku Tsiuen hui*, sect. li. bk. xv. f. 8. They were issued between the years 1049-1120. Cf. my *Beginnings of Writing*, § 104.

[2] Dr. F. Hirth was on a wrong track when, in the paper (p. 209) already referred to, he expressed as his opinion that the characters of his Djurtchen vocabulary were the same as those of Keu-yung kwan, which he does not seem to have seen at the time.

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the following explanatory list of these six writings, all short-lived in Central Asia in the Middle Ages:

A.D. 920. The *K'itai* or Liao Tartars. Large characters, several thousands. Not ten are known. Small characters. Unknown.

A.D. 1030. *Tangut* or Si-Hia. Writing now identified. Represented by coins and the inscription of Keu-yung kwan (7th version).

A.D. 1119. *Djurtchen* or Kin Tartars. Large characters, about a thousand. Partly known and deciphered. Inscription of the Liang-kiun Salikhan.

A.D. 1145. (Same.) Small characters. Just identified; undeciphered. Vocabulary of 881 words (Dr. F. Hirth). Inscription of Yen-t'aï.

A.D. 1269. Yuen or Mongol. *Bashpa* characters, 41 in number. Known and deciphered. Coins, inscriptions, and texts. A syllabary in Dr. S. W. Bushell's possession.

IV. Conclusion.

33. The efforts of their rulers, which we have alluded to, never succeeded in making the Djurtchen a literary people. The knowledge of writing was most probably the share of a class, and not of the mass, as they never were able to issue a coinage with legends in their own characters,[1] as the Tanguts, the Mongols, and the early Mandshus have done. However, we must remember that the Chinese contrived to have teachers and interpreters of Djurtchen at their College of Interpreters until 1658, and this not without purpose, though no occasion of the official utility of these interpreters is quoted after 1558. Towards the end of the same century (*i.e.* 1582) the Chinese claim to have played the part of peacemakers and honest brokers between the three divisions into which the Djurtchen were then separated.[2] After the overthrow of their dynasty

[1] They began to issue coins in 1156, but with Chinese legends.

[2] According to De Mailla (vol. x. p. 341) their three divisions were located as follows: 1) the unsubdued Niutchi used to trade east of Kai-yuen; 2) the Peh-kwan Niutchi near Tchin Pehkwan; 3) the Nan-kwan Niutchi near Kwang-tchung-kwan.

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from Northern China in 1234, they had withdrawn generally northwards of the Liao tung province, and the bulk of them were thus on the west of the seat of the Mandshus.

34. The latter claim to have reached something of a political unity, on the immediate south of the Long White Mountain (*Tchang peh shan*)[1] under a chieftain of the name of *Aisin gioro*, or Golden Gioro, whose personal character is rather legendary. Whatever proportion of Djurtchen tribes the Mandshus[2] may have swallowed up in their actual and subsequent concentration, it is quite clear that they did not inherit much of their literary culture, if any at all. They had fallen under the influence of the Mongols, and it was the language of the latter, and therefore their written characters, which were used for the political relations. The great convenience and strength of the Mongol alphabet and syllabary, which had proved stronger than the imperial power of Kubilai Khan and his successors, assumed once more its hold; and in A.D. 1599, when their ruler Tai Tsu Dergi wanted a special writing for his people, there was no question of reviving the old Djurtchen characters, which they might have attempted to do if this writing had been that of their immediate ancestors. They seem to have ignored it altogether, and it is the Mongol writing which they were required simply to adapt.

35. The Djurtchen and Mandshus descended from one single trunk, but they had diverged in course of time, and the position of the former towards the latter seems to me simply that of elder cousins. As to the claim put forth by the Chinese Emperor K'anghi that he was a descendant of the royal family of the Kin dynasty, by the Wangtai, or chief of the

[1] This famous mountain has recently been described by Mr. H. E. M. James in the record of his special journey, *The Long White Mountain*, or A Journey in Manchuria (London, Longmans, 1888). Long White Mountains is the translation of the Chinese *Tchang peh shan*. On our maps the name is *Shan Alin Mountains*, where I beg to remark we have the same word in three languages: *Shan* is mountain in Chinese, *Alin* is mountain in Mandshu.

[2] Cf. *Manju* in the *Manju gisun-i buleku bithe*, extract published by Prof. C. de Harlez, p. 2. Also by the same author, *Manuel de la langue Mandchoue*, p. 5. Mr. Edward Harper Parker has contributed to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xv. part i. pp. 83-92, an article on *The Manchus*, about their various tribes past and present, but he does not give any authority for his statements, some of which are peculiar.

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Nan-Kwan Djurtchen,[1] there is no impossibility in the fact, without implying the identity of the two peoples. An argument in favour of this view may be found in the present pigtail or hairdressing of the Chinese.

36. It is well known that the *pien-tze* or *tiao-pien*[2] is comparatively a recent introduction. It was imposed upon them by their conquerors the Mandshus, for whom it was a national and distinctive fashion in 1627, when they had just begun their conquest of China, and were still in the northern province of Liao-tung or Shing-king.[3] In so doing they were only repeating what their kindred predecessors, the Djurtchen, had done in 1129. All the subjects of the state had been then forbidden to wear the Chinese costume, and ordered to submit to their style of tonsure, under penalty of death.[4]

37. From the present Mandshus, the practice cannot be traced back direct to any other people than to the Kin-Djurtchen, and therefore it looks somewhat like a heirloom in direct descent. Going further back, we can trace, though not exactly, the ascendant line, as one reference only to such a peculiar custom is made in the descriptions of one of the probable ancestral tribes of the Djurtchen. We find a description of it, at a much earlier date, namely, in Chinese documents of about 285 A.D., as peculiar to the *Mo-huy*[5] tribe in the north of Liao-tung. In this tribe of the Tungusic family, and therefore kindred in the ancestral line to the Djurtchen and Mandshus, the men used to shave their heads and leave only a tuft of hair on the top, which they looked upon as an ornament.[6] Their Tungusic parentage described

[1] De Mailla, vol. x. p. 406. P. Gaubil, *Histoire de Gentchis-Kan*, p. 87.

[2] This style of tonsure consists of shaving the hair all round the head, leaving only to grow to their full length and plaiting in one cue the hairs of the top of the head.

[3] Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. i. p. 761.

[4] *Li tai Ti Wang nien piao*, Nan Sung, f. 17. *Tung Kian Kang muh*, or 'Histoire générale de la chine,' transl. De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 486.

[5] 莫槐. *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 801, f. 3*v*. The *Yü-wen* and the *Mo-huy* are described together, but the hairdress is specially described as that of the Mo-huy.

[6] *Höu Wei Shu*. The text runs thus:

莫槐之人皆翦髮而留其頂上以爲飾.

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in the *Peh she*, and the similarity of their name *Mo-huy* to that of the *Mo-ho*,[1] *Mu-ki* (Wu-ki mod.), one of the ancestral tribes of the Djurtchen, show their kinship with the more modern followers of this curious fashion. In the intricacy of all these tribes, Tungusic, Turkish, Mongol, Corean and Sienpi, and the numerous interminglings which occurred between them, any clue may be of help.

38. The aforesaid fashion is so peculiar that the Chinese writers have carefully described it when they knew of it, and as it is not mentioned with reference to any other tribes, nor is it alluded to as proper to the hegemonic family, though it looks as if it were so, we must accept it only as an indication of a close kindredship of the two races, and a closer link between the ruling families.

39. The kinship of the Mandshu rulers with the ancient Kin dynasty was looked upon by the founders of the present dynasty of China as suggesting a revival of the old dynastic appellative, and at the beginning they took for themselves the name of *Kin posteriors*[2] (in Pekinese *Hou-Tchin*), but other counsels prevailed afterwards, and the name of *Ts'ing* "pure" (in Pekinese *Tch'ing*), was finally selected.

[1] Cf. *supra*, § 3, and C. de Harlez, *Histoire de l'Empire de Kin*, p. 2.

[2] "Dr. E. Bretschneider a trouvé que les Mandchous, dans leur commencement, se sont intitulés d'abord *Kin* posterieurs; des leur arrivée en China leurs princes allèrent sacrifier dans la sépulture des Kin aux environs de Peking. Il leur convenait évidemment alors dans un intérêt politique de se réclamer d'une dynastie qui avait déjà régné sur la Chine."—G. Devéria.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January-March, 1889.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

18*th February*, 1889.—Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The election by the Council of Mr. Agamoor as Resident, and of Mr. E. G. Browne, Lecturer in Persian, Cambridge, and Mr. Inouyé (Tokio, Japan) as Non-Resident Members was announced to the Society.

Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum, gave an account of the coins and antiquities bequeathed to the Museum by the late Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī. The paper will appear in full in the Journal.

The following gifts to the Society were announced:

From the Rev. Dr. Morris.—Chinese Dictionary. By Wells Williams.

From the Government of Bengal.—Epigraphia Indica, and Record of the Archæological Survey of India. Folio. Calcutta, 1888.

From the Sabda Kalpa Druma Office, Calcutta.—Vol. II. Parts 14–17. Vol. III. Part 1.

18*th March*, 1889.—Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

Mr. Hewitt read extracts from Part II. of his "Notes on Early Indian History," and explained the migrations of the tribes referred to on a large map kindly lent for the occasion

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by the Royal Geographical Society. The paper appears in full in this issue of the Journal.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Mr. Howorth, M.P., took part.

The following gifts to the Society were announced:

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1887.—Bengal, Report on the Administration of, for the year 1887-8. Folio. Calcutta, 1889.—Bombay, Administration Report, 1887-8. Folio. Bombay, 1889.

From the French Government.—Guimét. Révue de l'histoire des Religions, vol. xviii. No. ii. Sept. et Oct. 1888.—De Clerq (M.) et M. J. Ménant. Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonnée de la Collection De Clerq. Antiquities Assyriennes, vol. i. Large folio. Paris, 1888.

From the Government of the Netherlands.—Goeje (M. J. de) et M. Th. Houtsma. Catalogus Codicum Arabicorum Bibliothicæ Academiæ Lugduno-Batavorum. Vol. i. 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1888.

From the Secretary R.A.S.—The Bijou of Asia, vol. i. Nos. 1, 2. Kioto, Japan, 1888.

From the Editor.—Borsari (Prof. Ferdinando).—Geografia Ethnologica e Storica della Tripolitana, Cirenaica, e Fezzan. 8vo. Napoli, 1888.

From the Secretary R.A.S.—The Buddhist.

From the Author.—Chamberlain (B. H.).—Handbook of Colloquial Japanese. Sq. 8vo. London and Tōkyō, 1887.

From the Author.—D'Alviella (Le Comte Goblet).—La Tricula, ou Vardhamâna des Bouddhistes. Pamphlet. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1888.

From the Author.—Harlez (C. de).—Les Croyances Religieuses des Premiers Chinois. (Pamphlet).—La Religion en Chine. (Pamphlet).

From the Author.—Lacouperie (T. de).—Les Langues de la Chine avant les Chinois. 8vo. Paris, 1888.

From the Author.—Lanman (C. R.).—A Sanskrit Reader with Vocabulary and Notes. Royal 8vo. Boston, 1888.

From the Secretary.—Oman (Prof. J. Campbell).—Indian Life, Religious and Social. Post 8vo. 1889.

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From the Editor.—Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. iii. No. 3.

Ragozin (Mdme.).—The Story of Assyria. 8vo. New York and London, 1887.

—— The Story of Chaldæa. 8vo. New York and London, 1886.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Vol. xlii. part iv.

1. Hermann Jacobi. Jain Legend of the Death of Krishṇa. Text and translation.

2. G. Bühler. Lists of the Sanskrit MSS. presented by him to the India Office and of those in the Elphinstone College, Bombay.

3. Rudolf Dvorak. Bākī as Poet.

4. Ign. Goldziher. Turāb and Ḥagar.

5. M. Schreiner. On the Controversy between Jews and Muhammadans.

2. Journal Asiatique.

Vol. xii. part iii.

1. E. Amélineau. Coptic Fragments.

2. R. Fujishima. Chapters 32 and 34 of I-Tsing's Travels in India.

3. Max v. Berchem. Inscriptions at Banias.

4. L'Abbé Martin. Syrian Jacobites.

Vol. xiii. part i. 1. Abel Bergaigne. On Vedic Liturgy.

2. L'Abbé Martin. Syrian Jacobites (*continued*).

3. De Harlez. Military Regulations of the Emperor Kia-Ning.

III. Obituary Notice.

Major-General W. Nassau Lees, LL.D., Ph.D., who died in London, on the 9th March, at the age of 64, was the youngest son of the late Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, and brother

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of Sir John Lees, the present Baronet. He entered the Bengal Army in 1845, and became a Major-General in 1885; but for some years before his death he had resided in England, and his name was borne on the unemployed supernumerary list. Although an Arabic scholar of considerable repute, he was perhaps better known for his Oriental work in India than in England. At different periods of his service he filled the several appointments of Principal of the Calcutta College (*madrasah*); Examiner in Persian and in Muhammadan Law, and Persian Translator to Government; Professor of Law, Logic, Literature and Mathematics; Examiner in Arabic at the Muhammadan Colleges of Hugli and Calcutta; and responsible referee on the language qualifications of civil and military officers.

As regards his literary labours, the following is quoted from the *Athenæum* of the 16th March:

"The Arabic publication for which his memory will be more particularly honoured by scholars is, perhaps, the 'Commentary' of Az-Zamakhshari, so much esteemed among Sunnís. Of those devoted to Persian authors, the 'Nafa*h*átu 'l-Uns' of Jámí (a notice of celebrated Sufis and saints modernized from an older chronicle), and the interesting 'Vís u Rámín' of Fakhru 'd-dín As'ad Jurjáni, which Dr. Rieu describes as 'the poetical version of a romance originally written in Pehlevi,' are worthy the attention of both scholars and *dilettanti*.

"Besides the above, there are in the Royal Asiatic Society's library the 'A'aris i Buzurgán' (A.D. 1855), or an obituary notice of Muhammadan doctors, edited by W. Nassau Lees and Maulavi Kabiru 'd-dín Ahmad; the 'History of the Khalifs' (A.D. 1856), by Abu'l Fadhl 'Abdu 'l-Rahmán Jalálu 'd-dín bin Abi Bakr us-Suyúti, with (same year) a 'Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Pleasantries, Rarities, and Useful Extracts,' by Al Kulyúbi, with both of which Nassau Lees had to do; and (A.D. 1868) the 'Alamgírnámah,' by Muhammad Kazim Ibn i Muhammad Amín Munshi, edited by Maulavis Khádim Husain and 'Abu 'l-Hai, 'under the superintendence of Major W. N. Lees, LL.D.'

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"Not the least remarkable of his many contributions to serial literature is an article called 'Materials for the History of India for the 600 Years of Muhammadan Rule previous to the Foundation of the British Indian Empire.' This appeared in the second part of vol. iii. of the Asiatic Society's *Journal*, published in 1868, and, although written more than twenty years ago, it opens with a thoughtful review of the relations of the natives of India to their English superiors, which might be studied with advantage at the present day. The information contained in the body of the paper is of a very valuable kind, and if only the impetus to Asiatic research and the study of Oriental tongues, which recent action on the part of the London Asiatic Society was intended to give, were sufficiently real to culminate in revival, its republication, with some additions and modifications, would be desirable."

To the above may be added a contribution to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal "on the application of the characters of the Roman Alphabet to Oriental Languages," and six papers published in the Proceedings of the same society, entitled:

On the Muhammadan Conquest of Arabia (1865).
On the Iḳbál Námeh-i-Jahángírí and other authorities for the reign of the Emperor Jahángír (1865).
On Double Currency (1865).
On the Oriental Colleges at Lahor (1866).
On Scientific Technology (1866).
On the Maásir-i-'Alamgírí and Kháfi Khan (1868).

Before the proceedings of the Society became separated from the Journal—as done in 1865—he had already contributed notes on the following subjects: An Arabic Stone Inscription from Mirzaganj; the "Saraffins" and their connection with the English Sovereign; the Romanizing of Oriental alphabets; the Muhammadan Historians of India; the origin of Hindi and its relations to the Urdu dialect; and the derivation of the numismatic term "sovereign."

It is, moreover, shown in the "Centenary Review of the researches of the Bengal Asiatic Society," published in 1885,

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that Ensign Lees, so far back as 1853, brought out an edition of the Arabic Fatúhu'sh-Shám, or account of the Muslim Conquest of Syria by Abú Ismá'il Muhammad bin 'Abd Alla Al Azdi Al Baṣri; together with the pseudo-Wakidi's work on the same subject. He also edited, in conjunction with Maulavis Abdu'l Haḳḳ and Ghulam Ḳádir, the Nakhbatu'l Fikr, with the Commentary called Nuzhatu'n-Nazar, by Shahábu'd-dín Ahmad Ibn Hajar al Askaláni; and was one of many editors of the Iṣabah, or biography of persons who knew Muhammad, by Ibn Hajar.

In addition to the Persian works mentioned by the *Athenæum*, he supervised the printing of Mr. Morley's edition of the Táríkh-i-Baiháki, and in part superintended the publication of Maulavi Saiyid Ahmad Khan's edition (1868) of the Táríkh-i-Firuz Sháhi, by Ẓiyáu 'd-Dín Barani. An interesting account of this history of the Muhammadan sovereigns of India will be found in the third volume of Dr. Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum.

He was, besides, joint editor (1863) of the Tabaḳát i Násiri, by Minháju 'd-dín al Jurjáni; and (1864) of the Muntakhabu't Tawárikh of Abdu'l Ḳádir Badáuni, stated by Dr. Hoernle to be second, as a history, "to none in the whole range of historical works by Muhammadan authors." And the publication of the Iḳbál námeh-i-Jahángiri, of M'utamid Khan, and of the Bádsháh Námah of 'Abdu'l-Hámid Lahauri was indebted to his superintendence.

General Nassau Lees had been a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society for more than sixteen years, having joined it in 1872.

IV. Notes and News.

MSS. from Burma.—Mr. James George Scott, of the Burma Service, has found time, in spite of the arduous duties of his frontier post, to collect and send home to his brother, Mr. John Scott, Fellow and Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge, a very valuable selection of Pāli, Burmese, and Shan MSS. Among the former are the Pātika Vagga of the great

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Dīgha Nikāya, complete; a complete copy of the Yamakas; a portion of Buddhaghosa's well-known commentary on the Dīgha entitled the Sumangala Vilāsinī; and the whole of the Attha Sālinī, his first work written in India, which gained him the favour and support of the leaders of the Buddhist order. There is also a copy of the Sārattha Dīpani Ṭīkā, an important mediæval treatise on Buddhist Canon Law, written in Burma, and the MS. of a considerable treatise, hitherto unknown, on Buddhist ethics, called the Maṇi-Sāramañjūsā. Professor Rhys Davids and Professor Carpenter have published, for the Pali Text Society, the first volume of the Sumangala Vilāsinī. With that exception all the above Pali books are unedited. Among the Burmese books is a translation of the celebrated 'Questions of Milinda,' in which the Greek king Menander discusses Buddhist ethics with the Elder named Nāgasena. The Shan MSS. are written in the Burmese character on a sort of thick paper, but, except as to the Buddhist invocations at the beginning of them, no one, probably, in Europe can read them. The beauty of their execution shows, however, that the Shans cannot be so wild and uncivilized a people as is often supposed. If Mr. Scott could spare time to tell us something of their contents, we should be duly grateful.

Professor Minayeff, of St. Petersburg, has borrowed from the Royal Asiatic Society its MS. of the Bodhicaryāvātara, a Sanskrit Buddhist work on the attainment of the Supreme Bodhi or insight, with the object of editing this work for the Pali Text Society.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, formerly of Oxford, and the author of the excellent catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Books issued by the Clarendon Press, has returned to Tokio in Japan from his travels in India, and has nearly finished his projected edition of the Saddharma Pu*nd*arīka, 'The Lotus of the Good Law,' well known from the translations into French by Burnouf, and into English (for the Oxford series of 'Sacred Books of the East') by Professor Kern of Leiden.

Japan.—There has been formed at Tokyo a Society called the 'Niphon Bukkho,' for the combined study of Eastern

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and Western Philosophy, more especially in respect to religion. It prints translations into Japanese of European works on psychology, and Japanese works on Indian (and more especially Buddhist Indian) and Chinese philosophy. Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio, late of Oxford, and now lecturer on Sanskrit at the University of Tokyo, deals with Buddhist books in Pali and Sanskrit; Mr. Yoshitomo Tatsumi, of the Shin Shu College, with general philosophy, and Mr. Tokunaga with the philosophy of religion. Mr. Tatsumi has already published an analysis, in Japanese, of Spencer's 'First Principles' (a copy of which is now in our Library), and other works are in the press.

In the second number of the 'Bijou of Asia,' edited by Mr. Matsuyama, of the 'Buddhist Propagation Society' (Senkio Kwai) at Kioto, there is a 'Brief Outline of Buddhism in Japan,' including a discussion of the real meaning of the expression 'Nirvāna.'

Admission into the Buddhist Order.—The 'London and China Telegraph' of February publishes an account, given by an eye-witness, of what it is pleased to call 'the form and manner of ordaining priests and priestesses of the sect of Buddha.' There is neither priest, nor priestess, nor ordination in Buddhism. But it is interesting to notice that while the ceremonies observed have grown considerably in length and importance, the simple form of words by which men and women alike were admitted, 500 B.C., into Gotama's Order of Mendicants, is still adhered to in China, without much change or much enlargement. The ancient Pāli form of words as used in India was translated by Professors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in vol. i. of their 'Vinaya Texts.'

Indian Vegetable Drugs.—Two army doctors, William Dymock and C. J. H. Warden, are preparing, in conjunction with Mr. David Hooper (the quinologist to the Madras Government), a work entitled 'Pharmocographia Indica,' containing an account of all the principal vegetable drugs to be met with in British India.

Mahomedans in Ceylon.—The District Court at Kalutara, in Ceylon, had recently to investigate a case in which the

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three local Mahomedan sects had fallen out about the use of a mosque. These were the Kadiri sect, which observes strict silence in all their devotions; the Sadiri, akin to the Howling Dervishes, which consider shouting and violent antics as the necessary accompaniments of their worship; and the Idurns, which recommend decency and order in a reasonable service of prayer. Although these sects differ from each other in what may be designated special devotion, yet they all agree in general worship carried on in the mosque in which sectarian differences were for the moment forgotten in identity of ritual. But of recent years these sects became more pronounced and ambitious in their peculiarities, and sought to perform in the mosque devotions which were formerly carried on in a sort of oratory called a Thackya. The plaintiff was a priest of the temple, and alleged that he had been riotously dispossessed by the defendants who belonged to a rival sect. The point which it was hoped to settle by the case was whether the defendants had the right to appoint and dismiss priests; but under the Roman Dutch law which prevails in Ceylon, if a man in possession for a year and a day is violently ejected, he has the right to restoration until a decree of the Court is obtained against him, as this is the only means after such quiet possession by which he can be dispossessed. Accordingly the priest was restored by order of the Court, but this leaves the main question still unsettled. During the trial much of the ritual employed by the Mahomedans in Ceylon in their Sabbath services on Fridays was explained. The service begins with the Muezzin's call to prayer. On the arrival of the Thateeb, or officiating priest, at the mosque, one of the Lebbes (assistant priests) walks before him with a staff in his hand to the pulpit, and there recites the Makhar, or call to silence. The Thateeb then mounts the pulpit and preaches the Khotuba, or a homily on the doctrines of the Koran. Whoever does the preaching is called the Imam. The sermon over, the staff-bearer recites the Khamat, or a call to rise and prayer, on which all the congregation who have been seated during the exhortation bestir themselves to join in the service proper, in which the officiating priest

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takes the lead. At the conclusion of the service the Dhekiya or additional devotions are performed. The Mohideen is a mosque officer corresponding to the Sacristan of Christian churches. The priests are all appointed from one family called the Mahlam.—(*Allen's Indian Mail.*)

Prof. Tawney is preparing a translation of a Jain collection of stories entitled the Katha Koṣa.

Prof. Bühler contributes the following letter to the *Academy* of March the 9th, pointing out the principal results obtained from Dr. Burgess's new squeezes of the Aṣoka Inscriptions.

Vienna, February 25, 1889.

During the working seasons of 1866–87 and 1887–88, Dr. Burgess undertook at my request the preparation of new impressions of the Girnâr, Kâlsi, Shâhbâzgarhi, and Mansehra versions of Aśoka's rock-edicts, and handed them over to me in the course of last summer. Other pressing work prevented me utilising them at once, and I finished deciphering them only last week. These new impressions have been taken with scrupulous care and consummate skill on strong Indian country paper, on the reverse of which the letters are visible in relief, from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a centimetre high. Particularly difficult or doubtful passages have been done twice or even thrice over.

The results which these new materials yield are very valuable. It is possible to make with their help numerous corrections even in the comparatively speaking well-preserved Girnâr and Kâlsi versions. In the former they even exhibit some signs which both M. Senart and myself have failed to detect on the stone. Their importance for the Shâhbâzgarhi and Mansehra versions is, as might be expected, much greater. They enable me to give a complete and intelligible text even of the difficult hitherto not explained passage of the thirteenth edict, which is fully preserved in Shâhbâzgarhi alone. As the restoration of this passage is, perhaps, the most important service which the new impressions render, I give it *in extenso*. The words for the greater part lost in the other versions are:

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Yo pi cha apakareya ti chhamitaviyamate vo devanaṁ priyasa, yqṁ śako chhamanaye. Ya pa chi atavi devanaṁ priyasa vijite bhoti, ta pi anuneti, anunijhape ti. Anutape pi cha prabhave devanaṁ priyasa. Vuchati tesha, kiti? avatrapeyu na cha haṁñeyasu. Ichhati hi devanaṁ priyo savrabhutana achhati saṁyamaṁ samachariyaṁ rabhasiye. Esha cha mukhamate vijaye devanaṁ priyasa yo dhramavijayo.

The close translation of these sentences should be in my opinion as follows:—

"And if anybody does [*me*] an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that it is necessary even [then] to forgive what can be forgiven. Even on [*the inhabitants of*] those forests which are in the dominions of the Beloved of the gods, he takes compassion [*when it is suggested to him*], that he should destroy [*them*] one after the other; and the power of the Beloved of the gods [*would*] even [*suffice*] to torment [*them*]. Unto them it is said—what? 'They shall live contentedly and not be slain.' For the Beloved of the gods desires for all creatures freedom from hurt, self-restraint, impartiality, a state of joy. And the Beloved of the gods holds this conquest to be chiefest, to wit, the conquest through the law."

The general sense is just what one would expect, as Aśoka has declared in the preceding that he regards with horror even a hundredth or a thousandth part of the atrocities perpetrated by his armies during the conquest of Kaliṅga. The use of the word *atavi* "the forests" for *âtavikâh* "the men of the forest, the jungle-tribes," is curious, but analogous to that of *aṁtâ* "the frontiers" for "the neighbours." *Rabhasiye* is an interesting ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; it is evidently the Sanskrit *râbhasyam*, which, according to Ujjvaladatta on *Unâdisûtra*, i. 117, means "a state of joy." This meaning fits very well and closely agrees with the sense of the various reading *madava* or *mâdavaṁ* found in Kâlsi and Girnâr. Some other passages of the Shâhbâzgarhi version, such as Ed. iii. l. 6, and Ed. ix. ll. 19-20, which have remained inexplicable even after M. Senart's late revision of Edicts i.–xii., come out quite correctly.

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The Mansehra version, too, becomes perfectly readable. A score or so of signs, sometimes four or five consecutively, are gone in Edicts i. and ii., and single ones here and there in Edicts iii. and ix.—xi. But the losses are unimportant. In the beginning of Edict v. this version has preserved an important word which is lost in Girnâr, Dhauli, and Jaugada, and indistinct in the older Kâlsi facsimiles. M. Senart has already recognised that its first three letters are *adika*. Dr. Burgess's impression gives plainly *adikare* and that of the Kâlsi edict not *aṁdihute*, as I had read formerly, but *âdi*[*ka*]*le*. *Adikare-âdikale* is equivalent to Sanskrit *âdikarah*, which etymologically means "the beginner, the originator," and is known from the Koshas as a name of the creator Brahmâ. It also corresponds with the Jaina epithet of the Tîrthaṁkaras, *âdikaro* or *âdigaro*, for which in Jaina Sanskrit texts *âdikartâ* appears. In As'oka's inscription the word has its etymological meaning. We read in

Mansehra: *Kalanaṁ dukaraṁ, Ye adikare kayânasa se dukaraṁ karoti.*

Kâlsi: *Kayâne dukale, E âdi*[*ka*]*le kayânasâ se dukale kaleti.*

The translation is:

"Good [*works*] are difficult of performance. He who is the originator of good [*works*] accomplishes something difficult of performance."

Aśoka means to say that he has done something particularly difficult, as he has first appointed the overseers of the sacred law and otherwise taken care that the law will be kept; and, as he has first done much for the happiness of his subjects, the task of his successors, whom he exhorts in the sequel to follow his example, will be much easier.

The new impressions yield also important palæographical results. They show that several letters of the North Indian alphabet have interesting varieties of form. They also reveal the use of a double *ma* in the word *sammapratipati*. This *mma* appears in three passages in that shape, which it has in the facsimile of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Plate ii. l. 5. They finally prove that Sir A. Cunningham was right in

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reading *asti*, *striyaka*, *saṁstuta*, and so forth. The signs for *tha* and *tha* are very different from that for *sta*, which plainly shows its origin from a combination of *sa* and *ta*.

I trust that it will be possible to prepare readable facsimiles of the northern versions according to these new impressions, and that the original sheets will, like the impressions of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions, eventually be taken over by the British Museum, and thus be made accessible to all students of Indian palæography.

G. BÜHLER.

Dr. Morris in the *Academy* of March the 23rd makes the following remarks:

Wood Green, N., March 12, 1889.

Pâḷi students are greatly indebted to Prof. Bühler for his valuable and interesting contribution to the *Academy* of March 9. I should, however, like him to reconsider his translation of *avatrapeyu* in the Shâhbâzgârhi inscription. Dr. Bühler evidently derives it from *trp* with *ava*, but there are difficulties in connecting it with this root. It should, I venture to think, be referred to *trap* "to be abashed," and be rendered "they shall shun (*or* eschew) evil deeds." Then the concluding clause, "and not be slain," is rendered more forcible than if the translation of the first clause were "they shall live contentedly." *Avatrap* does not, I believe, occur in Sanskrit; but we need it in order to explain (1) the Pâli verb *ottapati* (not in Childers, but see Majjhima Nikâya, vol. i. p. 356, ed. Trenckner) "to be fearful of sinning," which presupposes a form *avattapati*=*avatrapati*, and (2) the noun *ottappa*=*avattappa*=*avatrâpya*, connected by Childers with a Sanskrit *auttâpya* from *uttâp*. In the *Journal* of the Pâli Text Society for 1887, I have called attention to the Northern Buddhist *apatrâpya*=Pâli *ottappa*, which occurs in Mahâvyutpatti (p. 32, ed. Minayef). This, of course, must be from *apa-trapati*, which in Pâli might become *avattapati* or *ottapati*; but I suspect that *apatrâpya* is an attempt of a Northern Buddhist translator to Sanskritise the Pâli *ottappa*. Not knowing *avatrapati*, he would naturally refer it to the more ordinary form *apatṛpati*.

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While on the subject of Northern Buddhist terms, I may mention that the Sanskrit *utsada*, in *saptotsada*, unexplained by the editors of the Divyâvadâna (see pp. 620-621) is the first element of the Pâli *sattussada*, discussed by the present writer in the *Journal* of the Pâli Text Society for 1887.

RICHARD MORRIS.

Mr. D. G. Margoliouth has been appointed to the Laudian Professorship at Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Gandell about a year ago.

Alberuni's India.—Under the title of 'Indo-Arabische Studien,' Professor Sachau has published in Berlin (Georg Reciner) a paper he read before the Berlin Royal Academy of Sciences, on the mode in which Alberuni reproduces in Arabic characters the Indian words (astronomical or philosophical terms, or names of persons, places, and books), of which he thought it better to give, as nearly as he could, the original sounds. The whole of the Indian words so given are systematically considered, and general conclusions are drawn as to Alberuni's method of transliterating such letters. In the course of the enquiry, which is throughout most thorough and complete, very interesting disclosures are made as to the probable pronunciation of Indian words by the Pandits who assisted Alberuni, and much light is thrown on the growth and development of language in India. And the whole investigation is the more important, as the date of Alberuni's work is so accurately known.

The 'Société Academique Indo-Chinoise de France' has been reorganized, and the officers of the Society now are: President, the Marquis de Crozier. Vice-Presidents, MM. Paul Leroy Beaulieu (Member of the Institute), Jacques Hébrard (Member of the Senate), S. de Heredia (Member of the Chamber and ex-Minister), Léon Feer (of the Bibliothèque Nationale), and Eugène Gilbert, who is General Secretary of the Society. Secretaries, MM. de la Tuque and A. R. Ravet. Treasurer, M. Lepesqueur. Besides the above there are thirteen Members of Council. The office is at No. 44, Rue de Rennes, Paris.

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The Town Council of Hamburg has founded a scholarship of £75 a year at the 'Orientalisches Seminar' at Berlin, for a mercantile student to be selected annually by the Council.

While the Pali Text Society has been doing useful work in the canonical and religious literature of Southern Buddhism, it is interesting to note some activity in Ceylon in printing the grammatical literature of Pali. First editions of the three following works have appeared at Colombo in the last four years: 1. Kaccayana-bheda, 1886. 2. Bālappabodhana, 1887. 3. Padasādhana, 1887. 4. Çabdabindu, 1888.—C.B.

The "Ko-lao Hui"—a Chinese Secret Society.—A recent Consular Report from China describes the origin and working of a notorious secret society called the Ko-lao Hui, which for many years past has given much trouble, and which quite recently has caused much commotion in Nankin and its neighbourhood. This Ko-lao Hui is described as a society "somewhat resembling the Socialists of Europe, and much dreaded by the officials and people of China." It originated during the Tai-ping rebellion among the soldiers in Hunan for the purpose of affording aid to the wounded and the families of the men killed on service. The Hunan men served all over China, and their mutual aid society spread by their assistance over the whole country. The aims of the society developed with its growth, and a sentiment of equality of worldly possessions and position became prevalent among its members. It is much in vogue with the soldiers coming from Hunan, but recent events have attracted the serious attention of many civil and military officers of high rank, most of them Hunan men themselves, and they intend to purge the society of the evil principles which it has of late years adopted.

Mr. Giles has brought out his "Chuang Tzŭ: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer, translated from the Chinese" (London, Quaritch). In the Introduction he gives a short account of Chuang Tzŭ, of his system, and of the most important of the editions of the treatise which goes under his name. After the Introduction we have a very interesting

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note by the Rev. Aubrey Moore of Oxford. In this note a parallel is drawn between certain of the teachings of Chuang Tzŭ and those of Herakleitos. Mr. Giles has evidently devoted much time and study to Chuang Tzŭ. He has produced a translation which is pleasant to the reader, and gives us an insight into the strange opinions of the great Taoist mystic. We do not pretend to pass any judgment on the merits of the book as a translation. The Chinese original is supposed to present many difficulties of interpretation, not only to the Western student but also to the native scholar, however learned. But Mr. Giles is acknowledged to stand among the first of living Sinologues, and he is widely read in all the learning of ancient Taoism. The notes which he has interspersed throughout the translation are very useful, some as giving information, and others for their parallel passages from Western authors.

Mr. Clermont Ganneau has been elected a member of the "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres."

Toramāṇa.—The coins of this Hūna chief, who succeeded the Gupta Dynasty in their western dominions early in the sixth century, are well known (see for instance above p. 136). Mr. O'Dwyer, the acting Deputy Commissioner of Shahpur, has now discovered an inscription of Toramāṇa recording gifts to a Buddhist monastery. The slab is now in the Lahore Museum.

Mahomedans in Java.—The Dutch Government have commissioned Professor C. G. Hurgronjë of Leiden (the learned author of "Mekka," of which the second volume has just appeared) to proceed to Java on a scientific mission of enquiry into the history and customs more especially of the Mahomedans there. He left by the Brindisi route on April the 1st.

The new Buddhist Relics.—Mr. J. M. Campbell, of the Bombay Civil Service, whose discovery of the Buddhist relics at Sopara nearly ten years ago made a sensation in the antiquarian world, has again been singularly fortunate. In another Buddhist mound, some six miles south-east of the city of Junagadh in Kattywar, he has unearthed another series of caskets, containing it seems certain more veritable

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relics of the "divine pessimist, Gautama Buddha," who flourished more than six hundred years before Christ, and whose followers are still more numerous than those of either of the other two great religious creeds. The new mound, or the "Girnar mound," as it will be known among antiquaries, is nearly three times as large as the Sopara Mound, being between 80 and 90 feet high instead of 27, and about 230 yards round instead of 65. But in position, character, and detail they are so much alike that in all probability they date from the same time, namely, about 150 B.C., or some 500 years after the death of Gautama Buddha. We leave Mr. Campbell to describe in his own picturesque language the excitment of the chase. The work of excavating the tower lasted for three weeks, and has only just been crowned with success. In the middle of January the explorers were getting disheartened when a cobra was unearthed. In India the guardianship of buried treasure is always supposed to be one of the peculiar provinces of the cobra. The native workmen set to work with renewed vigour, and the not very intelligent interest of the local public was revived. Here we must borrow a line or two from Mr. Campbell:—"A few days after the disappearance of the guardian cobra and his refusal to be charmed, the boys' schools in Junagadh town became almost empty. Mothers were keeping their boys at home as it was rumoured fifty boys were to be sacrificed to the great cobra to coax him into showing the thirty lakhs of treasure of which he was trustee, and which were wanted by the State for railway extensions. The attendance at the schools remained low for several days." Mr. Campbell, after another series of vicissitudes, did not, it is true, unearth the thirty lakhs of treasure, but on the 16th January he found what he probably thinks much more valuable, the relic box or coffer of which he was in search. This stone box measures 1 ft. 2 in. square and 9 in. deep. Having opened it, Mr. Campbell came to a reddish clay-stone casket, which, in its turn, contained a small copper casket or bottle, green with verdigris, almost round in shape, and measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in all directions. The copper casket held a silver casket, $1\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch high,

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and $1\frac{7}{16}$ across at the broadest, and the silver casket held a small round spike-topped gold casket, bright and untarnished in spite of its 2000 years, and in shape and size like a small chestnut. The gold casket is $\frac{13}{16}$ of an inch and $\frac{7}{8}$ across. In this tiny bowl were seven tiny articles—four precious stones, two small pieces of wood, and a fragment about the size of one's little finger nail of what seems to be bone—"the item," says Mr. Campbell, "in whose honour and for whose protection against evil these six precious things had been placed in the gold casket, for which the gold, silver, copper, and stone covers had been laid in the stone box, and for which the 80 feet high and 100 yards broad mound had been raised round the coffer." The microscope will tell us whether it is bone, or stone or clay, but until the experts are called in, we shall continue to believe with Mr. Campbell that the relic must have belonged to some one held in the very highest reverence by the builders of the mound—that is, to Gautama Buddha himself. All the scientific world agreed that the choice crystal casket of the Sopara Mound contained what had, when it was buried, been regarded for five centuries as a fragment of the begging-bowl used by Buddha himself, and here there is little doubt that we have another relic of the same age and equal interest.—*Madras Times.*

Destruction of an Ancient Dagoba at Kandy, Ceylon.—Yesterday, a dagoba was broken up by the temple authorities. In the middle was found a large shrine, dagoba-shaped, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, the circumference at the base measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the whole being made of brass. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Crawford, the Assistant Government Agent, with Mr. Moir, went to this Dewāle, and in their presence the brazen shrine was opened. They found in it about 50 golden images of Buddha, each about two inches in height, seven *karanduas*, each six inches high, one a large one, and precious stones. The shrine stood on a slab of rock measuring about 4×3 feet, and when this foundation was removed, they came upon a square chamber beneath it, well plastered with lime. In this chamber were found precious stones, small gold coins (*varagan*), three karanduas (relics),

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three large stones, also a crystal shrine in which were placed very small relics. The floor of the chamber was another slab of rock equal in size to the one placed above it. Below this second slab was another chamber similar to the one already spoken of, and in it were a large golden flower (supposed to be lotus), five flowers of gold, borne upon a main peduncle with five branching pedicels supporting the five flowers; with silver and gold images and relics. Another stone similar in size to the ones dug out formed the floor of the second chamber. At this stage it was getting late, and the work was stopped for the day. The excavations will be continued to-day. The Assistant Government Agent made an inventory of the treasures found in the dagoba, and gave them in charge of the Basnāyika Nilame of the Nātha Dewāle, who had them removed to the Dewāle, where they are now locked up. His Excellency the Governor was expected to be present when the jewels were taken out, but it seems he did not come up from Colombo. The excavations were continued on Saturday, but nothing of value was exhumed. The object of the excavation by the temple authorities is to find if the *pattra datu* (fragment of Buddha's begging bowl) was buried in this dagoba. In the Mahawansa it is stated that one of these fragments is buried in a very picturesque spot; tradition would make the spot to be in some of the dewales and vihares of Kandy. The relics found were removed to the Māligāwa on Saturday, where they will be washed and placed in one of the chambers to be exhibited to the people. From the offerings made and subscriptions, these relics will again be buried in a more substantial dagoba.—*Ceylon Times*, March 11.

The late M. Garrez.—We are glad to notice, from a very interesting and appreciative notice of M. Garrez in the 'Revue Critique,' written by M. Barth, that it is intended to republish the various articles by the deceased scholar, whose loss we all so much deplore, in a volume of 'Remains.' Scattered as they now are through numerous periodicals, they are difficult to trace, and are too often overlooked. M. Senart has also published, in the 'Journal Asiatique,' an interesting account of M. Garrez's life and literary work.

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V. Reviews.

Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost Afrika, von Leo Reinisch. Wien, 1888, 2 Bde.—*The Kafa Language.* I. Grammar; II. Vocabulary.

This work, which I have already noticed (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XX. pp. 459-460), treats for the first time in a scientific way a Hamitic language, previously illustrated by Ludwig Krapf (1843), Charles T. Beke (1846), Ant. d'Abbadie (1872), and, quite recently, by Antonio Cecchi (1887). But these travellers only published lists of words, making no attempt to fix the grammatical principles of that language, the "Appunti grammaticali" given by A. Cecchi (*Da zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, III. 403-441) being quite inadequate for such a purpose. Prof. Leo Reinisch has succeeded in his usual way, compiling original texts, tales and colloquial phrases, from the mouth of the natives; endeavouring to get them translated correctly, and then, with much skill, deriving from them a Grammar and Vocabulary. In the present case, however, he has experienced much difficulty, from the fact that his informants had more or less forgotten their own language.

The Kafa language is closely akin to the Agaw idioms (notwithstanding the differences which have originated from the separate development of the two languages), and also with the Gonga, Masai and Kunama languages. It is spoken, not only in the Kafa country proper, but also in many districts bordering on it to the east, south and west. The whole family is called *Sidáma*, and it may be said that the *Kafádyo*, or Kafa language, is but a branch of the Sidáma group.

The nouns are, as a rule, biconsonantic, with vocalic ending, as *káfo* (bird). If there are more than two consonants, we have to deal with compound or foreign words, or with reduplicative forms. The masculine is expressed by the final vowel *-o*, the feminine by *-e*, as: *máno* (brother), *máne* (sister). As is often the case in East-African languages, the

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plural is formed by reduplication of the second radical consonant, as: *káfo* (bird), *kafífo* (birds): gender is expressed in the plural in the same way as in the singular. The genitive is usually put before the nominative, with or without the suffix *-i* or *-é*, as: *Amán qéto* or *Amani qéto* (Aman's house); the other cases are expressed by means of postpositions.

The qualificative adjective may be placed before or after the noun, or even it may be separated from it; it agrees in gender with the noun; but, when it is used as an attributive, it always preserves the masculine form.

The personal pronouns are also possessive, as: *ta* (I, my), *ne* (thou, thy), *áro* (he, his), *áre* (she, her).

Verbs are distinguished from nouns only by means of the final vowel *-e*, as: *máto* (meal) and *máte* (to eat), *ta máto* (my meal) and *ta máte* (I eat). There is really but one tense, which is used for the past, the present and the future; sometimes an adverb emphasizes the notion of the past or of the future; but usually the speaker points out with his hand some object behind or before him in order to express the past or the future. Thus, *ta máte* means really (I eat, I ate, I will eat). The imperative is the verbal stem, without any final vowel, as: *mát*! (eat!); the subjunctive and the conditional are formed with the substantive verb *ne*.

It is unfortunate that the learned author has not been able in this, as in his former works, to give us texts.—T. G. DE G.

DIE SAHO-SPRACHE, von LEO REINISCH. I. Texte. Wien, 1889.—*The Saho Language.* I. Texts.

The Saho language has been till now quite unknown, if we except some scanty lists of words supplied by travellers and a grammatical Note already contributed by Prof. Leo Reinisch (*Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*), which I have not before me. The new volume, therefore, just published by the indefatigable Professor deserves a hearty welcome from those interested in African linguistics. It consists only of texts and translations; but we are promised a Vocabulary

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before the present year elapses, and an extensive Grammar will complete the whole work.

These texts were collected by Prof. Leo Reinisch at Massowa, Argigo and Zula, in the years 1875–1876 and 1879–1880, from the mouth of an intelligent native, who spoke also Arabic, Amharic, Tigre and Tigray, and who had been previously employed in various political missions by the English expedition in Abyssinia and by Munzinger-Pasha. The texts, which cover no less than 310 pages, are classed under several heads, as follows: 1. Historical traditions of the Sahos; 2. Manners and customs; 3. Stories illustrating the customs and the laws; 4. Tales; 5. Fables; 6. Anecdotes; 7. Songs; 8. Proverbs; 9. Enigmas. From this list, it will be seen how interesting is the collection, which would certainly deserve to be translated into English for the use of general readers, were it not for the crudeness, not suitable for all readers, always found in native stories. The three following riddles are worth noting:

"What is that which looks like water but cannot be drunk? —*Answer*: SEA." "What is that which is in thine eye and also in mine?—*Answer*: SLEEP." "What is the large skin which God has widened?—*Answer*: EARTH OR HEAVEN."

QUELQUES CONTES NUBIENS, PAR MAX. DE ROCHEMONTIEX. Le Caire, 1888 (Tirage à part du IIe volume des Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien).—*Nubian Tales, Texts and Translations.*

These Tales were collected, in 1877, amongst the Nubian populations, which the Egyptian fellahs and the nomads of the Nile basin call rather contemptuously *Berberines* (French *Barbarins*; Arabic بربرى *barbari*, pl. *berâbra*). The learned compiler and translator is of opinion that the similitude of the word *barbari* (not the Latin word, I suppose) with the name of the town of *Berber* and that of the ancient *Berberata* of the Upper Nile is merely fortuitous. I cannot endorse this view, and I think that these names are largely connected with each other and with that of the modern *Berbers*, but not at all, of course, with the Greek and Latin words

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βαρβάρος and *barbarus*. I have in preparation a paper on this subject, which may possibly be read before the next Oriental Congress at Stockholm.

The scientific system of transliteration used by the author for the original texts is generally quite satisfactory, though some objections might be raised against certain peculiarities. Thus, for instance, the so-called palatals *k*, *g* and *n* might have been expressed advantageously by the combinations *ky*, *gy* (*dy*) and *ny*, which would have much better represented the French sounds *kie*, *guie*, *nie*, than the abnormal signs used. Again, the author, while using extensively the semi-vowel *w* in the English way, has entirely discarded the semi-vowel *y*, as in: *eii*, "yes," instead of *eyi* (Reinisch *eiyo*, *éyo*; cf. Pul *éyo*); *haiir*, "to frighten," instead of *hayir* (R. *háyir*; Ar. حيّر); *dunia*, "crowd," instead of *dunya* (Ar. دنيا), etc.

This new volume consists of twelve interesting tales with their translation into current French. The first seven tales are also provided with an interlinear translation, which will prove of great use to the students of the Nuba language. The words borrowed from the Arabic are carefully noted and given in Arabic characters at the foot of each page. The author gives us most accurate explanations of the origin, the connection and the interpretation of the original texts, and he promises some grammatical notes. The whole will form a useful complement to Prof. Leo Reinisch's great work (*Die Nuba-Sprache*, 2 vols. Wien, 1879); even in its present state, the work I am introducing to English scholars and students is a very valuable contribution to our scientific knowledge of African languages.—T. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR AFRIKANISCHE SPRACHEN, II Jahrgang, Hefte 1 und 2.—The 1st and 2nd parts of the second year of this periodical have brought to us some very interesting contributions to African linguistics.

1. *On the Dualla Verbs*, by C. MEINHOF. A very valuable paper on a language till now imperfectly known.

2. *Lists of Words in ten Central-African Languages*, com-

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piled by Dr. W. JUNKER. A large and accurate collection of words, and phrases, which must be heartily welcomed.

3. *Collection of Mbamba and Umbangala words*, with *some Grammatical Notes*, by HELI CHATELAIN. An important addition to our knowledge of the so-called Bantu languages.

4. *Lists of Words from the Togo Country*, by VON FRANÇOIS. In four languages or dialects belonging to the Gold Coast west of Whidah; highly interesting, for the sake of comparison.—TH. GRIMAL DE GUIRAUDON.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*The Bábís of Persia.* I. *Sketch of their History, and Personal Experiences amongst them.* By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

MY object in the present essay on the Bábís is twofold. *Firstly*, I desire to bring to the notice of those who are interested in the history of thought generally, and Oriental thought in particular, the results of my investigations into the doctrines, history, and circumstances of a religious body which appears to me to constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena of the present century.

Secondly, I wish to point out how much still remains to be done to thoroughly elucidate the matter, and to emphasize the fact that every year which passes will render it more and more difficult to fill in certain important details in the history and chronology of this sect. I sincerely hope that some, who have the means and opportunities of assisting in this task, may be induced to do so while it is still possible; for there are many men living who can remember the earliest events of the Bábí movement, and could some of these be persuaded to contribute accounts of those occurrences of which they have reliable knowledge, and their exact dates, it would doubtless be possible to compile from them a thoroughly accurate and trustworthy history. Believing as I do that Bábíism is destined to leave a permanent mark in the world, I feel very strongly how desirable it is that this work should be accomplished; and to this end I shall put

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forward as accurate a chronological sketch of the chief events connected with this movement as I have been able to compile from the materials at my disposal.

I shall also state of what new sources of information I have been able to avail myself, and point out the most important inconsistencies in the several accounts of the Bábís hitherto published in Europe and the East.

My desire is that the chronological arrangement which I suggest may meet with the fullest criticism, in order that it may be amended and corrected wherever it can be shown to be erroneous.

In the present paper I propose to deal mainly with the history of the Bábís, and my personal experiences amongst them in Persia between the autumns of the years 1887 and 1888, leaving an account of their literature and beliefs for another occasion.

My attention was first attracted to the subject by a perusal of the most admirable and clear-sighted work of M. le Comte de Gobineau (formerly attaché at the French Legation in Teherán), entitled "*Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*," from whose graphic and vivid description of the first beginnings and early struggles of the Bábís I derived more pleasure than I can describe. Anxious to learn more on the subject, I sought for other accounts, which should inform me of the further progress of the sect, but to my disappointment I could find none; the history was in no case continued beyond the year 1852, which was marked by the attempted assassination of the Sháh on the part of certain individuals belonging to the Bábí community, and the terrible persecution of the latter consequent thereon. All that I could learn was that the sect existed in secret, and was believed to be increasing in numbers. I therefore determined that should I ever have an opportunity of visiting Persia, I would make the investigation of this matter one of my chief objects.

In the year 1887 this much-wished-for opportunity presented itself. I was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and it was intimated to me that I should

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do well to spend some time in travelling in Persia to acquire a fuller acquaintance with the language which was my favourite study. In the autumn of that year, therefore, I proceeded, by way of Constantinople and Trebizonde, and thence overland by Erzeroum, Khúy, and Tabríz, to Teherán, where I arrived on November 22nd, visiting on my way the town of Zanján, so celebrated in the annals of the Bábís.

At first I met with nothing but disappointment in my attempts to penetrate the mystery in which the sect is shrouded, and I was advised by my Persian friends, whenever I alluded to the subject, to abstain from mentioning a name so distasteful to the government. After remaining two months and a half in Teherán, I had scarcely added to the information which I already possessed to any material extent, and though I had met with people evidently well disposed towards the Bábís, I had not found one who would avow to me that he belonged to them, or who would speak of them in any but the most guarded manner.

Discouraged at my ill-success in this matter, in February, 1888, I proceeded to Isfahán, where at length my hopes were fulfilled, and I obtained the clue which enabled me, during the remaining seven months which I spent in Persia, to pursue my investigations in a manner which exceeded all that I had hoped.

It befell in this wise. One day two dalláls, or vendors of curiosities, came to show me their wares. Having learnt to my cost that the inexperienced traveller is likely to be imposed upon by these people, I was not very anxious to buy anything, and while we were disputing about the price of some articles, one of the two men stepped up to me and whispered in my ear, "I am not a Musulmán that I should desire to cheat you; I am a Bábí."

My astonishment at this frank avowal was only equalled by my delight, and I replied to him, "If you are indeed a Bábí, you may, perhaps, be able to assist me in obtaining some books which will tell me about your beliefs." Seeing that I was really anxious to learn about them, he not only promised to do this, but also offered to take me to his house

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on the following Saturday, where I should meet the chief Bábí in Isfahán, "for," said he, "he visits the houses of all of us who have believed in this *ẓuhúr* or 'manifestation,' at stated intervals, and next Saturday it will be our turn."

It is needless to state how gladly I accepted this offer, or how delighted I was when on the following day the dallál, according to his promise, brought me two Bábí books, one of which was the *Íḳán*, an important work in which an attempt is made to prove the truth of the new dispensation, or "manifestation," to use the Bábí term. Of the contents of this I shall have to speak in my next paper, in dealing with the Bábí literature.

On the appointed Saturday I was instructed to be in waiting at a certain spot at a certain hour, and to follow one who would indicate by a sign that he was to be my guide to the rendezvous. Acting according to these directions, I was presently conducted to the house of the dallál, and after partaking of some tea, and waiting a little while, a middle-aged man, of grave and prepossessing countenance, entered the room, and was received by my host with much respect. This, as I soon learned, was one of the chief Bábís, not only in Isfahán, but in the whole of Persia; he does not reside for long in one place, but travels about from city to city, edifying believers, making converts where possible, and paying an occasional visit to Acre (*'Akká*) in Syria, which is the present headquarters of the Bábís, and the residence of their spiritual chief, *Behá*.

This was the only occasion on which I saw this remarkable man, as I had arranged to leave Isfahán a few days later for Shíráz, where I was anxious to arrive before the Persian *Nawrúz*; and during this one short interview I was naturally unable to learn much from him.

On hearing that he had been to Acre, I asked him what he saw there, to which he only replied, "*Insání-rá dídam dar kamál-i-insániyyat,*" "I saw a man in the perfection of humanity."

He promised, however, to write to some of the principal Bábís at Shíráz to inform them of my desire to converse

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with them, "and," he added, "these will give you the names of others in any of the towns which you may subsequently visit."

It was further arranged that I should on the following day visit the graves of the "*Martyrs of Isfahán*" (two Seyyids who were put to death some eight or ten years ago for being Bábís), which is one of the places of pilgrimage of their co-religionists.

Next day I was accordingly taken by the dallál to the great cemetery called "*Takht-i-Fúlád,*" where we were met by a poor man connected in some capacity with the place, who also proved to be a Bábí. After he had read the *ziyárat-náma,* or form of prayer appointed by Behá to be used by those visiting these graves, which is partly in Arabic and partly in Persian, he told me that he had become a Bábí by reason of a dream, wherein he saw hosts of pilgrims visiting this place.

We then sat down by the graves, which are marked only by a low mound of earth and bricks (the Muhammadans having destroyed the tombstones once placed there), and the dallál proceeded to give me an account of the death of these two martyrs, known amongst the Bábís by the titles of "*Sultánu'sh-Shuhadá*" (the King of Martyrs), and "*Maḥbúbu'sh-Shuhadá*" (the Belovéd of Martyrs).

As this constitutes one of the most important events in the recent history of the sect, I may perhaps be permitted to give a somewhat full account of it, compiled from what I heard not only on this occasion, but also subsequently, in Shíráz, Yezd, and Kirmán.

I will begin with the account given me by the chief Bábí, whom I met at Shíráz, the fellow-worker (and for some time the fellow-exile at Khartúm, in the Soudan) of him whom I have just described as the chief of the sect at Isfahán.

He told me that, shortly before the event we are discussing, he was at Acre, intending to start for Persia in a few days. Behá was in a garden where he sometimes goes, and my informant, with two others, was standing before him. Behá bade them to be seated, and gave them tea. Then he

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said to them, "A great event will shortly take place in Persia." In the evening one of them asked him privately where it would be, and he replied, "*In the land of Ṣád,*" which is what the Bábís call Isfahán. The questioner wrote this information to his friends in Persia, and his letter is believed to exist still, but I have not seen it.

On the arrival of my informant at Káshán, on his way to Isfahán, news came of the martyrdom of the two Bábí Seyyids, Hájí Mírzá Hasan and Hájí Mírzá Huseyn, and he at once recognized this to be the fulfilment of the prediction.

Their death had been brought about in this way. They were merchants of considerable wealth and great integrity, amongst whose debtors was a mullá of Isfahán called Sheykh Báḳir, who owed them the sum of 10,000 túmáns (about £3000). They began to press him for payment, and he, anxious to avoid this, went to the Imám Jum'a of Isfahán, and denounced them as Bábís, also laying great stress on their wealth. The two then went to the Ẓill-i-Sultán, the Sháh's eldest son, who was at that time governor of Isfahán, and represented their case to him. He replied that he could not put them to death merely on account of their being Bábís, but that if they, as the representatives of Islám, gave a fatvá for their execution, he would not hinder its being carried out.

The two mujtahids therefore collected seventeen other members of the 'ulamá, and signed the death-warrant of the two Seyyids, who were cast into prison. When this was known, efforts were made by some of the European residents in Isfahán, by whom the prisoners were known and respected, to obtain their release, and telegrams were sent to his Majesty the Sháh praying him to stop the execution of the sentence. The remand was sent, but arrived too late. The two Seyyids, having been offered their lives on condition of renouncing their creed, and having refused to do so, had their throats cut; their bodies were then dragged through the streets and bazaars of Isfahán, and finally cast under an old mud wall outside the city, which was then overthrown on them.

That night, when all was quiet, an old and faithful servant

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of the murdered men came in secret and removed the bodies from under the ruins of the wall, which had so fallen as to cover without crushing them. He then reverently washed them, cleansing the blood from the gaping wounds, and placed them in two ready-made graves, which he filled in.

In the morning, the soldiers discovered that they had been moved, and tried to intimidate the old servant into revealing their last resting-place, but he refused to do this, asserting that he had buried them out in the *Hazár Deré*.

Soon after this a terrible letter came from Acre to Sheykh Báḳir, threatening him with God's vengeance. Shortly afterwards he got into trouble, and was requested to retire to Kerbelá. On his return thence to Isfahán he was overwhelmed with troubles, both domestic and pecuniary; his daughter disgraced him; his wife proved unfaithful to him; and he finally died miserably.

The Imám Juma had, it is said, on witnessing some hesitation on the part of the executioner in slaying the victims, placed his hand on his neck and said, "If there be any sin, let it be on my neck."

After the execution he too fell into disgrace, and retired to Mash-had, where he was attacked with abscesses in the neck, and returned to Isfahán only to die there; and thus were the martyrs avenged.

The stress which I have laid on the various predictions or prophecies of Behá in connection with these events, may be surprising to some. I may say that I have not been able to see any of the documents referred to, except the letter addressed to Sheykh Báḳir, of which I failed to obtain a copy, and only had time to note one paragraph, which was specially pointed out to me as having been fulfilled by the downfall of the Ẓill-i-Sultán last year. The translation of this is as follows: "Verily we heard that the countries of Írán were adorned with the ornament of justice, but when we made investigation, we found them the rising-places of tyranny and the dawning-places of oppression. Verily we see justice under the claws of tyranny. We ask God that He will deliver it by a power from beside Him, and an

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authority on His part. Verily He is the Guardian over whomsoever is upon the earth and in the heavens."

Similar prophecies are often quoted by the Bábís as a proof of their religion. Amongst many others I may mention, of the earlier ones, the prediction of the downfall and death of Mírzá Taḳí Khán, the first Prime Minister of the present Sháh, by whose advice the Báb was put to death at Tabríz in July, 1850; the former event taking place a little more than a year after the latter. This prediction is ascribed by Gobineau to some of the sufferers of Zanján. Again, *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*, the Bábí heroine and poetess, who was put to death in 1852, is said to have told Mahmúd Khán, the Kalántar, in whose house she had been confined previously to her execution, that he would shortly be killed, which actually occurred, according to Kazem Beg, in 1861. This prediction is also mentioned by Gobineau, and I have heard from one who was himself acquainted with Mahmúd Khán, and who had the story from him, that in like manner she foretold the circumstances of her own death the day before its occurrence.

Amongst later predictions, namely those given by Behá, I may mention, besides those already referred to, that of the downfall of Napoleon III., and the Franco-German war, said to have been foretold about 1863, which a Bábí at Yezd assured me that he had read four years before those events took place.

Besides these, the downfall of *Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz*, the death of *'Alí Pásha* away from his native country, and the assassination of the Turkish ministers who were killed by Cherkez Hasan, are all said to have been foreshadowed by Behá, and many of those Bábís who have been much at Acre relate instances of verbal warnings of impending events and dangers in their own cases.

As instances of the latter, the following, which I heard from one of the two Bábí missionaries to whom the events occurred, may be taken as typical.

They were returning to Persia from Acre, by way of Diyár Bekr, Mosul, and Rawándíz, carrying with them some

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Bábí books and documents. Before starting they received instructions to the effect that, so soon as they crossed the Persian frontier, they were at once to hand these over to some trustworthy person to convey them to Tabríz, and on no account to keep them themselves. Without in the least understanding the object of this command, they nevertheless obeyed it literally, and on reaching Soúch Buláḳ, and learning that a certain Bábí merchant was there, they sent a note to him telling him that they desired to see him on important business. He understood, and came out to them, and the three walked away together in silence till they had left the town. Then they sat down by a stream, and the missionaries, telling the merchant the orders they had received, handed over the books and papers to him. These he took, and promised, though with some trepidation, to convey them to Tabríz. Next day the two missionaries continued their journey, but they had not gone more than a farsakh on their road when they were attacked by Kurdish robbers, and stripped of everything that they had except their shirts and drawers. Had the books been with them, they too would have been lost.

The following is a narrative of another event which I have on the same authority as the last, my informant and his fellow-worker being, as before, the actors therein. It occurred about the year 1866, when Behá was at Adrianople, before he was sent to Acre, and they had been visiting him there for a while. On leaving, they were instructed to proceed to Cairo to visit and encourage the Bábís there, and avert a threatened schism. They took their passage in a steamer on which was a Persian merchant also belonging to the sect, but before starting they had been told *on no account to speak with him on the voyage.* As before, they obeyed, without understanding, their orders. They reached Cairo safely, and occupied themselves in instructing and encouraging their co-religionists, quieting dissensions amongst them, and conversing with such Persians and others as came to them to learn about their doctrines. The Persian Consul tried to prevent this, and failing to do so, he invited

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the two missionaries to his house, saying that he wished to hear about their religion, of which he had been unable to obtain accurate accounts. They accordingly went, suspecting no danger, and until six hours after sunset talked with the Consul on religious matters. Suddenly the Consul commanded his servants to seize them, and confine them in a room in his house. He then sent other servants to search the domicile of his guests, and these returned bringing with them five or six Bábí books which they had found there. Next day he laid the matter before *Isma'íl Páshá*, informing him that these two men were confessedly Bábís, dangerous alike to Islám and the state; that he had consequently arrested them by stratagem, and also obtained their books, amongst which was their *Ḳur'án*, by which they asserted the Muhammadan Ḳur'án was abrogated; and that by these their heresy was sufficiently proved.

Isma'íl Páshá had the books in question laid before the *Mejlis-i-Istinṭáḳ*, or Council of Enquiry, by whom their owners were pronounced to be heretics, and condemned to exile for life to Khartúm, in the Soudan, whither they were sent without further trial or chance of defending themselves, together with six or seven other Bábís. The merchant who had been their fellow-traveller from Adrianople, and whom they had been forbidden to speak to on the journey, was also accused, and only escaped exile because it was proved that during the voyage he had held no communication with the others. They then understood the reason of the prohibition which they had received from Behá.

At Khartúm they remained for about seven years, and were for some time unable to communicate with Behá, concerning whom, indeed, vague rumours reached them that he had been removed from Adrianople to some other place, which they finally learnt from some Protestant missionaries with whom they made friends, was Acre. By means of these they were further enabled to send a letter there, and in answer to this a letter was written by Behá, consoling them in their exile, and telling them that they would shortly be released and rejoin him at Acre, and that their oppressor,

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Isma'íl Páshá, would soon fall from power. This letter was brought to Khartúm by an Arab named *Jásim*, who took six months to reach it. At that time the exiles saw no hope of release, but, shortly after, General Gordon arrived, and finding these Persians imprisoned there enquired what their crime was. They replied that they did not know, as they had never been tried or given an opportunity of meeting their accusers. On hearing this, General Gordon telegraphed to Isma'íl Páshá, demanding the reason of their imprisonment and exile, and, receiving no satisfactory reply, ordered the Bábís to be released, and gave them permission to go wherever they pleased. My informant and his companion returned to Acre, and once more, as foretold, stood in the presence of Behá. The other exiles preferred to remain at Khartúm, where they married and settled.

The narrator of these events I met at Shíráz, whither I proceeded on leaving Isfahán, and where I remained for about three weeks. There, thanks to the letter which had been written about me from Isfahán, and another fortunate chance, I saw a great deal of the Bábís; and, sometimes in their houses, sometimes in the beautiful gardens which surround the city, and which alone render it worthy of all the praises bestowed upon it by Háfiz and a host of other poets, I used to sit with them for hours, hearing their books read, listening to their anecdotes or arguments, and discussing their doctrines.

By the kindness of these friends I obtained two manuscripts of the utmost value for further investigation. One of these was the "*Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*," or "Most Holy Tablet," which may be described as the Ḳur'án of the Bábís.[1] It is quite a small volume, written in Arabic, and summing up the doctrine in its essentials, with regulations concerning prayer, the fast, the division of the year, marriage, inheritance, the punishment of crime, and other matters. I hope to give a more detailed account of its contents on a future occasion.

[1] More mature consideration has made me regret having used this term, owing to its ambiguity, and the number of Bábí works to which it has been applied, as will be pointed out in my second paper.

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The other book was a voluminous manuscript of the earlier history of the sect in Persian. The author implies that he was not a Persian, but a Frenchman who was travelling in Persia, and who, having witnessed the persecutions inflicted on the Bábís, and their fortitude, was desirous to learn more about them. Having succeeded in meeting and conversing with many influential and learned votaries of the new religion, he wrote this history to embody the results of his investigations. None of the Bábís, however, believe that the author was anything but a Persian, and some of them informed me who he was, for he is no longer alive. The history only extends down to the events of the year 1850, viz. the martyrdom of the Báb at Tabríz, and the "seven martyrs" at Teherán. The important events of 1852 are not included in it. The author continually refers to a second volume, which he intended to write if he lived, but unfortunately he did not accomplish his purpose.

This history has many defects in style and arrangement, and there are very few dates given, while some of those that are given are utterly wrong, as can be clearly proved. It contains 374 pages, at least half of which are irrelevant to the subject, consisting of tirades against the mullás and the like. Nevertheless it gives a mass of most interesting details of the lives, conversions, adventures, discussions, and characters of many of the principal actors in the earlier events of the Bábí movement, including the Báb himself, so that, in spite of its manifold defects from a literary point of view, it is of the greatest value as well as of the utmost interest.

At Shíráz I saw some of the relations of the Báb, who are called by the Bábís "*Afnán*," just as the sons of Behá, the present chief of the sect, are called "*Aghṣán*," both these words meaning "branches." I likewise met, on one occasion, the Bábí courier, a taciturn old man, who enjoys the title of Sheykh. I subsequently learned some particulars concerning him which I think are of sufficient interest to be recorded. He visits the south of Persia (Shíráz, Isfahán, and Yezd) once a year, going from town to town collecting the letters which are to be forwarded to Acre, and distributing

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those sent from thence, which are called by the Bábís "*Alwáḥ*" (tablets), and are regarded in the light of revelations. The north of Persia is similarly visited by another courier. The Sheykh, having accomplished this distribution and collection of letters, times his journey so as to reach Bushire some few weeks before the beginning of the month of *Ẓi'l-Ḥijjé*, and goes thence with the pilgrims to Jedda and Mecca. From thence he proceeds to Acre, after the rites of the Hajj are accomplished, and remains there about two months; after which he returns by land to Mosul, where lives an important personage amongst the Bábís, whose business it is to revise carefully all copies of the sacred books, to see that they are accurate before they are sent out for distribution. There the Sheykh remains for about a month, after the lapse of which he returns by way of Baghdad and Bushire to Persia. In his land journeys he always goes on foot, carrying his packets of letters on his back in a sort of wallet, after the manner of Persian Ḳáṣids. For food, a few onions and a piece of bread suffice him. He walks generally out of the beaten track, to avoid meeting people who might recognize him. At night he sleeps in graveyards or other places outside towns and villages, unless it be at a place where there are Bábís, when he sometimes stays with them. His fear of being recognized is not imaginary. On one occasion he was recognized by some one in a village near Yezd. News was given to the Kedkhudá, or chief man of the village, who, being busy, ordered him to be seized and confined till he had leisure to attend to the matter. The Sheykh accordingly found himself locked up to await the arrival of his inquisitors. The only thing which troubled him was that his wallet was filled with letters from the Bábís to their chief at Acre. If these were discovered the writers would be known, and might get into trouble. There was no fire, and it was impossible to bury them, so he proceeded to chew them up and swallow them. This was no light task, as they were very numerous, and amongst them was one particular letter from the south-east of Persia which gave him much trouble. Finally, however, he accomplished

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his task before the arrival of the Kedkhudá and his attendants, and though these proceeded first to question and then to beat him, in order to make him confess, he stubbornly declined to make any declaration, so that they were eventually compelled to release him. On another occasion, the ship in which he was going from Bushire to Basra was wrecked, and all on board were lost except himself and a dervish, who escaped by clinging to some planks, and were picked up after fourteen or fifteen hours.

At Shíráz also I first saw specimens of the new writing of the Bábís. It must not be supposed that this is at all generally used, either in their books, or letters; for it is only known to a very few. I regret to say that I did not secure any specimens of it, neither did I learn to read or write it. It is written from left to right, and the letters are separated from one another. Each one consists essentially of an oblique straight line running downwards to the left, like the downward strokes in copy-books. To this are appended various thin curved lines and hooks which particularize the letter. This writing is intended for a time when Bábíism shall become the state religion of some country. It is called by the Bábís "*Khaṭṭ-i-Badí'*," and there are several varieties of it.

There are also seals with a particular device cut in cornelian which are used by some members of the sect. This device consists of a vertical straight line with a hook at either end turned to the left, which is crossed by three horizontal lines, also with curves at both ends. The upper and lower of these latter have also at each end an affix resembling the soft *h* (*há-yi-hawwaz*, or *há-yi-dú-chashmí*).

I may here mention one or two other customs of the Bábís, though I only discovered some of them at a later date.

Firstly, their salutation. In mixed society they of course use the ordinary Muhammadan "*es-selámu 'aleykum*" (peace be upon you), to which the answer is, "*va 'aleykumu 's-selám*" (and upon you be peace). But amongst themselves, when they are sure that no strangers are present, their salutation is "*Alláhu abhá*" (God is most bright), and the answer is the same. In the *Beyán*, which is the book of Mírzá 'Alí

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Muhammad the Báb, the salutation was different in the cases of men and women. The former were commanded to say "*Alláhu Akbar*" (God is most great), the answer being "*Alláhu a'zam*" (God is most mighty). The latter were to say "*Alláhu ajmal*" (God is most beautiful), the answer of which was "*Alláhu abhá*" (God is most bright). The last of these is, as I have said, the only one used now, probably out of respect to the present head of the religion, for *Behá* and *Abhá* come from the same root.

Secondly, their fast is not in Ramazán, but during the nineteen days preceding the *Nawrúz*, or Persian New Year's day, which is the first day of the first of the nineteen months, of nineteen days each, of which their year consists. Five intercalary days, corresponding to the five days called *Gátá* by the Zoroastrians, are placed before the month of fasting, and are directed to be spent in hospitality and charity. It is not at present rigidly insisted on that the Bábís should observe this fast, because to do so would at once show them to be Bábís, which is inexpedient. The same applies to other distinctive ordinances. Circumcision is, for example, stated by Gobineau to have been abolished by the Báb, though on this point I can find no clear command either in the *Beyán* or the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*; and while some of the Bábís say that it is indifferent, and others deny that it has been abolished, as a matter of fact it is still continued. In like manner it was no doubt intended by the Báb that the use of the veil by women should be discontinued, but of course this cannot at present be done in Persia, at any rate openly. The Báb also desired to abolish divorce, and, as far as possible, polygamy, as well as to allow fuller freedom to women, and grant them admittance into society; but at present these reforms have only met with partial success, though I have on rare occasions met Bábí women in general assemblies.

In Turkey I am informed that the Bábís may be recognized by their appearance. They wear the Turkish fez, surrounded by a small white turban, and the jubbé as a garment; they neither shave their heads nor allow their hair to grow below the level of their ears, discarding the

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zulf generally worn by Persians. In Persia, however, these distinctions are not observed.

I have often heard it said by those who were not Bábís, that members of this sect are able to recognize each other by some sign. After careful inquiry I have come to the conclusion that this, like many other statements made about them, is only true to a very partial extent.

Some of them say that they can recognize one another by "affection" (*maḥabbat*), or by the "light in their faces," but the greater number agree that mutual recognition is only possible by conversation. Of this latter fact there is no doubt; not only have they a different manner of looking at things to the Muhammadans, but likewise they often employ words and phrases which are not used, or less frequently used, by the latter. One of these is the word "*ẓuhúr*" (manifestation), which with them bears somewhat the sense of the word "dispensation" in the mouths of our theologians. Thus they speak of the Bábí movement as "*in ẓuhúr*" (this manifestation), and similarly they call former revelations "*ẓuhúrát-i-ḳabl.*"

The word "*maẓhar,*" which means "place of appearance, or manifestation," is much used by them. Thus they will say, speaking of *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*, whom they call *Jenáb-i-Ṭáhiré* (Her Excellency the Pure), "*Maẓhar-i-Jenáb-i-Fáṭima-ast*" (She is the place-of-manifestation of Her Excellence Fátima), while they will say of one of their persecutors, "*Maẓhar-i-Shimrast,*" or "*Maẓhar-i-Yazídast*" (He is the place-of-manifestation of Shimr or Yazíd).

It is perhaps easier for a Christian to recognize a Bábí when he meets him than for a Muhammadan; partly because the Bábís are less afraid of disclosing their tenets in such a case; partly because they are, as a rule, friendly to the Christians, whom they do not, like the strict Muhammadans, regard as impure ("*najis*"); partly because they frequently have a very considerable knowledge of the Gospels, which they will quote, and from which they will try to prove that their religion is true, and that the promised coming of Christ was fulfilled in the Báb or Behá.

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At Taft, through which I passed on my way from Shíráz to Yezd, I recognized a Bábí in this way. He first asked me whether I were a Christian, and, on my replying in the affirmative, he questioned me concerning the signs of Christ's coming. Then he remarked, "Perhaps He *has* come," and presently asked me, "Has the news of this zuhúr reached you?"

At Yezd, as at Shíráz, I remained three weeks, and there too saw much of the Bábís. I had been informed that Bábíism was spreading amongst the Zoroastrians, which seemed very surprising, considering how long they had adhered to their ancient creed in the face of much persecution, oppression, and contempt. However, after much intercourse with the Zoroastrians of Yezd and Kirmán for the space of three months and a half or more, I came to the conclusion that, though not a few of them were very well disposed towards the Bábís (probably in great measure because the latter are not only much more tolerant of other religions than the Muhammadans, but likewise recognize Zoroaster as a prophet), few if any had actually adopted the Bábí creed.

Yezd bears the official title of "*Dáru'l-'ibádat*," or "Abode of worship," and it deserves this name; for the Muhammadans, Zoroastrians, and Bábís of that ancient city are all characterized by a greater degree of zeal and strictness in their religious beliefs and practices than I have witnessed elsewhere. The Bábís of Teherán, some of whom I saw on my return thither on my homeward journey, are also very notable for their learning and piety.

The Muhammadans often accuse the Bábís (of whose doctrines they are usually quite ignorant) of immorality, communism, and wine-drinking; and several European writers have repeated these accusations. Now with regard to *wine*, strict Bábís do not drink it, though the prohibition thereof, at least till lately, appears to be less absolute than in Islám. I do not deny that I have seen Bábís drink it, and in some cases even take too much of it, but it is well known that in Persia the Muhammadans are very

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lax about this matter; certainly at least as much so as the Bábís.

With regard to *communism*, it appears from the statements of some writers that this has been imagined to be one of the essential features of Bábíism, as though the latter were a *political* rather than a *religious* movement. This might also be inferred from some of the statements of the Persian historians and others. Thus Mr. Stack, in his admirable and instructive book entitled "Six Months in Persia," quotes the following remark made to him by a Persian gentleman: "We, too, have our Nihilists, and they are called Bábís by us." So also the author of the Persian history called *Násikhu't-Tawárikh* represents their doctrines as resembling those of Mazdak, which are usually believed to have been communistic. Now the only sense in which the Bábís can be said to be communistic is in the same sense as the early Christians might be so described; namely, in a readiness to share their possessions with one another, and a generous liberality in helping each other, such as is often witnessed in young and struggling faiths. Concerning this, an Armenian gentleman at Shíráz said to me: "I like the Bábís because of their freedom from prejudice, and open-handedness; they will give you anything you ask them for without expecting it back, though on the other hand they will ask you for anything they want, and not return it unless you demand it." Their liberality in helping one another is so well known that I have observed instances of certain ignoble persons trading on it, and pretending to be Bábís, so as to avail themselves of the open-handedness of rich members of the Bábí community.

With regard to the accusations of *immorality* brought against them, which, as the writer of the article "Bábí" in the new Encyclopædia Britannica observes, "seem to be founded solely on the misconduct of particular members of the sect," they doubtless arose partly from the false assertions of the author of the *Násikhu't-Tawárikh* and others that, according to the Bábí religion, a woman was allowed to have nine husbands and the like; partly from the tendency com-

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monly observed in history to traduce and malign new religions, the tenets of which are imperfectly understood owing to the secrecy necessarily observed concerning them. It will be remembered that precisely similar accusations were made against the early Christians, probably for similar reasons. Of course I do not mean to imply that individual members of the sect may not be guilty of immoral actions, for amongst those who profess any religion some persons may always be found whose conduct is at variance with the essential principles of morality. What I do confidently assert is that those who, professing to be Bábís, are guilty of immorality, are contravening the precepts of their religion.

I will not dwell at greater length on my experiences amongst the Bábís in Persia, of which I hope to give a fuller account at a future date, except to comment on a statement or conjecture of Mírzá Kazem Beg's in his lengthy and valuable article on *Báb and the Bábis* in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866 (sixième série, tome viii. p. 393). He says, "Thus lived the Báb, for a long while inoffensive, while the community of Bábís was secretly organized, being recruited by dreamers, mystics, superstitious people, who were by habit in expectation of the immediate advent of the imám, revolutionaries dissatisfied with the government and the clergy, as well as evilly-disposed persons who, under the pretext of Bábíism, hoped to serve their own interests. Thus there were formed amongst the Bábís three categories: the blind adorers of Báb, who belonged to the low class of the people, political agitators who had become his disciples, and evilly-disposed sectaries."

Now, although I do not altogether agree with this statement, I am nevertheless convinced that Bábíism attracts several very different types of thinkers.

Firstly, those who, having been rigorous and pious Muhamadans, are convinced by the arguments adduced by the Bábís from the Ḳur'án and Traditions, that in the appearance of this religion are fulfilled the promises given, or believed to have been given, concerning the advent of the twelfth Imám, or Imám Mahdí.

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Secondly, those who desire the reform and progress of their country, and behold in Bábíism capacities for this which they do not see in Muhammadanism.

Thirdly, Súfís and mystics, who regard Bábíism as a systematized and organized Súfíism, essential in its doctrines with their own pantheistic beliefs; and who consider its fundamental teaching to be the divine spark latent in man, by the cultivation of which he can attain to the degree of "*Fená fi'lláh*," or "Annihilation in God," wherein he may cry out, like Manṣúr-i-Ḥalláj, "*Ana'l-Ḥaḳḳ*," "I am the Truth," or "I am God."

Lastly, there are a certain number of people who are attracted by sheer admiration and love for the Báb, or his successor Behá. These stand more or less isolated from the Bábí community; they are satisfied with dwelling in their minds on the perfections of their hero, and celebrating his praises in poems. As a specimen of this class I will relate briefly the story told me by a young Bábí at Kirmán of his conversion to Bábíism. "Some time ago," he said, "I fell deeply in love; so that whenever I beheld the object of my affections, my whole body used to tremble; and when unable to gaze on my belovéd, I used to console myself by reading the ghazals of Sheykh Sa'dí. One day a friend of mine requested me to give him my copy of the latter. I replied, 'I have no other book, and what can I do without it?' He answered, 'I will give you instead of it a better book,' and placed in my hands the Maṣnaví of Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. I thereupon began to read this, but at first understood nothing. '*Listen to the flute when it makes lament*,' what did that mean, and what had it to do with me or my belovéd? I was sorry I had consented to receive this in exchange for my Sa'dí, but having nothing else, I continued to read it, until at length my soul became filled with the love of the Eternal Belovéd, and I saw that one should concentrate one's affections on *that*, and not on the transitory beauty of an earthly form, however lovely. One day, as I was walking outside the city, I came upon a man who was reading aloud, and the sweetness of the words caused me to

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stop and listen, and after a while I accosted him, and asked him what book it was. After some hesitation he informed me that it was the Beyán of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad of Shíráz, commonly known as the Báb. I was desirous to hear more, and finally succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Beyán for myself. It is thus," he concluded, "that my soul became filled with the love of His Highness, the Point of Utterance (*Ḥazrat-i-Nuḳṭa-i-Beyán*), so that when I sing poetry it is no longer addressed to an earthly belovéd, but is uttered in His praise."

This young man declined to ally himself altogether with either the Behá'ís or the Ezelís, the two unequal parties into which the Bábís of to-day are divided. The former of these recognize Behá not only as the Báb's successor, but as "*He whom God shall manifest*" (*Man yuẓ-hiruhu 'lláh*) himself, of whose coming the Báb continually spoke, and of whom he declared that to read one verse of His was better than to know the whole Beyán. The latter recognize Mírzá Yaḥyá (called by them "*Hazrat-i-Ezel*," "His Highness the Eternal") as the Vicegerent of the Báb, and consider that "He whom God shall manifest" has not yet appeared. They are by far the least numerous of the two parties, and indeed are hardly to be found except in Kirmán and one or two other places, whereas the Behá'ís are diffused throughout the whole of Persia, and are to be found in large numbers in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and perhaps other countries as well.

When asked by the Behá'ís to recognize Behá as the one foretold by the Báb, he would only reply, "His Highness the Point of Utterance is sufficient for me;" yet he did not categorically deny the claims of Behá like the Ezelís.

I will now conclude this part of my Essay with a brief summary of the chief events in the history of the Bábís, as I promised to do in the beginning of my paper, with the view especially of fixing the dates as far as possible; adding such remarks and criticisms as appear to me necessary. The literature and doctrines of the sect I hope to discuss on a future occasion.

First I will enumerate the sources of information, already

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placed before the public, of which I have been able to avail myself;[1] then those to which I have had access, and which, as far as I am aware, have not hitherto been accessible, but which will, I hope, soon be rendered so.

Of the former, the principal ones are: M. le Comte de Gobineau's "*Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale,*" and Mírzá Kazem Beg's articles in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866, already referred to; the two Persian histories entitled respectively *Násikhu't-Tawárikh*, and *Rawzatu's-Safá* (or rather *Mírzá Rizá Kuli Khán's* continuation of the latter); and incidental notices in other works of travel and history, amongst which I will only mention Mr. R. G. Watson's "*History of Persia under the Kájár Dynasty,*" and Lady Sheil's "*Diary in Persia,*" both of which are of great use in examining critically the chronology of some of the chief events connected with the Bábí movement. Besides these I believe that treatises exist by Dr. Ethé, and M. Pillon, of which, I regret to say, I have hitherto been unable to avail myself. Of all these I consider the work of M. le Comte de Gobineau the best, and I cannot avoid paying a tribute of respect and admiration to the author of this most brilliant treatise on Persian thought.

The new sources of information which I have been able to avail myself of are, besides oral tradition, *firstly*, the manuscript history of the Bábís, of which I have already spoken; *secondly*, a manuscript copy of the Persian Beyán which I obtained with great difficulty in the district of Rafsinján in South-eastern Persia; and *thirdly* the short poetical summary of the chief events in the life of Behá written by Nabíl, one of the chief Bábí poets of the present day, who resides at Acre. Of these, the second clearly fixes some doubtful points

[1] Since writing the above, several other works bearing on the subject have come under my notice. To some of these I shall allude more fully in my next article on the Bábís. Briefly, they are as follows: Descriptions of Bábí MSS. in the St. Petersburg Library by Dorn (*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, 1864-65), and Baron V. Rosen (*Collections de l'Institut Oriental*); Description of three Bábí (Ezelí) MSS., by C. Huart, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887; an article on Bábíism, in the Arabic Encyclopædia, called *Dá'iratu'l-Ma'árif*, published at Beyrout by Buṭrus-el-Bustání, which is based chiefly on information supplied by Jemálu'd-Dín el-Afghán; and a few pages on "Báb and his teaching," in A. von Kremer's *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams.*

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of great importance, and affords a certain amount of information about the Báb, who is believed by every one, I think, except Mírzá Kazem Beg, to be its author; while the third is of the greatest use in determining the chief points in the history of the sect subsequently to the death of the Báb (1850), and before the year 1286 A.H. (1869 A.D.).

I have said that the most startling discrepancies exist even in the few authorities at our disposal. In no point is this more evident than in the age which they assign to the Báb, and the year in which they approximately place his birth. It seems desirable to begin with a date about which there is comparative unanimity of opinion; I mean the date of the *zuhúr*, or period when Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad became assured of his divine mission. By the Persian historians this is placed in the year 1260 A.H., corresponding to the year 1844 of our era. Gobineau says "about the year 1843," and Kazem Beg places the second visit of the Báb to Shíráz, his native town, when his doctrines first began to be preached, in 1844. Now this date is fixed with great accuracy in the Beyán, than which we can surely have no better authority, even though we were to assume, with Kazem Beg, that it was the work, not of the Báb himself, but of his intimate disciple, and continual companion, Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, which there seems no reason for supposing. It is mentioned as follows in the seventh chapter of the second Váhid (Unity) of the Beyán: "*avval-i-án* (*zuhúr*) *ba'd az dú sá'at ú pánzdah daḳiḳa az shab-i-Jum'a, panchum-i-Jamádí-ul-Ú'lá, sené-i-hazár ú divist ú shast, ki sené-i-hazár ú divist ú hafṭád-i-bi'sat mi-sharad.*" "The beginning of that (manifestation) (was) after two hours and fifteen minutes (had elapsed) from the eve of Friday, the fifth of Jamádí-ul-Ú'lá (in) the year one thousand two hundred and sixty, which is the year one thousand two hundred and seventy of the mission" (of Muhammad). It will be seen from this that the Báb gives the hijra date of his mission as well as the date which he usually prefers, namely, that of the *commencement* of the preceding zuhúr, or mission of Muhammad. In one other passage in the Beyán (Váhid vi. chapter 13), he repeats the

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date of the month explicitly, namely, Jamádí-ul-Úlá 5th, but describes the year after his favourite method thus: "*va ba'd az ghars-i-shajaré-i-Kur'án kemál-i-án dar hazár ú dirist ú haftád sál rasíd.*" "And after the planting of the Tree of the Kur'án, the perfection thereof arrived in one thousand two hundred and seventy years." Now this date (Jamádí-ul-Úlá 5th, A.H. 1260), corresponds to *May* 23*rd*, *A.D.* 1844, and we may regard it as a fixed point from which to work.

Now with regard to the age of the Báb at this time, different authorities vary by at least fourteen years. Lady Sheil, writing in 1850, says: "This celebrated person was born forty years ago in Shíráz." This, the earliest date given, would place his birth in the year 1810. Kazem Beg, basing his calculations on certain passages in the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, which describe the Báb as being about forty years old, fixes the year 1812. Gobineau, on the other hand, begins his narrative thus: "About the year 1843 there existed at Shíráz a young man, not more than nineteen years old if so much, named Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad." This would make 1824 the year of his birth.

All these various statements are apparently referable to two sources: the assertions of the Muhammadan historians, especially the author of the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, and the tradition of the Bábís; Lady Sheil and Kazem Beg have followed the former, Gobineau the latter. Now it seems, primâ facie, much more likely that the Bábís, who were deeply interested in the matter, should be right, than the Muhammadans, who probably cared very little about it, and on this ground alone I should prefer the date given by Gobineau. For the Bábís are unanimous in speaking of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb, as having been nineteen years old when he commenced preaching his doctrine. I confess that the number nineteen, being the sacred number of the Bábís, looks a little suspicious, but at least the difference between this and his actual age cannot have been more than two or three years, for had he really been nearly forty years of age, such a tradition could never have gained currency amongst his followers within so comparatively

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short a time of his death. Moreover they lay great stress on his youth: I have heard them speak of him as "*bacha-i-núzdah sála,*" "a child of nineteen years old;" and in the Bábí history it is stated that the Báb's teacher, Hájí Seyyid Kázim of Resht, during the latter days of his life, used to speak chiefly of the approaching advent of the *Ḳá'im*, or Absent Imám; and when asked for the signs whereby he might be known, indicated three: *firstly*, that he would be a Háshimí (by which the Bábís understood a Seyyid); *secondly*, that he would be youthful in years; and *thirdly*, that he would be untaught in the learning of men; and all these signs they consider to have been present in the Báb. Now the author of this history says in one passage that *thirty years have passed wherein the Bábis have been visited with all sorts of severities*, and, writing so soon after the events he chronicled, and which he had from eye-witnesses, it appears perfectly incredible that he should go out of his way to state that Hájí Seyyid Kázim mentioned *youthfulness* as one of the signs of the expected Ḳá'im, if the Báb, whom he wishes to prove *is* the Ḳá'im or Imám Mahdí, were not actually young.

But apart from these arguments, two passages in the Beyán throw light on the matter. The first occurs in the first chapter of the second *váḥid* and the translation thereof runs thus: "One from whose life twenty-four years had passed, and who was entirely devoid of all the sciences which others had studied, and now recites verses in this manner without thought or reflection, and writes in the space of five hours a thousand verses in prayer without pause of the pen, this thing is assuredly from God."

The other passage occurs much further on, in the eleventh chapter of the sixth *váḥid*, and runs as follows: "As, in the manifestation of the *Furḳán* (*i.e.* the *Ḳur'án*), no one recognized that Sun of Truth until forty years had passed (over him), and in (the case of) the *Nuḳṭa-i-Beyán* ("Point of Utterance," *i.e.* the Báb) (until) twenty-five years."

Now it will be observed that in the first of these passages the Báb speaks of himself as being twenty-four years old,

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and in the second as twenty-five. What are we to understand by this difference if not this: that when the first passage was penned the writer was twenty-four years of age, and that the second was written a year later? The Beyán is a large book (I mean, of course, the Persian Beyán, not either of the two Arabic Beyáns, the shorter of which was translated into French by Gobineau, and the longer of which I have not yet been able to see), and it may well be supposed that a year elapsed between the utterance of the two passages above quoted. The only other suppositions are—either that one of the statements is a copyist's error (which seems scarcely likely, when we consider that the scribe must almost certainly have been a Bábí, and would therefore hardly commit so gross an error in the transcription of what he regarded as a sacred book); or else, which is even more improbable, that the mistake was the Báb's, and that he did not even know his own age!

I will therefore assume that the first passage indicates truly the age of the Báb at the time it was written. The question now arises, when was it written? I think it is possible to fix this date also within certain limits. I have references to fourteen passages, mostly in the earlier part of the book, stating explicitly or implicitly that the latter was written during his exile in Mákú, near Tabríz. Now we know that the Báb did not leave Isfahán, whither he went after his first imprisonment at Shíráz, till the death of Minúchihr Khán, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla, which took place, according to Kazem Beg, in the year 1847, and according to Mírzá Rizá Kulí Khán, author of the supplement of the *Rawzatu-ṣ-Ṣafá*, in the month of Rabí'ul-Úlá, which would fix the date as being either the latter half of February or the first part of March, 1847.

Now supposing the Báb to have left Isfahán immediately after this, and to have been conveyed direct to Mákú by way of Teherán, within a short distance of which he was brought before his escort received orders to convey him to Tabríz and Mákú, he can scarcely have reached the latter place before the middle or end of April, 1847. Now he remained at

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Mákú for three years, according to the Bábí historian, that is, till his martyrdom in July, 1850, except for six months out of that time, during which he was confined at Chihríḳ, near Urumiyyé. As it is implied in the very same chapter from which the first reference to his age is drawn, that this was written at Mákú, it seems unlikely that its date should be earlier than the end of 1847 or the beginning of 1848. If, then, his age at that date were twenty-four years, he must have been born at any rate *not earlier* than A.D. 1824, which agrees with Gobineau's statement, and the Bábí tradition, that he was only nineteen years old at the period of the *Ẓuhúr*. Putting all these things together, I think we may fix the birth of the Báb at about the year 1824 of our era.

The next point which I wish to discuss is the date of the Báb's martyrdom at Tabríz, in connection with which I shall have to speak of the dates of the great Bábí insurrections at Sheykh Tabarsí, near Bálfurúsh, in Mázandarán, and at Zanján in the Khamsa.

With regard to the Mázandarán insurrection, all authorities are agreed that it began shortly after the death of Muhammad Sháh (September 4th or 5th, 1848), and was finally quelled in July or August, 1849. But in the case of the two other events, there is some difference.

Watson, Piggott, and Kazem Beg all place the commencement of the siege of Zanján in the month of May, but whereas the two former make the year 1850, the latter asserts it to have been 1849. According to the first two authorities, an interval of about nine months must have elapsed between the fall of Sheykh Tabarsí and the commencement of the troubles at Zanján; while the latter states explicitly that the news of the former event reached the Bábís, who were defending themselves at Zanján, during the latter part of 1849, and served to discourage them.

Lady Sheil records the siege of Zanján, and the ultimate fate thereof, in her Diary of the events of 1850, and after speaking of the execution of seven Bábís ("The seven martyrs," *Shuhadá-i-sab'a*) at Teherán, proceeds, "In Zanján . . . . . the insurrection broke out with violence." The

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balance of evidence is therefore in favour of May, 1850, as the date of the commencement of the siege. Watson says that it lasted "all through the summer of 1850," and that "the scene of operations was visited in the month of October by Sir Henry Bethune." This statement, however, introduces a further difficulty, for Kazem Beg makes the siege last from May till the following January, whereas according to Watson's account, it can only have lasted from May till October; unless, indeed, we are to understand that Sir Henry Bethune visited the scene of operations before the conclusion of the siege, and that Lady Sheil, in chronicling the events of the year 1850, mentioned the conclusion of it, which did not actually occur till the beginning of 1851.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that Kazem Beg was in error, as he certainly is in placing the Báb's death in 1849. The latter error appears to result from the former, for there seems no reason to doubt that the Báb was shot at Tabríz during the siege of Zanján (as is explicitly stated by Watson), and in the month of July. Kazem Beg himself quotes a statement of M. Mochenin's (from whose notes he draws much of his information), to the effect that the latter had himself seen the Báb at Chihríḳ, in June, 1850, but he says in a note at the bottom of the page, "M. Mochenin must be deceived about the date; in 1850 Báb no longer existed. He was put to death towards the middle of July, 1849." It is difficult to see what facts made Kazem Beg reject so clear a testimony to the fact that the Báb was still living in June, 1850, unless it be, as I have suggested, that his error concerning the date of the siege of Zanján threw him into this further mistake, and that he followed the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, which makes the year A.H. 1265 (which ended on November 16th, 1849) the date of this event. The Bábí history, on the other hand, fully supports the statements of Watson and Lady Sheil in favour of the year 1850, for it says: "The holy spirit of that noble one (*i.e.* the Báb), flying from that delicate frame, ascended to the highest horizon; and this event occurred on Thursday the 27th of the month of Sha'bán, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixty-six

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of the hijra, which was the seventh year of the manifestation" (*zuhúr*). If this be correct, as there is every reason to believe (since the Bábís would surely be more interested than any one else in preserving the exact date of the death of their founder), we obtain *July 9th*, 1850, as the day on which the Báb suffered martyrdom. Gobineau likewise gives Sha'bán 27th as the date, but does not, I think, mention the year.

We have now fixed five important dates, from which it is possible approximately to arrange the remaining events of this period in chronological order. These I shall give in a tabular form at the conclusion of this part of my paper, but before doing so, the history of the Bábís from the date of the Báb's death down to the year 1869, when Nabíl's poetical chronicle was written, must be sketched in outline.

On the death of the Báb, Mírzá Yahya, who received the title of "*Hazrat-i-Ezel*" ("His Highness the Eternal"), was chosen by general consensus of opinion as his successor, and appears to have left Persia and taken up his residence in Baghdád almost immediately. He laid no claims to prophetic rank, being merely the "Khalífa," or vicegerent of the Báb.

In January, 1852, Mírzá Taḳí Khán, the Sháh's first prime-minister, at whose suggestion the Báb was put to death, and who had fallen into disgrace with the Sháh and been dismissed from office a few months previously, was secretly put to death at the palace of Fín, near Káshán.

In August of the same year (Aug. 15th, 1852), the attempt on the life of the Sháh by certain Bábís was made, and a fierce persecution of the sect immediately succeeded it; in which, amongst other victims, the beautiful and accomplished Bábí heroine and poetess, *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*, as well as the Báb's former amanuensis and fellow-prisoner, *A'ḳá Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd*, and *Suleymán Khán*, whose extraordinary fortitude under the most terrible tortures has rendered his name famous, suffered death. Behá, who had failed in an attempt to join the Bábís in Mázandarán during the siege of Sheykh Tabarsí, narrowly escaped death on this occasion, and appears actually to have been arrested; but as he had just returned to

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Teherán, his friends succeeded in proving that he could not have had any complicity in the attempted assassination of the Sháh, and, after a short period of imprisonment, he also went to Baghdad, where Mírzá Yahyá already was. This occurred, according to Nabíl, in A.H. 1270 (Oct. 4th, 1853–Sept. 24th, 1854).

Here he remained, with occasional periods of retirement into solitude, for 10 years (till A.H. 1280), and during this period (in A.H. 1278) he wrote the *I'ḳán*, or proof of the truth of the Bábí doctrines, of which I have already said something. About the same time the Bábís at Sultánábád in 'Iráḳ-i-'Ajamí suffered a severe persecution, of which I have heard a very detailed account from one who but narrowly escaped the death which befell four of his fellow-prisoners. Besides these, a Bábí woman was sent thence to Teherán, and there strangled by order of the Sháh.

The Persian Government viewed with disfavour the presence of the Bábís at Baghdad, and finally, in A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863–4), prevailed on the Turkish Government to remove them to a spot more remote from Persia.

They were first taken to Constantinople, where they remained for about four months; thence, in Rajab, A.H. 1281 (December, A.D. 1864), they were sent to Adrianople, called by the followers of Behá, "*Arẓ-i-sirr*," "The Land of the Mystery," because it was there that Behá announced his divine mission, and claimed to be "He whom God shall manifest" (A.H. 1283 = A.D. 1866–7). On his making this announcement, the Bábís were divided into two parties, some admitting Behá's claim, and others, at the head of whom was *Mírzá Yahyá*, who had hitherto been regarded by all as the Báb's successor and vicegerent, denying it. These latter argued that "He whom God shall manifest" could not come until the religion founded by the Báb had obtained currency, and the laws laid down in the Beyán had been adopted, at least by some of the nations of the earth. They asserted that it was an impossible thing that one revelation should so soon be abrogated by another, and that so brief a period should separate

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two "*zuhúrs*," or manifestations; while they further adduced texts from the Beyán to prove that more than a thousand years, and probably either 2001 or 1511 years (represented respectively by the sum of the letters in the words *Ghiyás* and *Mustaghás* according to the abjad notation) must elapse between the time of the Báb and the advent of "Him whom God shall manifest."

Against these arguments the followers of Behá quoted numerous texts from the Beyán to the effect that the day and place of His coming were known to God alone (Persian Beyán, iv. 5, vi. 3, vii. 10); that He will arise *suddenly* (vii. 9), and is to be known by Himself, not by the Beyán (vii. 11), for he is the fulfilment of the verse "*Leysa Ke-mithlihi shey*" (There is none like unto Him) (v. 16); and that it was impossible that any one should falsely claim to be Him (vi. 8). They urged, moreover, that all through the Beyán the utmost stress was laid upon "verses" (*áyát*) being the essential sign and proof of a prophet, and that the *Lawḥ-i-Naṣír*, in which Behá announced his prophetic mission, and other writings of his, fulfilled the conditions which constituted "verses," viz. Eloquence of diction; rapidity of utterance; knowledge unacquired by study (*'Ilm-i-ladunní*); claim to divine origin; and power to affect and control the minds of men.

The discussion between the two parties grew fierce, and finally they came to blows in some cases, and several on either side were killed. The Turkish Government decided to separate them, and it was determined to send Mírzá Yaḥyá and his followers to Cyprus, and Behá with his adherents to Acre on the Syrian coast. The latter place was used by the Turks as a prison and place of exile for convicts, and is said to be extremely unhealthy, especially during the summer months. The Bábís declare that it was chosen on that account, in the hope that it might prove fatal to Behá and his followers, and that this scheme was devised by the French and Persian ambassadors at Constantinople in conjunction with 'Álí Páshá, who said, "I will send him to a place where he will soon die." It was on this account that

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the letters sent by Behá to Napoleon III., foretelling his downfall, and to 'Álí Páshá, prophesying his death in a foreign country, were written; and in another letter, addressed to the Emperor of Russia, thanks are bestowed for kindness shown by the Russian minister. Of these documents, which, with some others addressed to other potentates, are collectively known as the "*Súra-i-Heykal*," I shall speak more particularly in treating of the Literature of the Bábís.

It was further decided that a few of the Ezelís, or followers of Mírzá Yaḥyá, should be sent with Behá and his adherents to Acre; and that some of the latter should be transported with the majority of the Ezelís to Cyprus. The reason of this arrangement was a hope that in each case the dissentient minority would strive to hinder Persians and others from coming to visit either of the Bábí chiefs, by giving information of their arrival and intention to the Turkish Government. Much difficulty was experienced in carrying out this arrangement, the Behá'ís refusing to be separated from their chief. One of them cut his throat, and refused to allow the wound to be dressed and the hæmorrhage checked, until he received a promise that he should be allowed to accompany his master to Acre. Others cast themselves out of the ships which were to separate them from him into the sea.

Eventually only three or four of the followers of Behá were conveyed to Cyprus. One of these was the celebrated "*Mushkin-Ḳalam*," who is famous among the Bábís for his penmanship, and who keeps, or used to keep, a coffee-house at, I think, Larnaka-Skala. Whenever a Persian landed there, he used to invite him in, and offer him tea or coffee and a ḳalyán; and if, in the course of conversation, he succeeded in eliciting from his visitor that he had come thither to see Mírzá Yaḥyá, he tried to prevent him doing so, either by persuasion, or by warning the Turkish officials of his intention. Since Cyprus has become a British possession, I do not know how the matter stands, and though I have made some inquiries, I have hitherto been unable to learn whether

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Mírzá Yaḥyá is still alive or not.[1] It is probable that if he be so, he will be at *Lefkosia*, and it is extremely desirable to find this out, for much precious information concerning the Báb could undoubtedly be gathered from him. His followers soon dwindled to a very small number, and I was informed by a Bábí who had visited him a few years ago, that he was living alone in great poverty, and, I think, deserted by his own sons. He is said to spend his days in lamenting over the death of the Báb, and writing poems in his praise.

With regard to the seven Ezelís sent to Acre, they were massacred one night by some of the followers of Behá, but without the knowledge of the latter, so far as we can judge. The names of five of these unfortunate victims were: *A'ḳá Ján*, nicknamed "*Kaj-Kuláh*" (crooked-cap), a young man of great strength, who had served in the Turkish artillery, till dismissed and imprisoned for being a Bábí, and who was first killed, as he came to open the door on hearing the knocks of the assassins; *Háji Seyyid Muhammad, of Isfahán*, one of the companions and disciples of the Báb himself; *Mírzá Riẓá*, nephew of the above; *Háji Seyyid Huseyn, of Káshán;* and *Mírzá Haydar 'Alí, of Ardistán*, described as a man of wonderful fire and enthusiasm.

The Turkish officials, on hearing of this massacre, confined all the followers of Behá in the caravansaray, till the twelve murderers gave themselves up, saying, "We killed these men on our own responsibility and without the knowledge of the others. Punish us, not them." They were thereupon imprisoned for some time, but eventually released on Behá's son, 'Abbás Efendi (called *A'ḳá Sirru'lláh*, "The Mystery of God"), making himself surety for them. They were not permitted to leave Acre, and were for some time compelled to wear gyves upon their ankles.

[1] In the article on Bábíism in the Arabic Encyclopædia called *Dá'iratu'l-Ma'árif*, to which I have alluded in a previous note, it is stated that the Turkish Government "exiled *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* ('the Morning of Eternity,' *i.e.* Mírzá Yaḥyá) to the island of Cyprus, where he died; and exiled Behá to Acre, where he still lives with a number of his followers." Within the last few weeks, rumours have reached me from Beyrout to the effect that Behá is dead, and that one of his followers named Seyyid 'Alí, Shírází, has been chosen to fill his place. For the truth of this report, however, I cannot vouch.

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This event occurred about a month after the arrival of Behá and his followers at Acre, *i.e.* about October or November, 1868. From that time till the present day, the followers of Behá have been increasing in number and influence, and the followers of Mírzá Yaḥyá decreasing, so that among the many Bábís with whom I formed acquaintance in Persia, I only met six Ezelís. These, of course, do not accept any of the writings of Behá as inspired, and their sacred books are confined to the Beyán, and other writings of the Báb. Mírzá Yaḥyá is also the author of some books, I believe, but these are only regarded, even by the Ezelís, as of secondary importance, while the Behá'ís reject them entirely.

Thus at the present day nearly all the Bábís are Behá'ís, and the Beyán, and other writings of the Báb, are in their eyes already an abrogated revelation;—a sort of Old Testament, read occasionally for edification, but no longer authoritative as a guide of life and belief. It is this fact which makes copies of the Beyán so difficult to obtain, since they have become scarce; and moreover the Bábís prefer to place in the hands of the inquirer the writings of Behá.

The latter are very numerous, since all the letters sent by him to his followers or others are regarded as inspired writings in the fullest sense of the word. Behá is now 74 years of age, and still dwells at Acre, where he is visited by numbers of his followers, as well as by inquirers. According to what I have heard, the respect paid to him by the former is unbounded. They regard him as an incarnation of the Deity, and indeed commonly speak of him as "*Ḥaḳḳ*" (*God*, or the *Truth*), although, as I hope to explain more fully on a future occasion, they understand his divinity in different ways. He has several sons, one, already alluded to, named *'Abbás Efendi*, and called by the Bábís "*Ghuṣn-i-A'zam*," or "*Áḳá Sirru 'lláh*," who travels about to Beyrout and other places in Syria; another, named *Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí*, and entitled "*Ghuṣn-i-Akbar*." Behá himself is named *Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí*, and is of noble family. He was born in A.H. 1233, on Muharram 2nd, in Teherán. He never appears in public, and never leaves Acre except to visit a garden which he

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possesses in its vicinity, and this he does at night. He is constantly waited on by one known amongst the Bábís as *Jenáb-i-Khádimu'lláh* (His Excellence the Servant of God), who admits those who desire an audience in parties of from half a dozen to a dozen, at stated times. A scribe is also present who writes so swiftly that he can take down verbatim all the utterances of Behá, which are subsequently copied out for distribution.

These audiences of which I have spoken do not appear to last long as a rule. One of them was described to me minutely by a Bábí with whom I was intimately acquainted, and who visited both Acre and Cyprus in the course of his travels. At the former place he remained seventy days, and during this time was "honoured" ("*musharraf*"), that is, admitted to an audience with the Behá, twelve times. The first occasion was three days after his arrival. He was accompanied by a friend who had been there before, and by the afore-mentioned Khádimu'lláh. On reaching the flight of stairs leading to the room where Behá was with his two sons, my informant saw his companions prostrate themselves, and enter the room on their knees. While he was hesitating as to whether he should do the same, Behá called out to him "*Lázim nist*," "It is not necessary." Behá then placed his hands on their heads, and greeted them twice with the words "*Báraka'lláhu 'aleykum*" ("God hath blessed you," or "May God bless you"). Then he said, "Most blessed are ye, in that ye have been honoured with beholding me, for prophets have desired this most ardently." He then told them to sit down, and tea was placed before them. My informant's companion hesitated to drink it before receiving permission, seeing which, Behá said to him, "The meaning of placing tea before a person is that he should drink it." Khádimu'lláh then read a "*Lawḥ*" to them, and they were dismissed. My informant added, that being taken ill a little while after, he was sent some *piláw* from Behá's own plate, and that on eating this he was cured. Many of the Bábís strove to carry off a few grains of rice for themselves. On another occasion when he was admitted to an audience, Behá said to him, "I desire that all men may become even as I am."

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Since the arrival of Behá at Acre, the most important events in the history of the sect are the despatch of the Letters to the various sovereigns of some of the chief countries in Europe and Asia, inviting them to embrace the new religion, and the martyrdom of Badí', the youthful messenger who carried the letter addressed to the Sháh of Persia to Teherán, which probably occurred about A.D. 1869; and the death of the "Martyrs of Isfahán," described above, about A.D. 1880 or 1881.

The letters were as follows:[1] to *the Sháh of Persia*, the bearer of which went on foot from Acre to Teherán, where he suffered a painful death, being branded to death with hot bricks; to *Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Aziz;* to *Napoleon III.;* to the then reigning *Emperor of Russia;* to the *Pope;* to the *President of the United States;* and to our own *Queen Victoria.* In the latter much commendation is bestowed on the Queen and the English Government.

I must here conclude this imperfect account of the history of this interesting and curious religion, which, although far from being as accurate and precise as I should have wished, contains, I believe, matter hitherto not brought before the public. I hope soon to be in possession of fuller materials, and to be able to publish a better account of the subject. Meanwhile I shall be very greatly obliged to any one who will correct any of the dates given, or supply me with any fuller information. The Literature and Doctrines of the sect I propose to consider in another Paper. My hope is that this attempt to give some further account of a most important religious movement in the East, which may not improbably again play a prominent part in history, may at least serve to attract the attention of Orientalists and others to a hitherto much neglected subject, which, alike from the claim to be a Universal Religion put forward by Bábíism, and from the tragic events which befell its founder and many of his followers, surely deserves the fullest investigation.

[1] Of the second and sixth of these I do not possess a copy, and of the existence of the latter I am doubtful. The other letters, as well as the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'is*, not mentioned here, are fully discussed in my second paper.

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In conclusion I feel bound to state that, as far as my personal experience goes, I have found the Bábís, as a general rule, men of learning, reasonable, and humane; and in almost all cases actuated and dominated by that boundless devotion to their creed, and their spiritual chief, which has, throughout all their history, been their most remarkable characteristic.

Chronological Table of the Most Important Events in the History of the Bábís.

	A.H.	A.D.
Birth of *Mírzá Huseyn 'Ali*, now known as "*Behá*," and recognized as the spiritual chief of the sect by the great majority of its members.	1233 (Muharram 2nd)	1817 (Nov. 12th)
Birth of *Mírzá 'Ali Muhammad*, commonly known as "the Báb," after whom the sect is called.	(circâ 1240)	(1824–1825)
Period of the "*Ẓuhúr*," or "Manifestation," when the Báb first declared his divine mission.	1260 (Jamádi'ul-Úlá 5th)	1844 (May 23rd)
His apostles, sent from Bushire to Shíráz, are forbidden to preach, and have the tendons of their feet cut by order of Huseyn Khán, then Governor of Fárs.	1261 (Sha'bán 2nd)	1845 (August 6th)
Horsemen are sent from Shíráz to Bushire to arrest the Báb.	1261 (Sha'bán 16th)	1845 (August 20th)
The Báb is brought to Shíráz from Bushire, and, in company with his maternal uncle, examined before Huseyn Khán, who orders him to be kept in captivity.	1261 (Ramazán 21st)	1845 (Sept. 23rd)
The Báb remains imprisoned at Shíráz for about six months, when he escapes, and proceeds to Isfahán, where he is well received by *Minúchihr Khán, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla.*	1262 (circâ Rabí'ul-Avval)	1846 (circâ March)

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Death of Minúchihr Khán, and removal of the Báb to Mákú. The Báb remains at Mákú or Chihríḳ (to which latter place he was transferred subsequently for six months) until put to death at Tabríz, on July 9th, 1850.	1263 (Rabí'ul-Avval)	1847 (Feb.–March)
During the captivity of the Báb his disciples have been busily engaged in spreading his doctrines, especially Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí, in Mázandarán, and Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who visited Isfahán, Káshán, and Khurásán, and made many converts.	1262–1264	1846–1848
Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn embraces the Bábí doctrine, and, discarding the veil, begins to preach openly at Ḳazvín, to the great scandal of the Musulmáns, and especially her uncle, Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taḳí, who curses the Báb publicly, and is in consequence killed by some Bábís in the mosque, on which account he is called by the Muhammadans "*Shahíd-i-Ṣáliḥ*," "the third martyr." This event, according to the *Ḳiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* (Stories of Divines), occurred in A.H. 1264. *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn* is obliged in consequence of this to fly from Ḳazvín, and sets out for Teherán, and thence for Khorásán.	1264	1848
Mullá Huseyn, having been arrested at Mesh-hed, and confined by Hamzé Mírzá in his camp, escapes, on the outbreak of fresh disturbances at Mesh-hed, and sets out westwards with some of his adherents. At Miyámí he is met by about thirty believers. A	1264 (Jamádi II.–Ẕi'l-Ḳa'da)	1848 (between May and Sept.)

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conflict occurs with the Musulmáns, and the Bábís retire to *Sháhrúd*. At this place, or at a village in Sawád Kúh called *Ará'im*, according to the Bábí history, they hear the news of the *death of Muhammad Sháh*.	1264 (Ẓi'l-Ḳa'da 7th)	1848 (October 5th)
At *Badasht* Mullá Huseyn is joined by Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bálfurúsh, and Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, with their followers, and a council is held. At this *Behá* was also present, and, according to Nabíl's chronology, was then 32 years of age. This would make the year A.H. 1265, but in that case it must have been the very beginning of the year, which commenced on November 27th, 1848.	end of 1264 or beginning of 1265	late autumn of 1848
The Bábís, driven out of Bálfurúsh, retire to the tomb of Sheykh Tabarsí, twelve or fifteen miles S.E. of that town, and there entrench themselves.		
Coronation of *Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh* at Teherán.	1264 (Zi'l-Ḳa'da 22)	1848 (Oct. 20th)
Arrival of Mahdí Ḳulí Mírzá to subdue the Bábís at Sheykh Tabarsí, followed by 'Abbás Ḳulí Khán, Sartíp-i-Lárijání, on both of whom the Bábís inflict several severe defeats, but Mullá Huseyn, the Bábí chief, is killed in one of these sorties.	1265 (beginning)	1848 (December)
Suleymán Khán, Afshár, arrives to assist the besiegers.	1265 (middle)	1849 (spring)
Fall of Sheykh Tabarsí, and slaughter of the Bábí garrison, after being given a promise of amnesty. Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí and	1265 (Ramazán-Shawwál)	1849 (July–Aug.)

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one or two of the chiefs are executed at Bálfurúsh.		
Siege of *Zanján*, which was held by the Bábís under Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Zanjání for several months, against overwhelming numbers of troops.	1266 (middle and end)	1850 (May and onwards)
The execution of Mirzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb, with his disciple, Mírzá Muhammad 'Alí, Tabrízí, a young merchant of Tabríz, at that city. (The Báb's amanuensis, Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn, of Yezd, saves himself by recanting and renouncing his Master, but rejoins the Bábís at Teherán, and perishes in the great persecution of A.D. 1852.)	1266 (Sha'bán 27th)	1850 (July 8th)
Fall of Zanján, and slaughter of the Bábís there.	1266 (end) or 1267 (beginning)	1850 (end)
Other events of this year are: the insurrections at Yezd and Níríz, under Áḳá Seyyid Yaḥyá, of Dáráb; and the death of the "seven martyrs" at Teherán, who were—Hájí Mullá Isma'íl of Ḳum; Hájí Mírzá Seyyid 'Alí, the maternal uncle of the Báb; Mírzá Ḳurbán 'Alí, the dervish; Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn, mujtahid, of Turshíz; Hájí Mullá Naḳí of Kirmán; Mírzá Muhammad Huseyn of Tabríz; and a man of Marágha.	1266	1850
Disgrace and banishment of Mírzá Taḳí Khán, Amír-i-Kabír, and hitherto Prime Minister of Persia.	1268 (beginning)	1851 (end)
He is put to death at the Palace of Fín, near Káshán.	1268 (Rabí'ul-Avval)	1852 (Jan. 9th)
Attempt to assassinate the Sháh of Persia by three or four Bábís, as	1268 (Shawwál 28th)	1852 (Aug. 15th)

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he was leaving his summer palace at Niyávarán to go on a hunting expedition.		
Arrest and execution, with great cruelties, of a number of Bábís, including *Suleymán Khán* (who was led to the place of execution with lighted candles inserted in wounds in his flesh, and who nevertheless continued to give expression to the liveliest joy at his approaching martyrdom, and to recite verses of poetry); *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, who had for some time previously been confined in the house of *Maḥmúd Khán, Kalántar*; and *Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn* of Yezd, the Báb's amanuensis and fellow-prisoner, who escaped death with his Master at Tabríz in 1850.	1268 (Ẕi'l-Ḳa'da)	1852 (end of Aug.)
Behá, suspected of complicity in the plot to assassinate the Sháh, is imprisoned for four months in Teherán, when his innocence is proved, and he retires to Baghdad.	1268 (end) 1269 (beginning)	1852 (end) 1853 (beginning)
Baghdad now becomes the headquarters of the Bábís for ten years, Mírzá Yaḥyá (Hazrat-i-Ezel) being recognized as their chief. Two events of importance mark the latter part of this time: (1) The persecution of the Bábís at Sultánábád; (2) The composition of the *I'ḳán* by *Behá*.	1278–1279	1861–1862
The Bábís are transferred by the Turkish Government from Baghdád to Constantinople, where they remain for four months.	1280–1281	1864 (April–Aug.)
They are transferred thence to Adrianople.	1281 (Rajab)	1864 (December)

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Behá claims to be "*He whom God shall manifest,*" foretold by the Báb, and demands the allegiance of the Bábís, which is tendered by the majority, but refused by Mírzá Yaḥyá (Hazrat-i-Ezel) and his followers (the Ezelís).	1283	1866–1867
	[Left Adrianople]	
Quarrels arising between the followers of Behá and Mírzá Yaḥyá, they are separated by the Turkish Government, the former being sent to Acre, and the latter to Cyprus. A few of Behá's followers are, however, sent with the Ezelís to Cyprus, and a few of the Ezelís to Acre. The latter are murdered soon after their arrival.	1285 (Rabí'uṣ-Ṣání 20th)	1868 (August 10th)
	[Reached Acre]	
	1285 (Jamádi'ul-Avval 12th)	1868 (Aug. 31st)
Chronicle of Nabíl, who was then forty years old, was written.	1286 (Sha'bán)	1869 (Nov.–Dec.)
Since that date I have no record of events at my disposal, neither do I know if any exist, though there is undoubtedly a chronicle kept at Acre. The letters addressed to the kings and rulers previously mentioned, and the martyrdom of "*Badí'*" at Teherán, also alluded to, as well as the exile of sundry Bábís to Khartoum in the Soudan, of which I spoke at some length, all belong to about this period.		
The death of the martyrs of Isfahán, some eight or ten years ago, is the last important event of which I have any knowledge.	(1297–1298)	1880 or 1881

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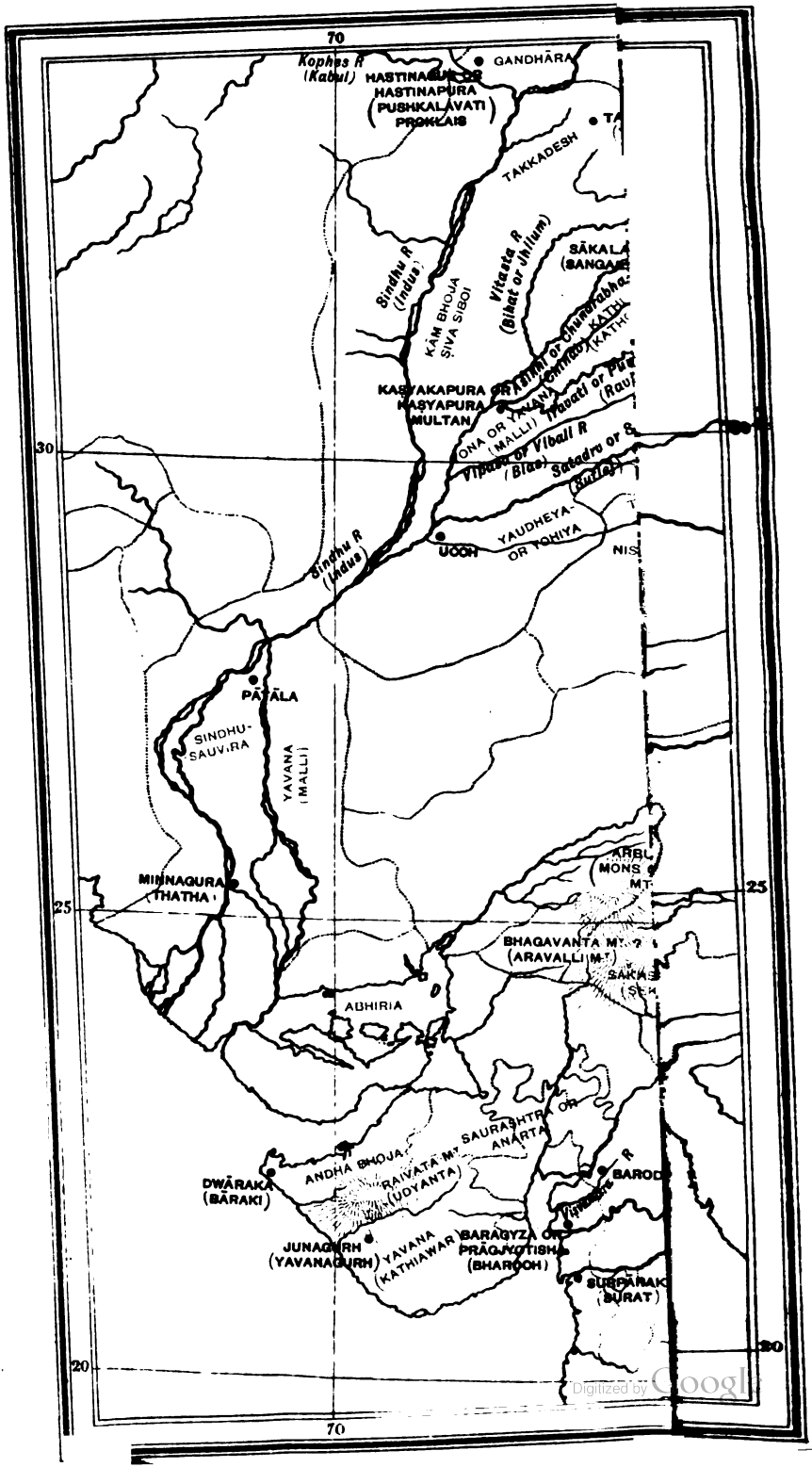

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ART. VII.—*The Land of the Four Rivers. A Supplement forming Part III. of the Series of Notes on the Early History of Northern India.* By J. F. HEWITT, M.R.A.S., late Commissioner of Chota Nāgpur. With a Map.

IN two previous papers written in the Journal of this Society[1] I have adduced reasons for believing that the earliest Indian civilization was originated by the Dravidian immigrant races who formed stable governments in the countries previously ruled under the more loosely organized system of the Kolarian tribes, and who founded and maintained a flourishing internal and foreign trade. In my latest paper I brought forward arguments, based chiefly on the early religious history of India, to prove that there were at least two Dravidian immigrations into Northern India before the Aryans entered the country, or at least before the arrival of that section of the Aryan race who founded the Brahmanical religion. The first Dravidian immigrants were the Accadian moon and snake worshippers, called in India Haihayas, or Sombunsi, the sons of the moon or Lunar Rajputs, and the second were the Semite-Accad trading and warrior tribes, called Sukas Sans, sons of Ikshvaku, or Solar Rajputs. These latter immigrants worshipped the snake as their predecessors had done, but regarded the snake sun-god Vāsuki, or Vishnu, as their parent and as the true symbol of the creative energy of nature, instead of the moon, which had occupied a similar position in the theology of their Accadian predecessors.

I now propose to examine these conclusions still further than I was able to do in my previous papers, and to compare the Indian evidence with that furnished by the records of Accadian history and those of other nations who derived their astronomy and rules for reckoning time, as well as a large part of their theology, from Assyria. If we look into the early history of Assyria, Egypt and Palestine, we find in all

[1] Art. VIII. in J.R.A.S. 1888, and Art. III. in J.R.A.S. 1889.

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these countries distinct evidence of a lunar year preceding the later solar-lunar year, and we also find strong reasons for believing that the people of these countries worshipped, under the symbol of the snake, the creative energy which gave life to the heavens and the earth. It was also, according to their belief, the moon who was the ruler of this vital creative power, and who regulated the lapse of time, caused the seasons in their courses to replace the dying produce of the past year by the reproduction of new life, to form and ripen the seed which was to bring forth fresh living generations, and to cause that seed to fulfil its functions by giving birth to the offspring it was destined to bear.

Taking the Assyrian evidence first, we find that their gods were apparently worshipped under two aspects, first as creators,[1] and secondly as the measurers of time. The gods as creators were the fathers of the old totemistic creeds; but instead of being many in number, and the fathers of numerous isolated tribes, they were looked at as the fathers of the united tribes which formed the nation of their worshippers. The gods as measurers of time were of much later origin, and could only have arisen after the people, by a long course of observations handed down through a long series of observers, had established the connection between the changes of the heavenly bodies and the regular sequence of the times and seasons. The existence of this organized system of inquiry is a certain proof that the people who adopted it had reached a stage of civilization far above that of the highest among the races considered as savages. It was as measurers of time that the gods appear in the Indian astronomy, the Nakshatras, who determined the changes of the moon, being reckoned as forming the most numerous section of the thirty-three gods who ruled the year. I have already shown that in the Hindoo lunar year, which was thought to be controlled by the moon in its successive phases, and the five planets, these thirty-three gods were divided into three groups of eleven each, each group having the special control of one

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 142–3, 179, 187.

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of the three seasons. The Nakshatras were certainly derived from Assyria, and the elevenfold division seems also to have come from thence; for in a hymn giving the account of the contest of Bel with the monster Tiamut the dragon, who represented the old Accadian snake-gods, her elevenfold offspring is spoken of.[1]

It is perhaps the division of the year into three seasons which gave rise to the triads which form such a distinguishing feature in Accadian mythology;[2] but whether this be the case or not, these triads, though they express the ideas of the early worshippers in a metaphysical, and, consequently, in a later form, afford valuable evidence as to the original premisses from which the conclusions they represent were deduced.

But before going fully into the question as to the fundamental tenets of the theology set forth in these triads, it is desirable to consider the value of the evidence to be derived from a study of the early religions of the Assyrians, Hindoos and Egyptians. I hope to be able to show, in the course of this paper, that these three nations derived their religious system solely, or in part, from Assyria. But it is not from Assyria that we get the most conclusive evidence as to the doctrines believed in by the races who worshipped the moon and the snake. In the Assyrian and Egyptian records we find the old religion of these people to a great extent obscured by the later theology of the writers of the solar-lunar period, who recorded the historical evidence which has come down to us. In these writings we find that the gods of the earlier system were either placed in a subordinate position to that of the gods of the newer belief, or were transformed into demons or guardians of the world of the dead.[3] Both in

[1] See hymn translated by Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 382.

[2] This is apparently doubtful. Though Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 372, proves that there were only three seasons known to the ancient Greeks and Germans, and though this can also be proved with regard to the Latin races, yet, ancient as this division is, the sanctity attached to the number three is probably derived from a still earlier source It was apparently coincident with the division of the year into thirteen months, ten being, as shown in pp. 544 and 553, months of gestation, and three being those of reproduction; these being the creative months were especially sacred.

[3] The dead were the fathers (Pitris) of the new believers who had died in the belief of the ancient and, to the sun-worshippers, obsolete creed.

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Egypt and Assyria, the areas ruled by the successive governments of the country were those of the valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the land between these two latter rivers. These countries were therefore throughout their whole extent easily accessible to official and priestly influence, and the ruling powers had little difficulty in altering the religion of the governing bodies subject to their control, for public worship in these countries in ancient times was a purely official function. In India the case was different. The large extent of country colonized by the moon-worshippers, who had extended their settlements throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, rendered it impossible for the Semite-Accad kings and leaders to extend their efforts for the propagation of their faith throughout the numerous kingdoms ruled by the people who had brought with them the earlier Accadian creeds. Such changes could not be made without conquest, for the Brahmin organization had not then been thought of, and conquest was difficult and unprofitable except for trading purposes. They consequently appear to have done little except to establish themselves in the countries adjoining the western ports, and do not appear, at the time the Vedas were written, to have advanced beyond the Jumna and the western division of the Chedi or Bundelkund country. We consequently find in the country east of that river the Accadian theology, which had been so greatly modified in its native home by the Semite-Accads, still subsisting side by side with the later Assyrian creed of the Sāka-Ṣauvīra of Pātāla. There appears to be the strongest possible probability that the beliefs and ritual of the Indian moon and snake worshippers were identically the same as they had brought with them from the Euphrates valley; for during the period which elapsed between the arrival and settlement of the first Accadian immigrants and that of their Semite-Accad successors, no agency seems to have arisen by which any change in their religious belief could have been made. All the evidence tends to show that religious changes in the early times originated from foreign and not from native sources. For though the early Jain and Buddhist

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traditions speak of a series of successive religious teachers, the early Buddhas, as well as the Tīrthankaras of the Jains, seem to have been rather maintainers of the original traditions and revivers of religious zeal than preachers of new doctrines. Their doctrines when new were apparently rather developments of old teachings than fresh departures, as the very conservative character of the Dravidian races would have prevented them from assimilating doctrines which would have obscured the original foundations of their religion. The ancient theology, as a religion founded on reason, rested on the doctrines enshrined in the old lunar year, which they must have brought with them when they entered India. This lunar year was superseded in the West by the solar-lunar year of the Semite-Accads of Pātāla, who must have become a power in India, if not in the time of Sargon, at least as early as that of Khammuragās (B.C. 2290[1]); but while the new year they brought with them was accepted in the West, it never penetrated to the East, as is shown by the lunar year being mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. As for the changes in the calendar, they must have been preceded by a long series of astronomical observations; and these could only have been carried on in Assyria, which was the only ancient country in which astronomical science was cultivated. In Assyria, as Dr. Sayce shows, astronomy had been studied from a most remote epoch. The Accadian name of the Semite-Accad month Tasritā, in which the autumnal equinox occurred, means the "Month of the Illustrious Mound,"[2] and the mound here referred to is that which marked the ruins of the astronomical tower of Borsippa, which was built in seven stages, to represent the seven planets, long before Babylon, which was close to Borsippa, was founded. This old ruin, when built, represented the religion of the sun-worshippers; for the moon-worshippers held only the moon and the planets to be the rulers of heaven and earth. It was probably built to celebrate the

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 23.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 115, 406.

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inauguration of sun-worship and the astronomical studies which preceded the adoption of the solar-lunar year. The formation of the calculations on which the old lunar year was founded must date from a very much more remote period, long anterior to the foundation of Ur or Eridu, and even before the still earlier Telloh. Up to the present time I believe no trace of a lunar year of thirteen months has been found in Assyrian literature;[1] but the early immigrants to India brought, as I have shown, this year with them, and its use was continued in the Eastern country ruled by the Haihayas, or sons of the snake, down to the time when the Mahābhārata and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa were written, for in the latter work the thirteenth month is spoken of as that in which the gods brought Soma to the East. "Therefore the thirteenth month[2] is found unfit for any religious work to be done in it, a seller of Soma is (likewise) found unfit (for intercourse)."[3] The tone of this passage shows that it was written at the time when the Brahmins were trying to get the year of thirteen months discarded, just as had been done thousands of years before by the Assyrians and Egyptians. If the solar-lunar year was first introduced about 4700 B.C., as is apparently proved by the astronomical evidence, as well as by the early history of Assyria and Egypt,[4] the time during which the lunar theology was

[1] Dr. Sayce, in his Introduction to the Science of Language, vol. ii. pp. 195–196, speaks of the old Turkish or Ural-Altaic year of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and of the Accadian week of seven days. He also seems to think that the primitive Turkish-Tatar horde who spoke the parent language of the Ural-Altaic speech is connected with the Accadians, who also spoke an agglutinative language.

[2] Two names of the thirteenth month are given by Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 371. One, Amhaspati, from the Vājasaneya Saṃhita 7, 30 and 22, 31. The second, Malimlucha, from the Kāthaka 28, 14 and 35, 10.

[3] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 3, 12; Haug's translation, vol. ii. p. 26. See also i. 3, 14, pp. 33-34. From these passages it is clear that Soma worship was first introduced into the ritual of the Aryan Brahmins of India from the east Another passage, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 22, p. 122, Haug's translation, which states that Soma was made intoxicating by being licked by an Asura woman, shows that it was originally introduced into religious worship on account of its intoxicating properties. The Soma rites must have been derived from the Baratas, or Bars, the Kolarian tribes of Eastern India, among whom the women prepared the beer to be drunk at the seasonal festivals. Mitra-Varuna, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, made it non-intoxicating by mixing it with curds.

[4] The date of the rule of Menes, the first king of the dynasty, who was apparently like his successors a sun-worshipper, is fixed at about 5000 B.C. by Mariette, and about 3900 B.C. by Lepsius.

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developed must be traced back to an extraordinarily remote period. In considering the length of time required for its development, and the strong probability that it would be very difficult to induce the Dravidian population who had once adopted it to give it up, one most important factor must not be overlooked. This is the national character of the Dravidian races, which can still be studied among their descendants in India. No one who has lived long among these people, and who has known them intimately, can fail to have been impressed by their indomitable obstinacy and perseverance and by their conservative and unreceptive character. They are not stupid: on the contrary, they all think, but think in their traditional grooves; and their minds are in no sense of the word inactive. They appear at first sight to be incapable of either receiving or originating a new idea; but this estimate of their character will be modified on a closer acquaintance. It will then be seen that, like geological time, they do make new departures at long intervals, but, like it, they are always moving, but moving slowly and deliberately. When the fitting stimulus induces them to take up a new idea, and when they are thoroughly satisfied that it is expedient to adopt it, they make it their own, and adhere to it as faithfully as they did to those it has displaced; but what is new is always regarded for a very long period with suspicion and dislike, and among the great mass of the people the old traditions are never quite discarded.

When the fact is once realized that it was this people who built the cities of Assyria and India, and probably those of Egypt, and who formed the government, founded the trade and manufactures, and developed the early religious systems of those countries,[1] the acceptance of the correctness of this conclusion is shown to involve great difficulties. The only probable solution, as it appears to me, is that in the development of the complex civilization, which was produced under their guidance, they must have been assisted by another race of quicker and more subtle instincts, who made the discoveries

[1] As well as those of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. Proofs of this assertion are given in the subsequent parts of this paper.

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which the Dravidian rulers used, who, in short, originated and worked out logically and experimentally new ideas, while the Dravidians, as they were most competent to do, maintained law and order, and did justice between man and man. The gradual evolution of the system which was thus elaborated must have occupied an enormous time, and I should be rather inclined to say that the 4000 years assigned by some Egyptian archæologists for the rule of the people who carved the Sphinx,[1] and whom the ancient Egyptians called Har-Shesu, or the servants of Har, was more likely to err in defect than in excess of time. In estimating the length of this period, it must be remembered that the civilization of the early moon and snake worshippers, who brought this religion with them to India, must have reached a high stage of maturity when they entered that country. They brought with them, not only the elementary arts of agriculture, building, and the rudiments of manufactures, but also a tried and well-organized system of government, and a well-reasoned method of measuring time.[2] But, even with all these advantages, it must have taken ages for the descendants of the first immigrants and for their successors to extend their rule over the whole of India, from the Himalaya on the north to Cake Comorin on the south.

But the early national development of the Accad races, which was well advanced before the colonization of India, and which culminated in a religion based on astronomical observation, was preceded by a totemistic period. It is in totemism that the germs of the earliest religious ideas, and also of those which prompted different tribes to join in forming a nation, must be sought. It is from totemism that the idea of God as the father and creator is evolved, and it is to this belief that the origin of the Accadian term "Dingir," Creator, as applied to the great god, must

[1] The Sphinx is a lion with a human head, and probably, as will be shown in the sequel, represented the moon-god.

[2] This is true even if they only brought with them the original division of the year into thirteen months, and imported later the astronomical elements introduced by the system of the Nakshatras. I have adduced proof in the Appendix to this paper to show that the names of the thirteen months are earlier than those of the Nakshatras, which took their names from the months.

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be referred.[1] When long-continued astronomical observations had disclosed the regular sequence, under a fixed law, of temporal and seasonal changes, the totemistic ideas of the descent of each tribe from a common father were enlarged into the idea of the existence of creators or fathers of all things in heaven and on earth; and on earth, at least, these creators were supposed to be three in number.[2] It was this conclusion that led the early Accadians to make their ruling gods three in number,[3] and this system of triads appears in the theology of India and Egypt, though it never took root among the Semite-Accads of Babylon.[4]

I shall now proceed to examine the early Accadian triads with those of the Egyptians and Hindoos, and with those of the Greek and Italian races. Dr. Sayce has shown clearly that the moon-god, whose worship is spoken of by Sargon as most remote, was the earliest supreme god of the ancient city of Ur, founded by Ur-Bagas, and he has also shown that he was represented by the Semite-Accads as the father of the Sun.[5] This same order of descent is reproduced among the Hindoos, for we find in the Mahābhārata that the twelve Ādityas, or solar months, are described as the sons of Āditi, the first of the thirteen lunar months,[6] while among the Greeks Kronos, the old moon-god, is father of the sun-god Zeus. I have also shown that the moon was the supreme god of the summer solstice, the culminating epoch and centre of the lunar year. It is therefore probable that in the earliest triads the moon would occupy a conspicuous place, and that if the triads represent the gods of the seasonal changes, he would appear in the centre of the triad, or in the place he occupied in the lunar year.

Accordingly, in the Accad triad of Babylon we find the

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 142, 143.

[2] I have given reasons in p. 529, note 2, and also later on in pp. 564, 565, for supposing that this division was made before the year of the three seasons was worked out.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 110.

[4] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 193.

[5] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 155, 165, 166.

[6] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 185. All references to the Mahābhārata in this, as in previous papers, are to Pertāp Chundur Roy's translation.

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gods named as follows: Kur ? nigin-gāra, the god who makes the palace,[1] Sin, the moon; and Istar. The name of the first member of the triad is clearly one given by the Semite theological revisers, who thought that in a triad representing the three chief gods the Sun must have a place. Accordingly they put Samas, the sun, in the first place, and translated his name into a descriptive Accadian phrase, which suited their theology; but it appears to be almost certain that the god who originally was the first in this triad was Ana, or the heaven, meaning by the term the vital power residing in the abyss of the firmament. That this is the probable meaning of the heaven in this triad is shown by the Accadian belief that the "Abzu," or abyss in which Ea, the great snake god, lived and worked, was the source of all things. It is the t'hom, or deep on which "the spirit of the Elohim" brooded in the Book of Genesis,[2] and from which the generations of all things in the firmament below the heavenly mother and the earth were produced. In another triad, consisting of Anu, Bel or Mul-lil, and Ea, this Anu was the Accadian god Ana, who was "the divine king of the illustrious mound,"[3] of which I have spoken before, and the supreme king of heaven.

In the first of these two triads Sin, the moon-god, appears in what seems to be his proper place as the chief god of the year and the ruler of the summer solstice, but in the second the Accadian Mul-lil, or the Semite Bel, the sun-god is substituted for him. Now the word Mul-lil means the "lord of the lil," *i.e.* the dust-storm, or cloud of dust,[4] and he was made by the Semites the god of the ghost world, whose food was supposed to be the dust of the earth, and whose form was that of a dust-cloud. But this interpretation clearly does not give the original meaning of the god's functions, and though I shall show later on that the gods of the wind and the rain occupied a most important place in early theology, yet their position is rather that of subordinates of Anu than

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 167, 193.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 374.
[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 406.
[4] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 145.

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that of independent creators; and it is clearly impossible that the god of storms, or the god of the world of ghosts, could be one of the creators of the upper world. But Mul-lil is not only the lord of storms, but he is also connected with the moon-god. Dr. Sayce shows that in the oldest documents found in the ruins of Ur the moon-god of Ur is identified with the moon-god of Nipur,[1] and is called the eldest son of Mul-lil. In the tablet giving an account of the deluge the eldest son of Mul-lil is called Mul-nugi.

Mul-nugi is therefore one of the names of the moon-god, and he is represented as most closely connected with Mul-lil. The term Mul-nugi means in Accadian "the lord of no return," and this title is perfectly appropriate when connected with Mul-lil, but could never have been given to the moon when it was the chief creative power in heaven and the lord of the seven spirits, who were called the messengers of Anu by the Semites, but who were really, as I shall proceed to show, the same powers who were called by the moon-worshipping Hindus the seven snake kings of Nishadha.

I have already in my previous paper shown that the Nug, or great snake, was the name given by the Jews to the brazen serpent destroyed by Hezekiah, which had up to his time been maintained as an object of worship in the outer court of the temple,[2] and by the Hindus to Nahusha, as the father of the Nāga races, meaning the sons of the Nug. I have also suggested that the name of the mansions of the moon, or the parts of heaven visited by it in its yearly journey through the sky, was Nug-kshetra, or the places of the Nug or snake. Now, as the Nakshatras, and the lunar worship with which they were connected, were certainly derived from Assyria, the probability is that the "Nug" of the Nakshatras is the god of the vital creative power which was the original creator of all things and who was called Nug by the older Accadians. The moon, as the chief god passing continually through the heavens and regulating the changes of

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 154, 155.
[2] 2 Kings xviii. 4; also Prof. Robertson Smith's remarks on the passage in his article on the Totem Clans in the Old Testament in the Journal of Philology, No. 17, vol. ix. 1880.

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the seasons, the lapse of time, and the yearly ebb and flow of the vivifying powers of nature, would be rightly described as the lord of the "Nugs," or snakes, and consequently the lord of the seven snake kings of Nishadha, which will be shown afterwards to be the gods of the wind and rain controlled by Mullil, the lord of storms. When the moon-god was degraded from the chief place he originally held, the original positions of himself and Mul-lil were reversed, and Mul-lil, who was at first a subordinate, was made the father of Mul-nugi.

This view of the original significance of the term Mul-nugi, as applied to the moon-god, is further corroborated by an examination of the other Accadian names of that deity. He is called Nagar, Nangara,[1] and in one of the texts relating to the deluge it is called "the flood of the God Nangar (the moon), the lord of the bond."[2] The name of the moon-god at Ur was Nanuk, or Nannar.[3] All these names point to an original root nearly, if not quite, equivalent to Nug.

But there is another name of the Accadian moon-god which also proves the connection between him and Indian snake-worship, and adds to the evidence proving that it is in India that we find the original form of the religion which preceded that of the Semite-Accads in Assyria.

This is Lamga.[4] As the Accadian *m* before a guttural is usually changed into an *n*,[5] Lamga is the same word as "langa," or the Indian "linga." Linga means a mark or sign of sex, and is always used to denote the phallus set up in the temples of Ṣiva. This was the image of the god in the great temple of Iḷāputra, the son of Iḷa, called also Somanath, or lord of the moon. The worship of Ṣiva I have already shown to be of Accad origin, as he was the chief god of the first month of the Accad lunar year The word "linga" never appears in the Rigveda, and is first used in Sanskrit in the early Sutras, and as it has always been specially

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 186, note.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 504. The Pali-Hindi word Nagur or Nangur for city, is probably derived from this name. The city was the "Nangur" or central moon of its dependent villages.
[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 156.
[4] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 186, note.
[5] Sayce, Assyrian Grammar, p. 31.

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connected with the worship of the snake gods, which was brought from Assyria, there is a strong original probability that the worshippers of these gods brought the name of the distinctive sign by which they were known with them; and, considering the reverence attached to the names of all religious symbols, it is exceedingly unlikely that these people would discard the name they had hitherto used for the sign of their god when they began to speak a Sanskrit dialect and take one from their new language. If the word they used is to be found in Accadian, it is most likely that it came thence into India. The name, therefore, denoted the mark or sign of sex, which, to the Accadians, denoted the moon-god, or lord of the "Nugs," or snakes, the chief of the creators.[1]

We now come to the third member of the triad, Istar, or Ea. Istar was a god who was especially worshipped at Erech, the city originally dedicated to Anu, the god of the sky, and afterwards sacred to Istar,[2] while Ea, the culture god of primitive Babylonia, the god of wisdom and the instructor of his worshippers in arts and sciences,[3] was the god of Eridu, the earliest home of Assyrian culture. Istar, who became afterwards the morning and evening star, was originally both a male and female deity like Iḷa in the Mahābhārata, the great-grandfather and mother of the ancestral snake king Nahusha.[4] Istar was called by the Sumerians, or Southern Accads, Gingira, or the Creator, and was clearly the generative power of nature existing in the earth as distinguished from that in the sky.[5] Ea, who was symbolized

[1] As a proof that the tribes entering India from Assyria brought their own names of natural and sacred objects with them, and have retained these terms in common use down to the present day, I may note that in a Vocabulary of the Saura dialect taken down by me from one of the tribe in 1867 or 1868 in Chattisgarh in the Central Provinces, I find the Saura name for the Sun entered as Bel The Saura were, as I have shown in Part II. of this series of papers, the Saos or Suvarnas, who were the Semite-Accads who brought the solar-lunar worship to India. Under this system the Sun was worshipped as Bel, and this name they still retained. Just as the Sauras still call the Sun by its Semite-Accad name, so I contend the descendants of the moon and snake worshippers call their sacred "linga" by its old Accadian name.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp 254, 185.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 245.

[4] Ādi Parva, lxxv. pp. 229, 230.

[5] He was the god represented in the Asherim, the sacred pillars or linga which are so frequently spoken of in the Bible, 2 Kings x. 26; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Genesis xxviii. 19-22, and many other places.

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under the form of a snake,[1] was the water-god of Eridu, both a river and a sea-god, the god of the great deep, the rope or snake that bound the world, and the snakes that traversed it as rivers. He was also the god of wisdom. The manifold attributes of Ea mark him as subsequent to the earlier conception of Istar as the generative power residing in the earth. He represents a more elaborate form of the same myth, but he is not the generative power that issues from the earth, but that which resides in and comes from the water. As the great water spirit he fertilizes the earth both as the rain that falls from heaven and as the rivers which distribute their waters over the fields. He was the bond which binds heaven and earth, of which the moon is declared to be the lord in the hymn quoted above.

The above analysis shows that the original Accadian triad consisted of (1) heaven, the abyss or vault (Accad Abzu) where all things are born (Ana), (2) the vital power of the earth, and water, which is the generator and fertilizer of all things, and (3) the ruler of the two, the Moon (Mul-nugi), the great Nug, who, in his royal progresses through heaven, called the field of the Nugs (Nugkshetra), surveys all things, determines the times and the seasons, and is the central power, who, like the ideal king of the Dravidian race, regulates from the centre of his dominions the course of nature according to the divine law.

The conceptions set forth in the Egyptian triads are clearly analogous to those of the Accad theologians. There are three Egyptian triads, first that of Thebes, from whence the Memphite kings came down into Middle and Lower Egypt,[2] second that of Memphis, and the third that of the popular religion. The gods in each triad are as follows:

	1	2	3
Thebes	Amen-ra	Mut	Khuns.
Memphis	Ptah	Pakht	Imhotep.
The popular Triad	Osiris	Hes or Isis	Horus.

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 134.

[2] The Egyptian evidence here dealt with is taken from the articles on Egypt, Apis, and the Sphinx, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth (*i.e.* the last) edition, except where other sources are specified.

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The names of these gods clearly prove that the triads were arrived at by a process of metaphysical reasoning, and that in their present order they are based on the idea of sex, which Dr. Sayce has shown to be the ruling principle of Semitic theology as contradistinguished from that of the Accad triads which consisted only of male deities.[1] Osiris is the husband of Hes or Isis, and Horus is their child, and the other two triads are similarly constructed. The meanings of the names of the gods in each are as follows: Amen-ra means "the hidden;" Ptah, which is taken letter for letter from the Hebrew, means the opener or beginner; and Osiris is the productive principle, who is also known as Thut, the moon-god, which marks his lunar origin,[2] and also shows that this system of triads is derived from the theology which made the moon the chief god. Mut is the mother, who, besides being the wife of Amenra, was the wife of Thoth, the moon-god. Pakht is identified with Isis in her malevolent aspect, that is, in her relation to the system of the older gods, and Hes or Isis is the counterpart of Mut. Khuns is the moon-god wearing the disk and crescent of the moon. Imhotep is, like the Accadian Ea, the god of wisdom, and Horus is, by the authors of the lunar-solar theology, identified with the rising sun; but he can be identified with the new moon, and this is what I think I can prove him to have first signified. He is certainly the god of the Har-shesu, the servants of Har, or Hor, who were the rulers of the country before the sun-worshippers of Thebes and Memphis. Their chief god was Thoth, or Thut, the moon-god, who was to them, as to the early Accads and Hindoos, the measurer of time, and who continued to fulfil this office under the system of the sun-worshippers. In the Egyptian list of months kept by the priests of the solar-lunar worship, Thoth gave his name to and was the god of the first month of the year. The Egyptian solar-lunar year began at the time of the inundation of the Nile, or at the summer solstice, and therefore the moon, as regent of the summer season, occupied the same place in

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 110.
[2] Tiele, Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions, p. 48.

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the Egyptian as he had done in the Accad-Hindoo lunar year when he ruled its culminating epoch, the summer solstice.

The clearest proof that Horus was originally the moon-god is given by the worship of Apis or Hapi, the sacred bull. Apis is the son of Athor, the Abyss, the counterpart of Isis and Mut, and is the symbol of the earlier Hesiri-Hapi, who became Osiris, who is also known as Thut the moon-god. His worship is said to have been introduced at Memphis by Kaiekos, king of the second dynasty. He also instituted the worship of Mnevis, the white or yellow bull,[1] who represented the sun but whose worship never became nearly so popular as that of Apis. Apis, the black bull, was the most popular of all the gods throughout the whole course of Egyptian history. His counterparts and living representatives, who were after their death honoured with tombs built at the public expense in the sacred cemetery of the Serapæum, were always chosen from a black calf representing the darkness of the night. The chief distinguishing marks which determined the choice of the sacred animal were a white spot on the right side like a lunar crescent, and a white triangular mark on its forehead. The first of these marks must, I would submit, represent the new moon, and not the rising sun, for the triangular mark cannot be interpreted to have any reference to the sun. This latter mark represented the sacred triad under the symbol of a triangle. The apex, which was surmounted by the crescent-shaped horns, the symbol of the moon-god, who was one of the triad in which the sun did not appear. The triangular sign marking the triad with its apex surmounted by the crescent moon could never have been originated by the Semites, as it would have placed the son above the father and mother, whereas the Semites always placed the father at the head of the family.

The real meaning of the bull myth will be still more clearly shown by examining the evidence relating to Bel-Merodach, the bull-god of Eridu,[2] who afterwards

[1] Tiele, Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions, p. 46, translated by Estlin Carpenter.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 107 note, 289, 290.

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became the great Babylonian sun-god. Bel was originally the god of Nipur, and was the same as Mul-lil, whom I have already shown to have probably been, in his earlier form of Mul-nugi, the god of the moon. He was the Gudi-bir, the bull of light, or Gud-ana, the bull of heaven. He was the celestial bull who, as the moon, ploughed the great furrow of the sky, and in doing so prepared it for the harvest of creation, which was to appear after the sowing of the heavenly seed, and marked the track of the king of heaven and earth through the heavens, the field of the "Nugs." He was also identified with the twelve months of the solar-lunar year, beginning the year as Dun-kun-e, the hero of the rising dawn or Mercury, who is also called "the prince of the men of Harran," which was one of the chief seats of moon-worship.[1]

This concatenation of evidence makes it exceedingly probable that Bel was originally the moon-god, that it was in this capacity as the father of the sun-god that he was first connected with the solar-lunar year, and that in Assyria first, and afterwards in Egypt, the moon was worshipped as the bull of light. Another proof that the moon-worship of Assyria, Egypt and India had a common origin is found in the reverence for the goat which in Assyria was especially sacred to Mul-lil, the former moon-god,[2] in India was offered to Soma (the moon),[3] and in Egypt, as the Mendesian goat, was sacred to Osiris, who had superseded the moon-god.[4] This continued connection between the goat and the moon, which was abrogated by the later developments of religion in Assyria and Egypt, is another of the many proofs that in India we find the old worship common to all three countries in the least altered form. The connection between Soma the

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 163.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 286, where, in an extract from a hymn, Azūga-ṣūga, the supreme goat of Mul-lil and Merodach, *i.e.* Bel-Merodach, the son of Eridu, are mentioned together.

[3] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 8, and ii. 1. 3, pp. 91 and 80, Haug's translation, vol. ii. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 3. 4. 23. Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxvi. p. 83.

[4] See also p. 555, as to the connection between the moon and the goat sacrifice in ancient Italy and Greece.

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moon and Soma the intoxicating drink is almost if not quite the only sign of a change of religious doctrine in India between the introduction of moon-worship and that of the solar-lunar Semite-Accads, and this deification of Soma as drink probably arose from the influence of the large Kolarian population, who regarded intoxication as divine frenzy.

On looking further into the questions arising out of the Egyptian triads, there appears to be reason to believe that the order of the gods given in the lists prepared by the solar-lunar priests has been altered from that in the originals which they copied. The moon-god, who was originally in the centre, the place due to the Dravidian king, has been, in accordance with the Semite-Accad deification, often placed last after his father and mother and made a subordinate deity instead of the chief of the gods. In the Memphis triad the process has gone still further, and he has been spiritualized into the god of wisdom. The original triad must have been similar to the Accadian, and must have begun with Mut, the Mother or Abyss, answering to the Accad Ana, followed by Khuns, Osiris,[1] or Thoth, the moon-god, the king of heaven and earth, the Accadian Mul-nugi, while Horus or Har answered to the Accadian Istār, the first-born of Ea, the god of the vital principle residing in the earth.

The triad of the authors of the Rigveda is Dyaus, heaven; Agni, fire; and Prithivi, earth;[2] or Dyu, Indra and Prithivi.[3] In these two triads heaven takes the first place as in

[1] The name of Osiris, Asar, or Asiri, looks very like the Accadian Asari, the chief.

[2] Rigv. vi. 51. 5.

[3] Rigv. i. 131. 1. There is also the triad of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. These three are represented, Rigv. ii. 27. 1, as three of the six Ādityas, but they are in other hymns, such as Rigv. vii. 60, addressed as a separate triad. That they were originally lunar in their origin is shown in the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4. 4. 18, Prof. Eggeling's translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 380, where Varuna is said to be the waxing and Mitra the waning moon. Mitra is Mithra, the god celebrated in the Mihirzast of the Zendavesta as "the lord of the wide pastures," the god of the heaven of light, and, like the Sumerian Ea, as the god of wisdom. He held the same position in the later Persian calendar as the moon occupies in that of the Hindoos, as he gave his name to the seventh month, which was especially sacred to him as Kartik the month of the Dibāli festival, and the seventh month of the Hindoo solar-lunar year is sacred to the moon. The sixteenth day of every month, the central period of each lunation, was also sacred to him (Art. Mithras, Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. xvi. p. 530.) Aryaman is, in a note by Sayana, on Rigv. 141. 9, Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v.

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the Accadian triad, but we find the second place allotted to Agni or Indra. Now among the Accadians the god of the fire-stick was one of the leading creators, and it was he who showed Merodach (the son of Eridu) where the seven evil spirits of the tempest lay hid.[1] There is also, I think, very strong evidence that the god of the fire-stick, producing the sacred fire by friction, was also worshipped by the earliest Dravidian predecessors of the Semite-Accad sun-worshippers and occupied a prominent position among their gods. This evidence is to be found in the legend of Vinatā and her two sons, Arana and Gaḍura. Now Vinatā is the tenth month of the Hindoo lunar year, and evidently means the twice-ten (vinsati) lunar periods of fourteen days each, completing the two hundred and eighty days, or the forty weeks required for the gestation of the children she was to bring forth. The children were Aruna the god of the fire-stick, only the upper part of whose body was developed, and Gaḍura, the sacred bird, who brought the snake races to India. Aruna is also the god of the undeveloped egg, the Martanda of the Rigveda,[2] and the οἰδίπους, Oedipus, the swollen-footed king of Greek legend who interpreted the riddle of the Sphinx, the god of the moon-worshipping Har-shesu of early Egypt. Gaḍura is the Accadian Gudi-bir, the bull of light or the moon. They are the two sons of Mul-lil Uras, interpreted by the Semites as Adar, and worshipped at Nipur as the god of glowing fire, though he was a moon-god,[3] and who was held by the Semites to be the son of the powers of darkness and the enemy of mankind. Ur or Uras may perhaps appear in the Hindoo form Aruna, but that the bird Gaḍura is the flying bull of light who brought the snake

sect. v. p. 58, spoken of as the god who goes between Mitra and Varuna. He is the Ardibelest or Aryamana of the Zendavesta, Darmesteter's Translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxiii. pp. 4 and 13, Sirozas I. and II., and his name is probably connected with the Iru or bull of light, which I have suggested in p. 547 as being the representative of the ancient fire-stick. The triad seems to have been Varuna, the heaven, the abyss, Aryaman, the bull of light or fire-stick, and Mitra, the earth or snake-god.

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 179, 180, also 469; Magical Text from Eridu, W.A.I. (Western Asian Inscriptions in British Museum), iv. 15 and 26–30.

[2] Mahābhārata, Ādi (Astika) Parva, xvi. and xxxiv. pp. 77 and 91; Rigv. x. 72. 8 and 9.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 154.

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races to India appears to be in the highest degree probable. As for Aruna, the name οἰδίπους suggests a derivation of the name from Iru, Ira or Iḍa, the Accadian for bull,[1] so that the name would mean the bull-footed god, who diffused the light while standing still on earth, while his winged brother distributed it throughout space.[2] It was Gudi-bir who, by his messenger Lugaltuda, the storm bird, and the Accadian counterpart of Gaḍura, stole fire from heaven, just as Gaḍura stole the Amrita or drink of immortality from the guardianship of Indra.[3] In fact, we see in the two sons of Vinatā and of Mul-lil, first Aruna or Uras, the god of terrestrial fire, who was, as the Aryan Brahmans said, born before his time, meaning that he was the god of the moon-worshippers before he became the god of the sun-worshippers, and according to his earlier worshippers, bull, or cloven-footed, and, secondly, Mul-nugi and Gaḍura, the fully-developed moon, which completed his period of gestation and was the winged messenger of the moon-god.

The whole story of the Hindoo legend is too poetical and imaginative to be entirely the work of pure Dravidian brains, though there is in it an element of realism and attention to practical fact which looks very like Dravidian workmanship. It is possible that the people who contributed the poetic and imaginative elements to the Dravidian legends were the cattle-herding tribes or perhaps rather the charioteers or Parthians, whom we find afterwards holding so prominent a place among the governing races of the Eastern or snake-worshipping provinces.[4] The name Iravāta given to the snake-worshipping Haihayas appears to be derived from

[1] Iru, the bull, is the name of the second month of the Accadian year.

[2] The sign of the fire-stick in Hittite, Cypriote, and early Cuneiform, distinctly points to a cloven-footed form like that of the bull's foot. The signs, as given in an article by Major Conder, on the Three Hieroglyphic Systems, in the Archæological Review for April, 1889, vol. iii. No. 2, p. 110, are as follows:

Hittite.	Cypriote.	Cuneiform.

[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 294. Mahābhārata, Ādi (Astika) Parva, xxxii. p. 108.

[4] The persistent evidence as to the early existence of tree-worship in all countries deriving their religion from Assyria apparently shows that there was a large Kolarian element in the aboriginal population.

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the Accadian Iṛa, and we find in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Iḷa or Iṛa explained to mean cattle.[1] The trading races among these tribes were called the Asura (Accad aṡari, the mighty chiefs or nourishers),[2] and also the moon or the lion race (Sinha, the modern Singh), for the lion was named after Sin, the moon, which is represented by the early Egyptian moon-worshippers, the Har-Shesu, as the human-faced lion the Sphinx.[3] The above evidence gives some reason for believing that at a very early period the tribes worshipping the fire-stick attained sufficient influence in Northern Babylonia, where Nipur was situated, to make their god Uras one of the chief gods of the country, and it was this god who disputed with Mul-nugi, the moon-god of Ur and Telloh, the chief cities of the Sumerian or Southern Accadians, the supremacy among the gods.[4] Consequently these two gods were represented as being born together to the supremacy of heaven. Their respective worshippers, the descendants of the Northern Accadians of Nipur and of the Sumerians or Southern coast tribes near the mouth of the Euphrates, brought their gods to India, and the god of the fire-stick and the moon-god became the chief gods of the tribal triad according to the descent of the several tribes. The Dravidian races who were descended from the Sumerians worshipped the moon, and those who belonged to the North Accad tribes the fire-stick; but of these two gods the moon-god was the eldest, as Uras, the god of the fire-stick, is the son of the moon-god of Nipur, and the fire-worshippers were Northern immigrants who conquered the Sumerian moon-worshippers, but whose conquest was made after the lunar year had been fixed.

Having thus shown how the fire-god attained a place in

[1] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1. 9 and 10; Haug's translation, vol. ii. pp. 93, 96,

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 284.

[3] These were the Dravidian Sombunsi, *i.e.* Sun or Sinbunsi, the sons of the moon or the lunar Rajputs. The solar Rajputs, who were descended from the Sāka-Sauvīra or Ikshvakus, were also called the lion race, but the root *li* was used for lion in forming their name Licchavi, as I have shown in pp. 260 and 261 of J.R.A.S. Vol. XXI. Art. III. It appears probable that the earliest name of the lunar Rajputs was derived directly from *sin*, the moon, and the name Sinīvātī given to the new moon (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 7, 2, 11). Haug's translation, vol. ii. p. 458, also shows that the earliest form of the later word Soma, the moon, was Sina, which is the same as the Accadian name.

[4] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 151, 154.

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the earliest Indian triad, I must now turn to Indra.[1] He is a very similar god to Mul-lil, but one who occupied to the last a much higher position than Mul-lil, who was degraded to be ruler of the world of ghosts. He was the god of the winds and rain, and, like Mul-lil, the lord of storms; but he continued to be a heavenly power, as Mul-lil had once been, when the storms were the seven messengers of Ana sent to spy out the sins of the Babylonians,[2] and the seven winds who assisted Merodach, the moon-god, in his combat with Tiarmut, the t'hōm or deep of the Old Testament, the primæval chaos.[3] Indra was thus the lord of heaven and earth, as the ancient moon-god had been; but he represented a more metaphysical solution of the creation myth, similar to that which made Ea, the snake water god, a creator. He was the god who united heaven and earth, who rules the rain which fertilizes the earth and the winds which drive away evil influences. Pṛithivi is the earth, the home of the snake or the active vital principle which united with the heavens by the aid of the waters produces all things. The Grecian Triad of Zeus, Kronos and Poseidon is similar to the Sumerian triad of Ana, Sin and Ea. Zeus is heaven, Kronos is the old moon-god, the measurer of time, and Poseidon is the god of the fertilizing waters; but this triad is the successor of one still older, in which Kronos again took the middle or chief place, being the god who ruled Ouranos[4] (heaven) and Gaia (earth). This last triad, very nearly the same as Ana, Mul-nugi, and Ea as the "nug" of the earth before he became the god of the waters.

But this system of triads extended even further westward than Greece, for we find among the gods of Etruria, who were called Aisur, a name very like the Accadian Aṣari,[5] the triad of Tinia, Uni, Menrfa. Of these Tinia was the

[1] Max Müller points out that Indra is derived from the same root as Indu, 'drop, sap,' Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd series, 1st edition, p. 430.
[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 311.
[3] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 206, 374.
[4] Ouranos is the Varuna of the Rigveda, which is interpreted by the commentators to mean the heaven of night; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. sect. v. p. 58. This is an additional proof that Kronos, the god of the heaven of night, meant the moon.
[5] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 284.

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heaven, and Uni became afterwards the Roman Juno.[1] In her later form she was certainly a moon-goddess, as, like all moon-goddesses, she presides over childbirth, and the Kalends, one of the principal measures of time, were sacred to her, and it is therefore apparently indubitable that in the early days, when the gods were of no, or rather of both, sexes, Uni was the moon-god. As for Menrfa, he was certainly the snake-god, as the snake representing the vital power of the earth was the distinctive symbol of this deity.[2]

All these triads, except that in which the fire-god takes the chief place (and which appears to be a local theology which did not, while unconnected with sun-worship, extend beyond Northern Babylonia and parts of India), show that in their earliest form they placed the moon-god at the head of the heavenly powers as the measurer of time, and in this capacity he was the fully developed year, accepted as the ruler of the seasons. If therefore the lunar year originated in Assyria, these triads must also have originated there, and it is all but impossible that systems so widely diffused, and yet, at first sight, so unlikely to be generally adopted over wide areas, should have been developed independently from different centres, and should have all formed the basis of the subsequent theological systems of the nations who adopted them. The natural and, what appears to me, the almost inevitable inference from the chain of reasoning now set forth, is, that the system of triads was originally developed and stamped firmly in the minds of the people, who originated it before the colonists, who took it with them to their far-distant homes, had set forth on their migrations.

The original theology thus disclosed being shown to be based on the lúnar year, it remains to be seen whether in the division of that year into three seasons, each ruled by nine phases of the moon and two planets, making thirty-three gods divided into three groups of eleven each, completes the system of the old moon and snake-worshippers. A fuller examination of the authorities shows that this leaves a good deal unexplained.

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. xiii. p. 778.
[2] Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, pp. 637, 639.

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Dr. Sayce quotes an Accadian text which states "the great gods to be fifty in number, the gods of destiny seven, and the Anūna of heaven are five,"[1] and the Mahābhārata speaks of the fifty daughters of Daksha, ten of whom were wives of Dharma, twenty-seven wives of the moon, and thirteen wives of Kaṣyapa.[2] These fifty daughters are evidently the fifty great Accadian gods,[3] while the five Anūna of the Accadians are the five planets. Of the fifty daughters of Daksha twenty-seven are the Nakshatras or phases of the moon, and thirteen are the months of the lunar year. It remains to be seen who the ten wives of Dharma are. I have already pointed out that Vinatā, the tenth moon of the lunar year, indicated the period of gestation, and it is from this that we find a clue to the correct identification of the ten wives of Dharma. To complete the proof we must look to the Egyptian list of gods, for it is there alone that we find ten gods specially mentioned in five groups of two each. We find in Egypt two official lists of gods, one of Memphis and the other of Thebes. The Memphis list is as follows: 1. Ptah; 2. Ra; 3. Shu and Tefnet; 4. Seb and Nut; 5. Hesiri and Hes; 6. Set and Nebti; 7. Har and Hathor. This division of the gods into five sets, each consisting of two gods named in this list, must be very ancient, and must have been brought by Menes, the earliest recorded king, when he came from Thinis, in the Theban country, into Northern Egypt, as we find the same division in the Theban list. This list contains nine sets of gods, four single, and the remaining five being the same division into pairs as appears in the Memphis list. The first three single gods are Amenra, Munt and Atmu; then come the five pairs, and last of all Sebek, the crocodile-headed god of Arsinoë.

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 183.

[2] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxvi. p 189.

[3] They are also the fifty daughters of Endymion by Selene, the moon, and of Danans, the father of the Argive race. The legend of Endymion was endemic in Elis and the people of Argos are called by Homer Danai. The name Danai, so very like that of Dānava, the name given in the Mahābhārata to the snake-worshipping tribes, which, as I have suggested in Part II. p. 265, may probably have been derived from the Accadian *dam*, strong. The early worship of Elis and the people of the Peloponnesus in Greece was certainly moon and Phallic worship. Hermes was worshipped at Cyllene in Elis under the form of the phallus, and Kronos, the old moon god, was guardian of the Olympian games. See articles Danans, Elis, Endymion and Olympia in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition.

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A comparison of these two cycles with the thirteen months of the Hindu lunar year will at once show that in their original form they represented the months of the lunar year of the Egyptian worshippers of Har, called Har-shesu, and that the year apparently consisted of thirteen months.

The names of the Hindoo lunar months as given in the Mahābhārata are as follows:[1] 1. Āditi; 2. Diti; 3. Danu; 4. Kalā; 5. Danayū; 6. Sinhikā; 7. Krodhā; 8. Pradhā; 9. Visvā; 10. Vinatā; 11. Kapila; 12. Muni, or Daksha; 13. Kadru. These names are of course translated from an original Dravidian list, and the names of the first two months, Āditi and Diti, are alone sufficient to suggest that there was a very early division of the months into pairs, and this is further rendered likely by the name of the tenth month, Vinatā, meaning the twenty or twice ten lunar periods. But if we compare each set of two Hindoo months with the pairs of the Egyptian list, we shall find such similarity between the two lists as to make it exceedingly probable that the framers of the Hindoo and Egyptian lists both took their groups from the same source.[2]

Thus for the Hindoo Āditi and Diti we have the Egyptian Shu and Tefnet. Āditi certainly means the beginning, and the Egyptian Shu and Tefnet are interpreted to mean force and light. Tefnet is represented as a lioness, and was doubtless, before the Semites invented female gods, the male lion, or Sphinx, and meant the full moon. Thus Shu and Tefnet originally, like Āditi and Diti, were the first new and second full moon following the winter solstice. The appearance of the first full moon is still celebrated under the name of Pongol, as the chief annual festival of the Dravidians of

[1] Ādi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 185.

[2] Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 370, gives even more cogent proof of the division of thirteen lunar months in India into pairs than that given by the list of months taken from the Mahābhārata. The names of these months as quoted by him from the Vājasaneya Saṃhita 7, 30 and 22, 31 are as follows: (1) Madhu and (2) Madhava, (3) Śukra and (4) Śuchi, (5) Nabhas and (6) Nabhasya, (7) Ish and (8) Urj, (9) Sahas and (10) Sahasya, (11) Tapas and (12) Tapasya, (13) Amhaspati. That these pairs were originally male and female is exceedingly improbable, but that this Semitic innovation was afterwards extended to these names is clear from the Mahābhārata, where, as is shown in p. 306 of Part II. of this series of papers, Madhava becomes Mādhavī, and, as shown in p. 264, Śuchi becomes Śachī, wife of Indra (Śukra).

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Southern India, where it marks the beginning of the year, while the full moon of Phalgun marks the women's festival of the Huli.[1] Next came Danu and Kalā with their Egyptian counterparts of Set and Nut, which last mean earth and heaven. This was probably also the meaning of the Hindoo pair, Danu (from the Accadian dan, the strong, the firm, the stable) meaning the earth, and Kalā, or time, heaven. Then Danayū and Sinhikā are like the Egyptian Hesiri and Hes, the productive principle of the strong earth and the receptive vault of heaven, the home of Sin, the moon whose name appears in that of the Hindoo month. He was the god of the people of Sindhu (the Indus), the river and country of the moon, whose name is also preserved in that of "sindhu," or white moon-cloth, the name by which woven cotton is called in the earliest Accadian records,[2] which mark the dawn of the historic period of Babylonian history.[3] The next pair are Krodha and Pradha in the Hindoo, and Set and Nebti in the Egyptian year. They are the gods of the fall of the year after it had reached its highest point of perfection in the summer solstice, which I have already shown to be under the guardianship of the moon, who is represented in the lunar year by the month Sinhika. Krodhā is the wrathful goddess whose "countless progeny were as wicked as herself,"[4] and Set is the evil principle who appears in the Hebrew Scriptures as Seth, the father of the wicked race of men who were destroyed by the deluge, who were probably the ancient moon-worshippers, the predecessors of the sun-worshipping Semites. Nebti is the protector of the dead, and Pradhā was the mother of the apsaras, the spirits of the abyss (the Accad apsu), and was apparently, like

[1] Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, vol. ii. chap. lxxvi. p. 183.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 136, 138.

[3] This derivation appears to me to be justified for the following reasons:—First, there is no apparent Sanskrit derivation of the name. Secondly, the delta of the river, when it was first known as Sindhu, was inhabited, as I have shown in my previous paper, by a Dravidian population. Thirdly, that the Accads were accustomed, as is shown in the case of Sinai, to call sacred spots in foreign countries by the name of the moon-god Sin; and, lastly, that the name appears in Accadian inscriptions which Dr. Sayce thinks date from the "very dawn of the historic period in Babylonia," and long before the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans entered India, Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 136 and 138.

[4] Adi (Sambhava) Parva, lxv. p. 186.

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Nebti, regarded by the later sun-worshippers as the ruler of the ghost world. In the next pair, Visvā and Vinatā, I have already explained Vinatā and Visvā merely means the beings. The two months signify the completion of the gestation of the living beings born on the earth during the year, and the same myth appears in their Egyptian counterparts Har and Hathor, who complete the cycle of the gods of generation, Hur or Hor being born from Hathor or Athor, the Abyss. Another very strong proof that the Egyptian pairs of two gods each meant the ten lunar months is apparently to be found in the myth of Œdipus. I have shown above that Œdipus is probably the sacred fire-stick, but he is the fire-stick of the solar, not the earlier fire-stick of lunar worshippers. In his answer to the riddle of the Sphinx, who is the moon-god, he said that man is the being who goes in the morning on four legs, in mid-day on two, and on three at night; but the number here given, nine, discloses the still further meaning that it is man who takes nine months to come into being. These months must be the solar months, and it was the acceptance of nine months as marking the period of gestation instead of the old lunar number of ten months, which was the mortal blow dealt to the lunar year. It was the substitution of nine months for ten that killed the Sphinx, and not the answer of Œdipus, as is stated in the uncompleted myth, and hence the early Egyptians, who worshipped the Sphinx, must have believed in a period of gestation of ten months. Nine became henceforth the sacred number, which we find in the Theban cycle and in the nine Rudras of the Hindoo solar-lunar year. The Theban list, moreover, contains both the lunar and the solar-lunar system, for it contains the ten months of the productive period of the old lunar year, and the last three months, which are the generators.[1] These appear as Amenra, Munt and Sebek, the position of Sebek at the end of the list showing the place they formerly occupied in it, while, to complete the whole cycle of knowledge, Atmu has been added to represent the sun, the god of the new year. In

[1] See with reference to the order of the months, p. 558, note.

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the Hindoo Calendar the remaining three months are Kapila (the yellow), Daksha (the power) or Muni, which was probably the more ancient name of the two, and Kadru, the mother of the snakes. Their meaning appears to be phallic in its early form, and to indicate the generation of the powers that were to produce the beings who were to be born during the gestation period of the ensuing year. It probably denotes the sacred triad of heaven, Kadru being the king of the snakes and their father, or generator, who was afterwards in the Semitic revision of the calendar changed into their mother.[1] These three months do not appear in the Egyptian lists, as they were completely altered by the Semitic sun-worshippers, but they probably were the old triad mentioned by Prof. Tiele, consisting of Anuka (the embracing), the Accadian Anu, the Hindoo Kapila, the yellow vault of heaven coloured by the setting sun of the year, Khnum, the architect, or the motive power, answering to Munt of the Theban cycle, the god of war, and Sati, the generative power, the Sebek of the Theban list.[2] But this comparison of the Egyptian and Hindoo lunar months does not complete all the evidence extant as to the original significance and sacredness attached to the ten months of the year, which represent the period of gestation. It seems from a remark of Dr. Mommsen, in his account of the Roman year, that the cycle of ten months was regarded as practically complete in itself.[3] In speaking of the Roman Calendar, which he identifies with that of the early Italian races, he thinks that it began with an independent calendar of its own before it came under the influence of the duodecimal system of the Greeks; that at each of the phases of the moon the priests proclaimed the number of days which would elapse before the next phase; but the observation which bears most especially on the question I am discussing is as follows: "The simplifying of the reckoning according to lunar months by the application of the decimal system, which was usual among

[1] Or perhaps as shown in the Appendix the original god was Tai, the mother.
[2] Tiele, Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions, p. 50.
[3] Dr. Mommsen's History of Rome, popular edition, translated by Dr. Dickson, vol. i. pp. 216–218.

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the Romans, and *the designation of a term of ten months as a ring (annus) or complete year, bear on them all the traces of a high antiquity.*"

But the special meaning of the term of ten months can only, as is seen from the examination of the Hindoo lunar year, be explained by considering these ten months as the lunar months which complete the period of gestation; and the occurrence of such similar and singular ideas among people so widely apart as the Hindoos and ancient Italians seems to make it very probable that these ancient people derived their interpretation of natural changes from the same quarter as their successors derived their language, the first from the countries watered by, and the last from the countries adjoining the Euphrates and Tigris. That this was actually the fact is by no means so improbable as it appears to be at first sight. There can be no doubt that in the early religion of Greece, which preceded the introduction of sun-worship, the moon and the snake were the chief gods. Hermes, as is shown by his staff, the *κηρυκεῖον*, round which two serpents were entwined in a knot, is a snake and phallic god; and the Roman Mercury, who was apparently an old Italian god, is his complete counterpart. Demeter, representing the productive and nourishing power of the earth, is depicted on the coins of Eleusis, where she was worshipped in the Eleusinian mysteries, as drawn by winged snakes; while the oracle of Delphi was merely the continuance of the earlier oracle of the snake Pytho, who was said in the legend to be slain by the Sun-god Apollo; and many other proofs might be added to this list. I have already shown in the Etruscan Uni and Menrfa the evidence for early snake and moon-worship in Italy, and this evidence is further corroborated by the ceremonies connected with the festival of the Lupercalia, which was one of the most ancient of the Latin festivals. The sacrifices then offered were two goats and a dog; these were not allowed to be touched by the "flamen dialis," but were killed by the two Lupercal youths chosen from the tribe of Ramnes. The god to whom these sacrifices were offered

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was, as Livy states, an old Italian god called Innuus, who was probably the prototype of the Etruscan Uni, and who was evidently, as the sacrifice of the goats shows, a moon-god, and similar evidence is also given by the fact that blows given by the Luperci with the thongs made of the skin of the slaughtered animals were held to prevent sterility in women[1] Considering the great reverence paid by all ancient nations to all old religious observances, it is, to say the least of it, exceedingly probable that the snake and moon-worshippers in ancient Greece and Italy belonged to the same race. In both countries the people afterwards adopted a solar-lunar year, and both used a language derived from Aryan stems, and if these later processes point to a common origin of the people of the two countries, the same reasoning will equally apply to their predecessors. In their case we find that the old language they used has disappeared, or become nearly obliterated, while the more venerated religious institutions have been incorporated into the system of their successors.

Dr. Mommsen argues that as the Italian months have totally different names from those adopted in Greece, the Roman year must have been independently formed. No doubt this argument is conclusive against those who contend that the Romans derived their year directly from the Greeks, but does not touch the contention that the earliest races which inhabited Greece and Italy both derived their year from the same source, from which their successors subsequently took their language, that is to say, from the countries known as Persia and Assyria. These early races, though coming originally from the same stock, separated very early, and developed the teachings they brought with them from their ancestral homes in different ways, though probably, if we could examine the unaltered religious forms of the early Greek and Latin Pelasgi, we should find them even more alike than those of their successors. If the Pelasgi were, as I believe them to have been, Dravidians, they would, owing to their conservative instincts, have

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. xv. p. 96, s.v. Lupercalia.

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resisted change much more stubbornly than their more imaginative successors.

After this long digression I must now return to the old Roman year. An examination of the names of the months shows a great similarity to those of the Dravidian Hindoos. The lunar year must have originally begun with the month Januarius, which, like the Hindoo Āditi, means the opening month, and the month called December, or the tenth month, must, like the Hindoo Vinatā, have taken place in September and October. The thirteenth month, which afterwards became the intercalary month, must have been Mercedonius, or the labour month, as under the solar-lunar system, when the year began in March, it was added at the end of the year after February, and if the name is derived from the same root as Mercury, it would answer exactly to the Hindoo Kadru, which, as the mother of the snakes, was, like Mercury, especially connected with them. The two months which would have to be transposed to make the tenth month of the lunar year fall into its proper place would be Quintilis (July) and Sextilis (August), and the fact that these names were afterwards changed by the Romans themselves seems to show that, having been once altered to meet the exigencies of the solar-lunar calendar, they had not the same sanctity attached to them as belonged to the other months. The months of the Roman lunar year therefore probably ran as follows: 1 Januarius, 2 Februarius, 3 Martius, 4 Aprilis, 5 Maius, 6 Junius, 7 September, 8 October, 9 November, 10 December, 11 ( ), 12 ( ), 13 Mercedonius. The names of the eleventh and twelfth months are not now apparently recoverable, but the arrangement, both of the lunar and the solar-lunar years, shows a remarkable similarity to that I have already noticed in the Hindoo year. The name of the central month, Junius, is evidently connected with Innuus and Uni, who were probably the moon-god, and thus in both systems, as in the Hindoo year, we find the month of the summer solstice under the special guardianship of the moon. Perhaps the

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last three months may have been some such triad as the Tinia, Uni and Menrfa of the Etruscans, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva worshipped in the Ludi Magni, and the Kapilā Muni and Kadru of the Hindoos, and I have already shown that Menrfa is, like Kadru, specially connected with the snakes.[1] It thus appears that the Roman year agrees with the Hindoo year (1) in the name of the first month, (2) in the special functions assigned to ten months of the year, and (3) in making the central month especially sacred to the moon; and another point of resemblance is to be found in the festival of the Lupercalia, which occurred on the 15th February, the second month, and which is strictly analogous to the Hindoo Huli, which occurs at the full moon of Phalgun.[2] But this analysis, while showing that ten

[1] Perhaps this may not be the correct explanation of the order of the months, and the real order may have been as follows: 1 Januarius, 2 Februarius, 3 Mercedonius, 4 Martius, 5 Aprilis, 6 Maius, 7 Junius, 8 Quintilis, 9 Sextilis, 10 September, 11 October, 12 November, 13 December. The numerals in this list correctly represent the places of the months in the year of gestation, which began in March, while the first three represent the three months of generation. The whole thirteen months thus represent a complete "annus," or ring, composed of two smaller ones. This would account for the subsequent intercalation of Mercedonius, which, as Dr. Mommsen shows, used to take place in February when an additional month was required to correct the solar-lunar year. This would agree with the arrangement of the order of the gods in the Memphite and Theban Egyptian lists, where the ten gods ruling the months of gestation follow the names of the gods of the triad, and it would not be irreconcilable with the order of the Hindoo lunar months, as the thirteenth month, Kadru, is said to be the mother of the snakes, that is, of the whole body of moon-worshippers, while Vinata, the tenth month, is only the mother of Aruna and Gadura, the fire-stick and the bull of light. Böhtlingk-Both do not connect Vinati with Vinsati, twenty, but derive it from a root meaning to bow down, to bear. But for the order of the Hindoo months see Appendix.

[2] Another mark of a common origin of the religion of the nations of Greece, Italy and India is to be found in the religious festivals common to the three countries, all of which can be traced back to the very earliest periods, when, as I have tried to prove, the people were all moon and snake-worshippers, and can be shown to have taken place everywhere at the same time of the year. Thus the Saturnalia in Rome, the Lenæa in Athens, and the Pongol festival in India, all took place in January, the first month of the old lunar year. The Dionusya in Attica, lasting three days, and the Lupercalia of the Latin races, are the exact counterpart of the Huli festival in Phalgun (February) in India. The Mounuchia to Artemis, the moon-goddess, the Palilia in Italy, and the sowing festival of the Hindoos and of the Kolarian tribes, all occur in April-May; but the chief festival month in all these systems is that of September-October, when the Ludi Magni at Rome were celebrated in honour of the sacred triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The counterparts of this festival in Greece and India are the Eleusinia of Athens and the Durgapuja, the great festival of Eastern India. While the simultaneity of the other festivals may be ascribed to a common adherence to the natural order of the seasons, which may have originated independently in different countries, this explanation will not account for the occurrence of the great festival of the

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months of the year were considered to fulfil separate functions from those belonging to the Nakshatras and the thirteen lunar months, has not completely exhausted the whole number of the ancient gods; there still remain the sacred seven, who were the gods of destiny and messengers of Anu, the seven assistants of the Egyptian Thut, the moon-god,[1] and the seven snake kings of Nishadha. The examination of the lists of the lunar months shows that the framers of some of those lists which are now extant based their enumeration on pairs, and we consequently find the five pairs of months for the gestation period, the eleventh and twelfth months, made up the sixth pair, and to complete the sacred number seven, there was added what was in the eyes of the Dravidians an indispensable necessity in every well-organized state, a ruler or king. Again, the year and each lunar month began with the seven days, which, repeated, made up the full lunation, and this again repeated made up the full month, which, being again repeated three times over, made up the six seasons or ritu of the Hindoo astronomers,[2] and these six seasons with their ruler completed the year. Thus the sacred seven, the Accadian gods of destiny, began and ended the year, and were the rope that bound together the whole heaven and earth according to the Accadian moon-worshippers. These seven made up the whole cycle composed of the fifty great gods of the Accadians, the fifty daughters of Daksha, of Endymion and Danans,[3] who were the twenty-seven lunar periods, the thirteen months making forty, and the ten months of the period of gestation completing the whole fifty, the sacred seven rulers, and the five Anūnas, or planets.

The only point that appears to be still doubtful is as to the significance of the twenty-seven Nakshatras. The year, as

dead in the September and October month, yet we find in that month (Boëdromïon) in Athens the great festival of the Nekusia, and in the corresponding month in India the Pitris (fathers) are worshipped for fifteen days (Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, vol. ii. chap. lxxvi. p. 180).

[1] Tiele, Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions, p. 49.

[2] Alberuni's India, Sachau's translation, chap. lxi. vol. ii. p. 118, and chap. xxxvii. vol. i. p. 357.

[3] See note 3, p. 550.

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we have seen, was completed in twenty-six lunar periods, but this only made up 364 days. The question is as to whether the early astronomers found out that this calculation required revision by the interposition of intercalary days, and consequently retained the twenty-seventh lunar period for this purpose, or if not, why did they originally put it in the Calendar? If the intercalary days had been habitually added by the authors of the lunar year whenever such addition appeared to be necessary, the probability is that this custom would have been retained by the authors of the new solar year; but all extant evidence points to the late introduction of periodical revisions of the Calendar, and when this was found to be necessary, the lunar periods were increased to twenty-eight so as to allow of the addition of a new month. The Egyptian vague year, which appears to have been the original if not the only real Egyptian year, was based upon the return of all time to its original point from which it started, a cycle of 1461 years, beginning from the culmination of the Star Sothis (Sirius), and certainly did not provide for periodical revisions, and the name of Vi-adar,[1] the month added to the Hebrew year, as well as the Arhu-Makru the reduplication of Addaru, the intercalary month of the Semite-Accad year, seem to show that these additions were made as an afterthought when the year was found to be continually failing to represent the return of the seasons at the right annual period. These additions were at first made without any fixed law, and it was only at a later period that the law of the periodical addition of a month, which marks the Rabbinical Hebrew and the Muhammadan years, was worked out. The twenty-seventh Nakshatra appears to have been included in the gods owing to the necessity of a ruler, which, as explained before, was a primary and fundamental tenet of Dravidian ethics.[2]

The obvious objection to the correctness of the view I have

[1] Mr. P. le Page Renouf has, in an article in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii. part ii. 1874, shown that the Egyptian astronomical observations were based on the culmination, not as Brugsch supposes on the rising, of the stars.

[2] See Appendix, where the whole question is more fully discussed.

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proposed in this essay is that it is impossible that in such early times there could have been such an intimate connection between Assyria and Egypt, Assyria and India, and Assyria and Greece and Italy, as to make Assyria the starting-point of the theology, governing system and the religious festivals of Egypt, India, and the countries in which European civilization was founded. The records of Assyria, however, show the existence of a very early trade by sea between the Sinaitic peninsula and Assyria, for it was thence that the sculptors of Telloh got the material of their statues, and these statues show a very intimate connection between the Telloh and the Egyptian builders, as the scale of the plan of the city held in the hand of one of them is precisely the same as that of the Egyptian pyramid builders. The coincidences between Egyptian and both Hindoo and Assyrian mythology, which have already been pointed out, could hardly have arisen fortuitously; and if they were derived from the same source, that source must have been Assyria, and the original and fundamental religion which was thence disseminated through all the adjoining countries must have been snake and moon-worship.

In Egypt the original king god, the Ra, who is by his later worshippers depicted as the enemy of the snake Apap, must have been a snake and moon god, for he is, by the later sun-worshippers, depicted as wearing the Uræus snake as a coronet, and the snake was one of the signs of the Egyptian king, as is shown by his appearance on the head-dress of many of the old statues.[1] The snake of the old religion is the enemy of the sun-worshippers among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Hindoos, and Greeks, and he appears as the deposed king of these countries in the story of the temptation in Genesis. Almost all scholars, I think I may say without contradiction, agree in thinking that the four rivers of the Garden of Eden are the Nile, the Euphrates, Tigris and Indus, and the author of the account of the Garden of Eden in Genesis makes it the source of all of

[1] See the head of Seti I. fig. 192, in Maspero's Egyptian Archæology, translated by Miss Edwards, p. 224.

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them. That this could ever have been thought to be literally the case by the writer is only possible on the supposition that he was speaking of countries with which he had only the vaguest acquaintance, but he knew perfectly well that India produced gold, onyxes, and the precious stone translated bdellium. He must therefore have heard of India as a country which had a large foreign trade even in those early times, and if he knew this of India, he must have known enough of Egypt to know that the Nile came from the south, and not from the north, as was the case with the other rivers of Eden. But it is not by any means necessary to suppose that in making all these rivers rise in the Garden of Eden, he meant that the actual rivers did so. Throughout this series of papers I have shown numerous instances in India where the people living on the banks of certain rivers are called the sons of the rivers; and if this is once admitted, and it is conceded that these rivers meant those of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hindoos, it would follow that in speaking of the rivers the tradition spoke of the people to whom they gave their names, as the Sindhu did to the Hindoos, and in that case its meaning would be clear. What it meant to say is that the people of the Garden of Eden traced their origin to Assyria, which is the very proposition I have now tried to prove.

The probability therefore is that the writer speaks of the people of the lands of Havilah and Cush as coming from Assyria, having emigrated to those countries from the place where they were created. Dr. Sayce has shown that Babylonian tradition, which was doubtless that followed by the Biblical writer, places the Garden of Eden in Eridu.[1] Eridu was the great port of Assyria at the mouth of the Euphrates sacred to the great snake Ea and the earliest home of the Moon-god, Bel-Merodach, and it was doubtless from thence that the emigrants went forth to India on the East and Egypt on the West. Though the first emigrants probably went by land, yet intercourse by sea must have been carried on from a very early period, and

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 238.

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the ships which brought the stone of the Telloh statues from Sinai must have been preceded by many generations of voyagers. The men of Eridu were always bold navigators, and it was by means of the arks or ships which, as Dr. Sayce shows,[1] play such an important part in Babylonian and Egyptian ritual, that many at least of the later emigrants made their way to their new homes. Though the distances to be traversed, especially to Egypt, were very great, they were not more than was accomplished by the Norsemen of the Northern seas, and nothing like the voyages made by the ships sent to India by Solomon. The eighty-one Cuneiform tablets lately found in the tombs of the eighteenth dynasty, and now deposited in the British Museum, prove that there was constant communication between Egypt and Babylonia as early as 1700 B.C., and if the relations between the two countries were as intimate at that date as these tablets prove them to have been, there is no reason why this intimate connection should not have begun at a much earlier period. If the derivation of the early Egyptian from the Accadian theology, which I have attempted to prove in this paper, be accepted as correct, this intercourse must have been begun thousands of years before the solar-lunar dynasty of Menes founded the official chronology of Egypt, at a time which must have been nearly synchronous with the adoption of the solar-lunar Calendar by the Semite-Accads of Babylon. Navigation in those seas, owing to the regularity of the winds, was easy, and once the journeys to distant countries had been accomplished and profit made by the voyage, other traders would be sure to follow the first pioneers. It is clear that at a period long before the earliest authentic Egyptian history, the men of Eridu were a cultured race, who had worked out a solution of the mystery of creation which certainly speaks most highly for their intelligence and education. They had formed their own civilization, had evolved the elementary discoveries which lie at the basis of

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 66–68.

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all national life. They had built cities large enough to be trading centres, learnt the rudiments of agriculture, and being a people living on the sea had made sea-going vessels, and had learnt that the sea voyages were the easiest and most expeditious modes of travelling and trading. Such a people must have had a long extended social history and must have mingled with men of other countries, and worked out, not only the problems treated of in their theology, but the science of government and the laws of trade, the great promoter of international intercourse, and must consequently have made distant voyages to foreign countries.

I have not in this paper dealt with these latter problems, but I may say that any one who examines the forms of Egyptian Governments will find them almost precisely like those of the Dravidian kings of India, and, if my present conclusions are correct, this similarity will also extend to other departments of national life. This complete investigation will, I believe, firmly corroborate my present conclusions, that it is most probably to the Sumerian Accads that the earliest stable form of government in Egypt and India is due. That it is they who were the Har-sheshu who founded the most ancient sanctuaries of Egypt at Denderah, Edfu and Abydos,[1] long before the days of Menes, who built the cities of India, the oldest of those of Assyria, and that it is to them that these countries owe the most solid part of their civilization and their early culture.

The conclusions I have tried to establish in this paper, and in the latter part of Part II. of the same series, relating to the early Hindoo lunar calendar are as follows: (1) That when the Accad Dravidians, who first made the lunar calendar, emerged from totemism, their first national god was the creative power, which seemed to them to be the father and mother of all things, and which they worshipped under the symbols of sex embodied in the linga and yoni,

[1] Maspero, Egyptian Archæology, translated by Miss Edwards, p. 61.

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which became further symbolized in the union of the snake with the earth. (2) When they proceeded further to believe that the same creative power which originated all things on earth also ruled the heavens, they came to the conclusion that the moon, which was the heavenly body, which they saw constantly undergoing periodical changes, was the representative of the central vital power which gave life to all things. (3) They regarded the recurring changes of the moon as separate gods, and the first divine cycle they framed was that given by the ten complete lunations which were required to complete the period of gestation. (4) Probably this was what we find it to have been among the Latin races, the first and most archaic form of the year. (5) This was subsequently found, by continued observation, not to be a sufficiently definite measure of time, and it was discovered that thirteen full lunations were required to complete the year, so as to make the calendar a record of the return of the seasons. They consequently increased the year to thirteen months, though whether they made the original ten months of gestation the first or the last months of the completed year seems to be doubtful. (6) As the moon was under this system the only measurer of time, it was made the guardian and ruler of the summer, the culminating epoch of the year. (7) The Nakshatras or embodiments of the phases of the moon were probably a later addition made after a more lengthened period of scientific study, and we do not find any trace of them in the early Latin and Egyptian years. (8) It was after the Nakshatras were recognized that the first cycle of astronomical changes was adopted, consisting of the fifty great gods of the Accads and the fifty daughters of Daksha. In this cycle were included the ten months, making the year of gestation the thirteen months of the full lunar year, and the twenty-seven Nakshatras marking the path of the moon through the heavens. (9) The sacred Hindoo number of thirty-three gods seems to have been a later development of the earlier lunar system. It seems that in this arrangement of the heavenly powers the seasons, and their ruling celestial chiefs,

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were for the first time accepted as determining factors in the calendar, and it was this improved lunar year which seems to have been finally accepted by the Hindoo Accad Dravidians. It was upon this that they based their system of thirty-three gods, divided into three groups of eleven, though from the allusion quoted in p. 529 of this paper to the elevenfold division of the Accad snake-gods, the system seems to have been originally worked out by the astronomers of the Euphrates Valley. (10) The further refinement of the dual arrangement was perhaps the last phase of the developed year, making it a complete compendium of the fundamental principles accepted as the groundwork of this early materialistic philosophy.

Of course this detailed attempt to describe the order of the evolution of the first measurement of time is, in the absence of any record of the history of the process, based to a great extent on conjecture. But the proof of existence of each separate phase of belief has been given in this series of papers, and the whole reasoning is founded on the admission that the system of calculating by lunar years, which was the first adopted by early civilized races, originated in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley.

The coincidences that I have pointed out between the early Latin and the Hindoo-Accad year seem to make it exceedingly probable that they both came from one source. I would further submit that it is almost indubitably proved in the present series of papers that the Hindoo-Accad year was brought to India from the Euphrates Valley. The year of thirteen months could never have been framed except by a people devoted to astronomical science, and there is no trace of astronomy having been cultivated in the very earliest times, except among the people of Chaldæa and Babylonia. The Egyptian astronomical observations which have come down to us are of a much later date than those recorded in the earliest Accadian traditions, and refer almost entirely to astrology, a much later development of

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the early inquiries made to discover the means of measuring time.[1]

The chief objection to the truth of the deduction I have made seems to be based on the enormous periods of time it postulates, and the impossibility of the existence at so remote an epoch of any civilization so far advanced as that which my conclusions require. To those who object on these grounds, I would point out that the history of Sargon, the conqueror of Cyprus in 3750 B.C., points to a very developed civilization at that early period, while the monument of the Sphinx in Egypt tells of a still earlier cultivated race which ruled the country before the solar-lunar kings of Egypt, who date back to more than 4000 years before Christ. The solar-lunar calendar must, as Dr. Sayce shows, have been adopted about 4700 B.C., and the reference to the ruined mound of Borsippa in the Semite-Accad calendar shows that astronomical observations had been carried on in buildings made for that purpose long before that date.[2] The Sphinx monuments found near the ancient Miletus in Caria, and the golden Sphinxes found in the tombs of Mycenæ, prove that the sphinx and moon-worship both existed at a very early period in Asia Minor and Greece, and that the golden Sphinxes came from Egypt. There seems to be no proof whatsoever that the sphinxes of Miletus came from the same source. There is no reason of any kind which can lead to the belief that the Egyptians colonized Miletus, for their ancient enemies, the Hittites, were too firmly settled in the intervening country to make the Egyptian conquest of Caria possible, while there is apparently very strong proof that the earliest inhabitants of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy came from the Euphrates Valley, bringing their ancestral moon-worship and their civilization with them. The Hittite rulers of Lydia and the founders of the pre-Hellenic cities of Smyrna, Samorna (Ephesus), Myrina, Cyme, Priene, and Pitana, were phallus-worshippers, and

[1] The calendar of the fifteenth century B.C. is shown by Mr. Renouf, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. iii. part ii. 1874, to deal entirely with the motions of the stars.

[2] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 115.

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their moon-god called Menes, or Men, stood by the side of Attys, who represented the Istar-Tamnuz, or phallus-worship. The representation on the tomb of Midas in Phrygia of the sphinx sacred to the moon gives further proof that moon and snake, or phallus-worship was almost universal throughout Asia Minor.[1] The name of the mountain Ida, which was alike sacred to the people of Greece and Asia Minor, is apparently the Accadian Iḍa or Iṛa[2] the bull, and this and the name of the Bosphorus, which gave a passage to the bull (of light) from Asia to Europe, are two further proofs of the Accadian origin of the early Greek religion, besides those I have already advanced. If it be once admitted that it was the moon and snake-worshipping Dravidian races who originated the civilization of Greece and Italy, the recent archæological investigations made by the Italian Government sufficiently prove its very great antiquity in Italy. Remains of an ancient dwelling have been found on the Alban Mount between two strata of volcanic ashes, showing that the country must have been peopled by a race so civilized as to build substantial houses when the Alban Mount was an active volcano, and when, consequently, the geological features of the country were totally different from those recorded in the very earliest Latin traditions. Early bronzes which have been found in a lake deposit not later and perhaps earlier than 1500 B.C. point to a high civilization at that date. Inscriptions at Karnak, in Egypt, prove the Tyr, who are the Tyrhenians or Etruscans, to have been a flourishing and powerful Italian people about 1500 B.C., and the well-shaped tombs found at Sybaris, Corneto, Vetulonia, and Civita Castellana, prove the existence of a complete civilization much earlier than that of the Etruscans; as the

[1] See Lydia and Phrygia, Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition.

[2] The union of Zeus with Here on Mount Ida is apparently an old tradition used by the author of the Iliad, bk. xiv. p. 152 seqq. for the purposes of the story he is telling. The tradition seems to point to the amalgamation of the old moon-worship with the new sun-worship. The sanctity attached to both the mountains called Ida, one near Troy and the other in Crete, also prove that the name was one associated with religious reverence, and therefore it is exceedingly likely that the name was that of the Accadian Ira, the bull of light, which was, as I have suggested, first a name of the moon-god, and afterwards of his successor the sun-god.

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well-shaped tombs are found at Vetulonia and Corneto below the much later Etruscan chamber tombs. These conclusions are also confirmed by the excavations made by Signor Gamurrini at Falerii.[1] There is therefore no antecedent improbability in believing that a civilization which was so fully developed at so very early a date could trace its origin back for several thousand years; for if the traces of this very early civilization still remain imbedded in our institutions, in spite of the many rival systems that have arisen in later times, it is likely that the earliest forms should, when entrusted to the keeping of tribes so conservative as the ancient Dravidians, have remained undisturbed for many thousands of years, while the progress of such a race from barbarism to a state of culture must have occupied a very long period. When all these points are considered, it appears probable that the exaggerated periods of the Brahmin and Buddhist chronology of India are not so very far from giving a true estimate of the length of the periods which have elapsed since stable governments were founded in India as they have hitherto been supposed to have been.

But all such reasonings as these are at best only based on probabilities and possibilities. The main question to be solved is whether the snake and moon-worship, which we find to have been the earliest form of religious and scientific belief in all countries, from India in the east to Italy in the west, sprang from several centres or only from one. If it be admitted that all, or nearly all, the evidence is in favour of this belief coming from a single source, this worship, with its concomitants, must have originated in Assyria. If the available proofs of this conclusion are considered insufficient, it is for the opponents of this solution of the question to show what the other centres, besides Assyria, were, and what other people, except those living in the Euphrates Valley, can be shown from the very earliest recorded times to have pursued the astronomical studies which must have preceded

[1] These facts are taken from notes I made of the review in the *Times* of the reports of the Italian Survey published, as far I recollect, in April, 1888. I am sorry I have not been able to verify them by a reference to the originals.

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even the earliest and rudest form of the lunar year, which is apparently that of the Latin races.

The results of the inquiries which I have set forth in the preceding pages seem to me to show that it was the people called the black-headed sons of Ea, living in the southern and eastern part of the united valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, who, with the assistance of the Northern Accads of Babylonia, and that of other more imaginative tribes living in the same locality, worked out the solutions of many of the most important political, theological and scientific problems which I have described in the present series of papers. These explanations of the mysteries of life, and of the laws of social well-being, had been gradually unfolded in their minds first by their constant efforts towards securing a social organization which satisfied the requirements of their very practical minds. From this point they were led by their desire for knowledge to enquire into the laws regulating the sequence of the changes in heaven and earth, which they saw recurring yearly before their eyes, as well as those which defined the relations between the heavens above them and the earth on which they lived, and the reasons of the constant mutual influence they exercised over one another.

The form of government of this people was based on the organization of a nomad camp. Their constitution was tribal, and the tribe among the Dravidians was the important unit, not the family, as among the Semites. They were exogamous, that is to say, the fathers of the children of the tribe were sought for out of another clan, for there was no family life among them.[1] The women, who occupied an im-

[1] They, like the women of the Amazonian race described by Herod. iv. 110 (Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. i. p. 655, Art. Amazons), paid annual visits to the neighbouring tribes to increase their stock of children, just as now the girls of a Dravidian village visit and dance with the young men of another in the neighbourhood. These visits now result in marriages or permanent unions, but anciently they were only temporary. Herodotus's account of the banishment and crippling of the males was doubtless gathered from sun-worshipping informants who looked on the old Dravidian moon-worshippers and their tribal customs, which were so totally opposed to their idea of family life, in the most unfavourable light. Herodotus's further account of the Sarmatians, iv. 110–117, the great riding race of Central Asia, shows that among them the women occupied a position similar to that of the Dravidian women. They rode, hunted and took part in battle with the men. They are probably the horse-owning tribes of India called

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portant position, and who were frequently rulers of the tribe, were the mothers, nurses and educators of the tribal children. It was they who reared and tended them till they reached an age which permitted their entrance into the homes for young men and young women, which were maintained in every tribal section. These homes are, as I have previously explained, now maintained in every Dravidian village. In the days when each of the different clans which formed the united tribes lived together, the organization was entirely clannish, and it was only altered afterwards, when the village communities were formed. Whether they ever founded a system of village communities of their own, or whether they merely appropriated that already formed by other races, appears to be doubtful. In India the evidence extant certainly proves that the original villages were formed by the Kolarians, and that the Dravidians appropriated their village and provincial system, altering it to suit their own plan of government.

As they were exogamous, friendly relations between neighbouring clans were necessary, after the custom of unions by capture had ceased. Each confederacy formed by these allied and related clans was ruled first by the chief of the central camp, which became, when they had taken to a stationary life, the central village or city. The chief was assisted by his council, composed of the leading inhabitants of the city, and of delegates from the councils of the affiliated villages. These had been formed either by emigration from the central tribe or by alliances with neighbouring clans which desired the aid and protection of their powerful neighbours.

The chiefs of these subordinate clans or villages were probably among the Dravidians always appointed by the head of the state, who, as general in chief, had the right to select his own officers, and in this the Dravidian kingdoms and provinces differed from those of the Kolarians or Aryans where the offices were elective.

These cities, with their dependencies, formed provinces

Gandhāra, who are shown in Part II. to have entered with, or shortly after, the Dravidian tribes called Haihayas.

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owing allegiance to the central ruler, though this probably was a later development, and the original constitution was an alliance between the neighbouring cities, each with their several dependencies such as we find existing in Canaan in the days of Joshua, in early Greece, and in Italy. These cities were united together by the bond formed by the mutual trading advantages conferred by the maintenance of the alliance. The mutual relations between each city and its dependencies, and each province of the larger kingdoms, and the capital city, were kept up by the administrative organization of local councils, which preserved constant touch with the governing body and the consideration of all matters of common interest by the central council, presided over by the chief of the confederacy.

Under this system all members of the community were from the first trained in their duties, and had, under the limitations considered necessary for the preservation of law and order, an interest in the well-being of the state. Every one could aspire to a voice either in the subordinate or central councils, and could become either a leader among his fellows, or, at least, a willing worker with others for the common good. On the other hand, any remissness in the performance of prescribed duties or any infringment of the rules laid down by those in authority was severely punished.[1] These rules of social polity were all based from very early times on trading interests. It was for trading purposes that the Dravidians made war, and when successful their first endeavour was to unite themselves with the conquered tribe, which became either a component part of the enlarged state or an allied dependency. They had very early grasped the idea that the prosperity and progress of the community depended on trade, and on the mutual and willing efforts of each member of the body politic to fulfil the task appointed for those holding his or her place in the organism.

[1] The Dravidian customs bear a strong resemblance to those of the Dorian Spartans and Cretans. The Sussitia, or common-messes, of the Spartans and Cretans are distinctly Dravidian customs. The same may be said for the council of the elders (Gerousia), the Ephors, and the important place assigned to women in Sparta.

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They understood that the mutual interchange of commodities was the surest guarantee of peace, and that reciprocal trade between well-organized communities was far more profitable than war.

The duties of their chiefs were to keep peace and good order among the members of the confederacy, to do justice between man and man, to see that trade was carried on peaceably, and that all engaged in it, whether foreigners or fellow-tribesmen, were protected in their persons and goods. They had to maintain an efficient force for the defence of the country from hostile attacks, and well-appointed fortresses, while in the better organized kingdoms a well-organized police was also kept up.

But these Dravidians did not content themselves with founding a system of government and social polity fitted to develope individual freedom and energy, while repressing excess and assuring the maintenance of all rights which were not public wrongs. They also worked out in their calendar a system which, when finally completed, appeared to them to be a thorough explanation of the origin and orderly sequence of natural phenomena. This they embodied in their year under three aspects, each showing a different view of the questions they proposed to solve. The first in order of time looked on the year as the manifestation of the great generating power, which superintended, directed, and organized the increase and multiplication of individuals and species. Of this year ten months were those of conception, gestation, and birth, and three were those of generation. In the second aspect the year was looked on as the measurer of the times and seasons by means of its thirteen months, represented at a date much later than the adoption of the lunar year as an isosceles triangle culminating in the summer solstice ruled by the moon, and descending again in the last six months till it reached the level from which the new triangle formed by the coming year was to ascend. In its third aspect, framed after the metaphysical arguments involved in the conception had been worked out, the year was regarded as the cycle within which the yearly sequence of

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natural changes was evolved. For this purpose it was divided into three seasons, each controlled by its eleven gods, the ten gods of conception and gestation and the power that regulated their action.

On leaving their homes in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates Valley, even the earliest emigrants carried with them part of this elaborate system of government, organization and astronomical speculation. If they had gone merely as nomads, they would have had to work out these problems independently; and as there is a great similarity in all the early solutions, the probability is that before they separated the race had reached a stage of progress which had impelled them to consider and partly to solve what appeared to them to be the most pressing questions. It is clear that the carefully reasoned products of long-continued observations could not have been accepted and embodied in their creeds by the early races of India and Egypt if the first immigrants into these countries had not brought with them the solutions that had been worked out before they left their homes, and if they had not kept up that continual intercourse with the parent country which enabled them to receive and adopt additional discoveries made by the Assyrian observers. The immigration into India must have taken place at a very remote period to allow of the Dravidian Accads establishing themselves in well-organized kingdoms throughout the length and breadth of the land. All these kingdoms must have been formed before the advent of the Semite-Accads, who brought with them the solar-lunar system, with its attendant fundamental changes. If, as is probably the case, the earliest immigrants came by land, intercourse by sea must have been established at a very early period; for it is only by a maritime trade that continual intercourse could have been kept up between Assyria and India, and that the cities, the system of agriculture, the mining enterprises, and the well-organized governments, which were all based on a flourishing internal and foreign trade, could have been founded and maintained.

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APPENDIX.

Proof of the Lunar Origin of the Hindu Months.

Alberuni, chap. xix. (Sachau's translation, vol. i. p. 218), proves that the classical names of the Hindi months are derived from those of the Nakshatras. The evidence for this conclusion, from which I dissent, is given in the following list, to which I have added a column showing that the current Hindi vernacular names are either exactly the same as the classical names, or else manifestly dialectic, and therefore perhaps earlier forms of the later Sanskritized names:

Names of Months (Alberuni).	Current Vernacular Hindi Names.	Names of Lunar Stations.
1. Kārttika [1]	1. Kartik	1. Krittika
		2. Rohinī
2. Margasirsha	2. Margasīrsha (Bengali)	3. Mṛigasirsha
	Aggahan (Hindi)	4. Ārdrā
3. Pausha	Poos	5. Punarvasu
		6. Pūshya
4. Māgha	Māgh	7. Āslesha
		8. Māgha
5. Phālguna	Phālguni	9. Purvaphalguni
		10. Uttaraphalguni
		11. Hasta
6. Chaitra	Chait	12. Chitra
		13. Svāti
7. Vaiṣākha	Baisakh	14. Visākha
		15. Anurādhā
8. Jyaistha	Jeth	16. Jyeshṭha
		17. Mūla
9. Ashāḍhā	Assār	18. Purvāshādhā
		19. Uttarāshādhā

[1] This arrangement represents the year as beginning when the sun was in the constellation of the Pleiades (Krittika). It was perhaps made in solar-lunar times. At all events it does not represent the old lunar order of the months.

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10. Srāvana	Srābon	20. Ṣravaṇa
		21. Dhanishta
11. Bhādrapada	Bhādon	22. Sātabhishaj
		23. Purvabhādrapadā
		24. Uttarabhādrapadā
12. Āṣvayuga	Assin	25. Revati
		26. Assin
		27. Bharani

From this list it is perfectly clear that the current Hindi names of the months and those of the lunar stations come from the same source. That the months were named before the lunar stations seems to me to be proved from the arguments detailed in the foregoing essay. The year was not fixed after the path of the moon through the heavens had been traced, but before. The Nakshatras were recorded after a long series of astronomical observations, which showed that the moon in her passage through the heavens in her annual course of twenty-six phases, or thirteen complete lunations, traversed certain constellations, half of which were named from the thirteen months which had been already found to complete the year. Therefore the original number of months must have been thirteen. An examination of the above list of Nakshatras shows that there are three phases of the moon allotted to three months. Phālguna, Bhādrapadā (Bhādon) and Āṣvayuga (Assin). Now as there are twenty-seven Nakshatras, one of the groups must be made three in number to give a place for the name of the leader, who, as I have suggested in p. 558, was to the Dravidians a necessary member of every organized body, and who must therefore have had a place among the Nakshatras when they became twenty-seven gods. The two extra phases given to the remaining two months must contain the thirteenth month. This, as I have tried to prove in p. 557, note 1, must have been originally inserted after or before Phālguna (February), the place assigned to the Roman month Mercedonius, or else before or after Srābon. This original arrangement may have been altered when the astronomical calendar of the Nakshatras took the final form,

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and when errors of time were corrected by intercalations. If this was ever done (which, as I have shown in the text, was doubtful), extra lunations must have been added when required to either the fifth or tenth month or to both. The only reason I mention this hypothesis is because it seems to suit the present arrangement of the calendar. But this intercalation could never have taken place till after the solar-lunar was substituted for the lunar calendar, and the apparently true explanation of the different places occupied by the phases of the thirteenth month seems to be that at one time the three months of generation occupied the first place, and at another the last place in the year. If this was the case, the first appears to be the older form, which, like the Roman year, made the year a complete "annus" or ring, containing within itself the annual series of mutual changes, while the second conception was the offspring of a wider circle of ideas, making each year the generator of that which was to follow.

A further examination of the Nakshatras given in the above list shows that the first phase of the moon in each month is named after the month in all except three months. These are Pausha (Poos), Māgha and Āṣvayuja (Assin). Now if the original thirteenth month had been one of the three at the beginning of the year, reckoning from the winter solstice, which occurred in Poos, it must have begun, as the other months did, in the phase answering its name, and the first three months must have been as follows:

Name of Month.	Lunar Stations.
1. Paushya[1] (Poos)	1. Pūshya
	2. Āslesha
2. Māgh	3. Māgha
	4. Hasta
3. Phālguni	5. Purvaphalguni
	6. Uttaraphalguni

[1] This is clearly the god Pushan, who is spoken of in the Rig-Veda as "drawn by goats," Muir, Sanskrit Texts, v. 12, p. 171; Rgv. vi. 55.4; Rgv. vi 57.3. He was, according to Sayana, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2. 9, note 16, Haug's translation, vol. ii. pp. 20-21, a Sudra, or Non-Aryan deity. He and Soma (the moon) are the gods who give wealth and cattle, he is the tutelary god of travellers, and the clearer of

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This arrangement would make Punarvasu, the fifth Nakshatra in Alberuni's list, the twenty-seventh, or the ruler of the year, and would leave it out of the reckoning of the thirteen months. As for the change in the place of Hasta, the later Hindoo astronomers probably placed this phase as they did with that of Abhijit, to be noticed afterwards, between the two Phālguns, but its natural and original place is evidently that which I have assigned to it.

Name of Month.	Lunar Station.
4. Chaitra	7. Chitra
(Chart)	8. Svāti
5. Visākha	9. Vaisākha
(Baisakh)	10. Anurādhā
6. Jyaistha	11. Jyeshṭha
(Jeth)	12. Mūla
7. Āshāḍhā	13. Purvāshādhā
(Assār)	14. Uttarāshādhā

In the interval between Purvāshādhā and Uttarāshādhā there is inserted in another list of the Nakshatras,[1] one called "Abhijit" (the now conquered). This is evidently put in by the sun-worshippers to mark both the centre of the lunar year, between the thirteenth and fourteenth phases of the moon, and their own triumph over this system.

8. Sṛāvaṇa	15. Sṛavaṇa
(Srābon)	16. Dhanishta

There then comes a single Nakshatra, Sātabhishaj, which, if it is the original name, must have given its name to the next month. I have not found any name for the thirteenth month which bears any resemblance to Sātabhishaj, for those quoted in p. 532, note 2, from the Vājasaneya Saṃhita and the Kāṭhaka have no connection with it. I must therefore call the next month provisionally:

9. Sātabhishaj	17. Sātabhishaj
	18. Revati

paths. Like the Greek Hermes, whom he resembles, he was a snake-god. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 5, 4, 18, Eggeling's Translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii. p. 418, he is represented as the earth, who gave up Vritra the snake-race to be slain by Indra. He is, in the passage, clearly the chief snake-god.

[1] Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 150.

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Revati must have been originally in this place, for Asvini was evidently the phase that took its name from Assin.

10. Bhādrapadā (Bhādon)	19. Parvabhādrapadā
	20. Uttarabhādrapadā
11. Āṣvayuja (Assin)	21. Asvini
	22. Bharani
12. Kārttaka (Kartik)	23. Kṛittaka
	24. Rohini
13. Mārgasirsha (Aggahan)	25. Mṛigasirsha
	26. Ārdrā
	27. Punarvasu

In this arrangement two points are to be especially noticed, the names Mṛigasirsha and Ārdrā, those of the 25th and 26th Nakshatras. Mṛigasirsha means the "deer-headed" god, and is evidently the gazelle or, in India, the black antelope, which, as Dr. Sayce shows, was sacred to Mul-lil, the moon-god of Nipur, and which afterwards became the Zodiacal sign of Capricornus.[1] The present name is evidently a Sanskrit translation of an Accad or Dravidian original, and the original name was, as I shall show presently, when speaking of the Tamil months, Marga or some very similar name. The second notable name, Ārdrā, means the son of Rudra, which last was the name given to the Nakshatras in the solar-lunar calendar. This shows that probably Rudra originally represented the twenty-sixth Nakshatra, or the end of the lunar year.

The name Assin is probably derived from Aṣva, the horse, and has no connection with the heavenly twins, Asvin, who were solar or rather solar-lunar deities. The names Asvin or Assin and Bharani seem to refer to the horse-owning tribes and the Bhārata, who, as I have shown in Part II. of this series of papers, played such an important part in the history of Northern India.

That the vernacular names of the Hindi months date from a very early period, long anterior to the introduction of the

[1] Sayce, Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 284.

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Nakshatras and the still later solar-lunar calendar, is also proved by the names of the Tamil and Telugu months. The evidence of the Tamil months is especially valuable, as their names show some which are evidently of an earlier date than the Hindi vernacular names, while evidence is also given by the existence of another list of Tamil months, named after the signs of the Zodiac, which shows that these were a foreign and late importation.

The following is the list of names, beginning with the month Poos:

Tamil Lunar List.	Tamil Solar-Lunar List.	Telugu.	Hindi Names.
1. Tai	1. Kumbha[1] (The watering-pot)	1. Pūshan	1. Poos
2. Maussi	2. Minam (The fishes)	2. Magham	2. Māgh
3. Panguni	3. Mesham (The goat)	3. Phalgunan	3. Phalgun
4. Chittri	4. Rishabam (The bull)	4. Chaitram	4. Chait
5. Vayasi	5. Midhunam (The twins)	5. Visukham	5. Baisakh
6. Auni	6. Kartakam (The crab)	6. Jyeshthana	6. Jeth.
7. Audi	7. Simham (The lion)	7. Ashadhan	7. Assār
8. Auvani	8. Kauni (The girl)	8. Sravanam	8. Srābon
9. Purattasi	9. Tulam (The balance)	9. Bhādrapadam	9. Bhādon
10. Arpesi or Alpesi	10. Vrishakam (The scorpion)	10. Asvijam	10. Assin
11. Kartikai	11. Dhamsu (The archer)	11. Kartikam	11. Kārtik
12. Margali	12. Makaram (Capricornus)	12. Margasiram	12. Mārgasirsha or Aggaham

[1] This was evidently connected with snake and linga worship. The watering-pot was the sacred water used to bathe the linga, which was represented in the Zodiac by the fishes, but which was originally the fish-god Ea, symbolized by the snake.

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The above list of the Tamil months clearly shows that several of these names are the same as those of the Hindi months, but there are also others, Tai, Maussi, Auni, Audi, Auvani, and Purattasi, which are entirely different from the Hindi names. The question that first arises is as to whether the Tamil names which are like those in the Hindi list are derived from Hindi, or whether they both come from roots common to all the Dravidian-speaking tribes, who were the earliest snake and moon-worshippers. The name Kartikai seems to be exactly the same word as Kartik. Chittri and Panguni are exactly the same words as Chait and Phalgun, while Phalgun appears to be closely connected with the Pongol, the name of the festival of the opening year. The Tamil name Pongol, as Dr. R. Rost has been good enough to inform me, means fermentation or "furor," and is exceedingly applicable to the festival of the opening year, called Pongol, of the Tamils, and the Saturnalia of Rome. It typifies the "furor" which, according to the ancient generative theory, accompanied the act of creation, and which was celebrated in the festivals of the opening of the year, and in the great Huli festival of Phalgun, which is the women's festival, and which takes place in the month which appears from examination of the Nakshatra to be the third and last month of the generative series.

But the most important name in the Tamil list of months is Tai, which takes in the Tamil year the place of Poos. Tai in Tamil means the mother, and Pushan, the goat-drawn god, is the god who in the later revision of the calendar, made when the father became head of the family and substituted for Tai, the original mother. The Tamil year therefore points back to a period long before the patriarchal era, when the children belonged to the mother and not to the father, and when it was the mother that bore and generated the coming year. The occurrence of this name also makes it probable that the names of the other months were derived from Dravidian or Accadian roots, and simply continued in use with many other common vernacular words when the Dravidian and Kolarian-speaking tribes of Northern India adopted a dialect with Sanskrit

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inflections, under the teaching of Brahmin schoolmasters. The name Auvani also appears to be, like Tai, an old original name, while the Sanskritized Srāvana or Srabon simply means the glorious (srava) month. The name Bhādrapadā is also apparently a Sanskrit name, meaning the beautiful footed, and seems, as I have suggested in p. 546, to refer to the connection between the fire god and the bull's foot, as the other name of the month, Prasthapada, means the ox-footed month.[1] This last name bears a great likeness to that of the corresponding Athenian month Boedromion.

The second list of months called after the signs of the Zodiac is of course much later than that which gave names to the Nakshatra, but it also shows traces of a very early phase of sun-worship, as the sign of the Ram (Aries), which was adopted by all the people who have used the solar year since the Greeks and Romans first took the Zodiac from Assyria, is here represented by the goat. The goat was, as I have shown, an animal sacred to the moon, and the people who placed the goat among the signs of the Zodiac must have reverenced the moon as well as the sun, and must have lived before the people who substituted the Ram for the goat as the more distinctly solar animal.

[1] Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. art. iii. Translation of the Surya Siddhanta, by Rev. E. Burgess, p. 341.

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THE Map of Finn-Ugor Languages was unfortunately delayed, and there is no time now to make the obviously necessary corrections and additions. It may serve, however, approximately to define the "habitat" of the different Nationalities, whose languages are referred to in this article.

ROBERT CUST,

Hon. Sec. to R.A.S.

July, 1889.

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Art. VIII.—*The Ugor Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family of Languages.* By Theodore Duka, M.D., M.R.A.S. With a Map.

L'idée de l'infériorité des nations touraniennes, de leur inaptitude à l'art et à la civilisation, est un vieux préjugé qui fait son temps et qui ne doit guère son origine qu'aux affirmations vaniteuses . . . . . —*F. Lenormant.*

Whether the division and classification of linguistic affinities will always remain such as are propounded at the present day, or whether in due course and as a result of further research, this arrangement will have to make way for other conclusions, is not the question intended to be discussed here. The object of this paper is merely an attempt to bring together some historical, geographical, and literary data based upon more recent investigations, referring chiefly to one single linguistic branch, namely, the *Ugor* division of the Ural-Altaic family of languages; to point out the habitat and numbers belonging to the various tribes classified under that head, and to bring down, as far as possible to our own day, the history of linguistic researches in that special field of study.

The geographical area occupied by the peoples so classified belongs, at the present time, to the European continent, with the exception of the Vogul and Ostjak, who have their homes on the eastern or Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains. But tradition, history, and certain linguistic and ethnic affinities point to a relationship of the Ugor with the Tatar-Mongol, and especially with the Turki branch of languages, if not peoples—in short, with those whom Bishop Caldwell calls "Scythian," and which, together with the Dravidian family, have been classed as Turanian. We shall point out more fully in due course the controversy on that

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point still carried on by eminent philologists, one of several questions of no little moment which await a final decision from researches yet to be made by Oriental inquirers. Nor can any one be surprised at such being still the case. The true science of language and comparative philology is but of yesterday. Without desiring to overstep the limits of our theme, but making use of the old nomenclature, it may be pointed out, that the Indo-European family and the "Scythian" group are, according to Caldwell, brought into near contact through the Dravidian element, which seems to occupy a position midway between the two, though more nearly approaching the "Scythian." Bishop Caldwell states also that the particulars of real relationship between the Ural-Altaic and the Dravidian are of so distinctive and so essential a nature, that they appear to him to amount to what is called a "family likeness," and therefore naturally suggest the idea of common descent. This relationship seems to be not merely morphological, but in some shape or another "genealogical," as section after section of Bishop Caldwell's book, that inexhaustible mine of most valuable information, amply testifies. The family of languages, he says, to which the Dravidian appear most nearly related, is the Finnish or Ugrian (Ugor). This supposition derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by the Behistún tablets; that the "Scythic" race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the Medo-Persians, belonged to the Ugrian stock. It is most remarkable that distinct affinities to the speech of the Dravidians should be discoverable in the language of the Finns in Northern Europe, and in that of the Ugrians in Siberia.[1] Dr. Trumpp thought he had discovered traces of similar affinities in the languages of Northern India.[2] Csoma de Körös found others in the Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit, and Louis Podhorszky[3] wrote an etymological and comparative vocabulary of the Magyar and Chinese languages. However doubtful much of these

[1] Caldwell's Introduction to Grammar of Dravidian Languages, p. 70 *et seqq.*
[2] Vide Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX. p. 69, 1887.
[3] Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Magyarischen Sprache genetisch aus Chinesischen Wurzeln und Stammen erklärt. Paris und Wien, 1877, pp. 344.

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speculations may be, it is not too much to say that the Ugor branch of languages is probably of Asiatic origin.

Before approaching our subject, it will be convenient to cite some of the principal philological authorities.

A. *Castren's* classification of the Ural-Altaic languages is the following:

1. Tungussic-Manchu.
2. Mongol-Kalmuk.
3. Tatar or Turki dialects, very numerous. The principal ones being the Jakut in the north-east of Asia, the Uigur, and the Osmanli.
4. The Samojed, in five different groups, and
5. The Finn-Ugor (Ugric) or Ural languages.

B. *Friedrich Müller* divides the Ural-Altaic languages thus:

1. The *Samojed* dialects, namely, the Jurak, Tavgi, Ostjak, Samojed, Jenissei, and Kamasini.
2. *Finn*, comprising four groups, viz.
   - *a.* The special Finn group, including the Suomi, the Est (Ehst, Eesti), the Liv, and the Lapp.
   - *b.* The Perm group, viz. the Syrjaen and the Votjak.
   - *c.* The Volga-Bulgar group, comprising the Cheremiss and the Mordvin (Mordva, in Russ).
   - *d.* The Ugor group contains the Ostjak, the Vogul, and the Magyar.
3. The *Turki* or Tatar group:
   - *a.* The Jakut.
   - *b.* The Ugric, Jagatai, and Turkoman-Usbek.
   - *c.* The Nogai, Kumuk, and Chuvash.
   - *d.* Osmanli-Turkish.
4. Mongol.
5. Tungussic.

C. *Professor Budenz* dissociates Lapp from Finn (Bezzenberger's Beiträge, iv. 1878), and says: "The *Finn* in its general signification comprises the following languages: the Suomi, Est, Liv, Votjak, Lapp, Mordvin, Cheremiss, Syrjaen, Ostjak, Vogul, and the Magyar."

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The specific or the Ugor proper group, Budenz divides into two sections:

a. The South Ugor section: the Cheremiss, the Mordvin, and the Finn.

b. The North Ugor section includes the Lapp, the Votjak, the Syrjaen, the Ostjak, the Vogul, and the Magyar.

D. *Professor O. Donner*[1] adopts, after Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, the following arrangement:

I. The Finn or Chudo-Volga-Perm group, with two subdivisions, namely,

1. The West Finn-Volga subdivision, with the following languages: the Finn proper, the Vot, Karelian (almost extinct), the Veps, Est, Liv, Lapp, and the languages on the Volga, viz. the Mordvin and the Cheremiss.

2. The Perm subdivision, comprising the Syrjaen, with the two closely related dialects, the Perm proper and the Votjak.

It should be stated here, that further researches will have to decide in how far the Cheremiss is more nearly related to this than to the preceding subdivision.

II. The Ugor group consists of the Ostjak, the Vogul, and the Magyar.

The total number of individuals speaking languages classified under the *Finn-Ugor family* amounts, according to Prof. Donner's data, to about eleven and a quarter million souls, namely, the Finn and the Lapp group, 2,897,071; the Volga-Perm group, 1,837,292; the Ugor group, 6,514,945.

We shall follow Professor Donner, and the excellent map which accompanies the first number of the "Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne," already mentioned. The map for this paper has been specially adapted to the Journal.

I. The Finn or Chudo-Volga-Perm group.

1. West Finn-Volga subdivision.

a. The Finn. The Finnish-speaking nationality occupies almost the whole territory of the dukedom of Finland and the adjoining country. Westward it extends a few miles beyond

[1] Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, No. I. Helsingfors, 1886.

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the river Tornio, and to the north in the Polar circle halfway between the rivers Luleå and Kalis, as far as Karesuvanto. The Finn-speaking population of Finland in 1880 was 1,756,381 souls; and in Sweden 19, 611, comprising the majority of the inhabitants of the parishes of lower Tornio, Karl Gustaf, Hjetaniem, Upper Tornio, Korpilombolo, and Pajala. In the district of Gellwaare we find 1934 Finns, 960 Lapps, and 628 Swedes; in Jukkasjarvi 1412 Finns and 558 Lapps; in Enontekis 377 Finns and 947 Lapps. In Wermland, southward, there is a small Finn population, descendants of a Finn colony which settled there about two hundred years ago. This people live on a narrow strip of land extending to thirty miles off the Warald lake, as far as the northern half of Norra Rogden, in the parishes of Bogen, Gräsmark, Lekvattnet, Ostmark, Hvitsand, Ny, and of Sodra Finnskoga. According to the official returns of 1880, there were in Wermland 780 Finns. Aminoff puts their number at 1708, and makes a return of 4000 Finn-speaking individuals settled on both sides of the frontier-line. He is of opinion that these Finns will in less than half a century be entirely absorbed by the dominant race, the Russian. In the south the Finns are gradually disappearing; but on the north they multiply considerably, so much so, that during the last forty years they have doubled in numbers. In 1875 the numerical proportion of the Finn population was 7·7 in the province of Tromsö, and 24·2 in that of Finnmark.

On the eastern border of Finland towards Russia, long. 52°, we find a Karelo-Finn population, from which, two centuries ago, small colonies migrated into the provinces of Novgorod and Tver. There is here a Finn-speaking population of about 192,314 souls.

People of Finn descent are also found in the provinces of St. Petersburg, Olonetz and Novgorod, altogether about 142,689 persons, known by the names of Ingris, Savakot, and Äyıämöiset. They speak cognate dialects, derived from the Karelian or east Finn language, which is now nearly extinct.

b. The Vot tribe, or, as Sjögren calls them, the Chud of the south, inhabit a few villages under the Government of

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the province of St. Petersburg, in the districts of Oranienbaum and Jamburg, and particularly in the parish of Kattila. Köppen reckons their number at 5000 persons.

c. The Veps tribe, according to Sjögren, the Chud of the north, are settled on the south-west border of the lake Onega, at the outlet of the river Svir, in the vicinity of the town Petrosavodsk and in the parishes of Pyhäjärvi, Mundjärvi, Sununsuu and Viidana. They are found in considerable numbers in the upper region of the river Ojat, extending as far as the western border of the river Bjelosoro.

Köppen gives their number at 16,000 souls. There are two dialects: the South Veps and the North Veps.[1]

d. The Esth, Est, or *Eesti tribe* have their homesteads on the south of the Bay of Finland, namely, in Estland, Livland and on the islands of Dagö and Ösel. A few colonies of Est are found under the governments of Pskov, St. Petersburg and Vitebsk. The last census puts their number at 746,522 souls.

Two dialects are distinguished:

α. The *Dorpat-Est* or the Southern dialect, prevailing in the territories of the Governments of Dorpat, Fellin and Pernau.

β. The *Revel-Est* or Northern dialect spoken in the Bay of Finland.

The first is the more ancient, and stands nearer to the Finn than the Northern dialect.

e. The Liv tribe occupy the northernmost region of the promontory of Kurland around Domesnäs, extending for about 68 versts westward on the Bay of Riga. This is a small remnant of the old Liv tribe which at one time peopled a more extensive area. Some years ago this tribe numbered only 2541 individuals.[2]

[1] Journal Soc. Finno-Ougr. No. II. 1887.

[2] Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, in a letter dated July 1886, and addressed to Dr. Cust, says, "The Livonian is Altaic. It is spoken in two dialects by about 2000 persons in the extreme northern corner of Kurland, viz. at Kolken and at Pisen. In Kurland then where Lettish is generally spoken, the Livonian alias Livese, and the Crevingian, are still more or less spoken."

To Dr. Cust the author of this paper is indebted for a great number of the sources of information kindly placed at his disposal.

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f. The Lapp tribe inhabits the most northerly parts of Europe along the border of the Polar Sea. In 1875 their number was found to be 15,718 individuals. Of these, 1073 were leading a nomad life. The greater part of the settled Lapp population is found in Norway, where the territory between the North Cape and Roraas is their home, especially in the province of Finnmark. As we proceed southward, their number diminishes, so much so, that in 1875 there were only 99 Lapps in the District of Namdal, 79 in Inderaen, 33 in Fosen, and only 13 in Guldal.

On the Swedish territory their number in 1880 was 7000, but they become less numerous as we proceed southward. In the northerly parishes, their neighbours are the Finns and Swedes; each nationality occupies a separate district. In the district of the Noorbotten there were counted 3854 individuals, in Westerbotten 1431, and in Jemtland, through which district the railway runs from Lundsvall to Trondhjem, there were 800 Lapps; whilst in the corresponding districts of South and North Trondhjem only 242 Lapps could be found. In Finland their number was about 600, scattered in the parishes of Ustjoki and Enareh. The Russian Lapps on the peninsula of Kola number only 6101 individuals. From the above data the Lapp population may be set down at 29,719.[1]

g. Mordvin. Besides the tribes which inhabit the shores of the North Sea, the *Mordvin* are the nearest relatives of the Finns. Their habitat extends furthest south of all the Finn tribes, and they are also the most numerous among them. They occupy regions along the upper and lower course of the Sura, a tributary of the Volga; it is the territory between the rivers Oka and Volga, in the Governments of Nijni Novgorod, Simbirsk, Penza, Tambov, and Saratov. For ten centuries this tract of the country has been the home of the Mordvin. In the course of that time numerous colonies left the parent stock in search of other settlements on the east of the river Volga, and are now met with in the

[1] Four dialects are distinguished: *a.* The Norwegian Lapp; *b.* the Swedish Lapp; *c.* the Enareh Lapp; *d.* the Kola or Russ-Lapp.

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Governments of Kazan, Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, and Astrakan. Ibn Foslan became acquainted with the Mordvin along the central course of the Volga.

There are two dialects:

a. The Ersa, or the Northern dialect, spoken by the Mordvin under the Governments of Nijni Novgorod and Simbirsk.

β. The Moksha, or southern dialect, spoken in the provinces of Penza, Tambov, and Saratov. According to the latest registers kept by the clergy, the population of the Northern Division (Ersa) amounts to 764,500, and that of the Southern (Moksha) to 384,300, altogether 1,148,000. Their communities are small and scattered, and are gradually losing nationality, owing to Russian influences.

h. Cheremiss. To the north of the country of the Mordvin, and on the left border of the river Volga, live tribes belonging to the Cheremiss group. They form a connecting link between the Mordvin and Perm populations, both geographically and linguistically. The territory occupied by the Cheremiss extends from Kosmodemjansk in the west as far as Kazan, and in the south from the river Volga to the town of Jaransk, and beyond as far as the river Vjatka, a tributary of Kama, including the territory between the cities of Urzhum and Malmysh. The bulk of the Cheremiss people live here and are called the *Cheremiss of the plains* (meadows or woods), to distinguish them from their brethren the *Cheremiss of the hills*, each speaking a separate dialect. This latter is a small tribe on the south of the Volga, in the vicinity of the mouth of the river Sura. There is a third and a more populous Cheremiss tribe on the east, viz. between the rivers Ufa and Bjelaja, and on the borders of the river Dema, a tributary of the Ufa. The sum total of the Cheremiss population is put down at 259,745.

2. *The Perm* subdivision comprises the Syrjaen, the Perm, and the Votjak dialects.

a. The Syrjaen or *Zir.*

The habitat of the Syrjaen tribe, properly so called, is situated chiefly in the territory subject to the Government

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of Vologda, in the districts of Ustsysolsk and Jarensk.[1] For centuries the district of Jarensk was said to have been inhabited entirely by Syrjaen population; but in the present day we must travel about 15 miles east of the principal town of the district before encountering the first Syrjaen village. In the district of Mezen, Government of Archangel, are met a few Syrjaen families, whose chief occupation is breeding reindeer on the borders of Ishma, a tributary of the river Pechora.

Wiedemann recognizes seven Syrjaen subdialects, and names them thus:

a. *Sysolian*, spoken on the borders of Sysola.

β. *Lusian*, on the river Lusa.

γ. *Pechorian*, on the borders of Pechora.

δ. *Vychegdian*, on the borders of Vychegda river, the most extended dialect, being spoken by about 27,000 persons.

ε. The *Udorian* dialect, *ζ.* the *Ishemian*, and *η.* the *Permian*, according to the geographical position in which they are respectively found.

According to the latest data the number of Syrjaen-speaking population amounts to 85,432, the greater portion of which, namely, 72,632 persons, live in the province government of Vologda. In the vernacular it is called the Ud-Murt country.

b. The *Permian* dialect is spoken by a tribe more scattered than the Syrjaen. This people live in the governments of Perm and Vjatka, they call themselves Komi-murt, meaning the people of the river Kama; the neighbouring Vogul call them Sarakum. Professor Donner puts down their number at 67,317 souls.

c. *The Votjak* dialect of the Perm subdivision of the Finn or Chudo-Volga-Perm group.

The people belonging to this group call themselves *Udmurt*, and live in the province of Vjatka, particularly in the districts of Jelabuga, Malmysh, Glazov, Sarapul, and Slobodsk. Scattered Votjak colonies are found also in the provinces of Kazan, Perm, Samara, and Ufa.

[1] Between N. Lat. 59°–65° and E. Long. 63°–77°.

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The Votjak, like the Perm, live mostly in small clusters surrounded by Russians, and reckon among their neighbours tribes speaking Tatar, Cheremiss, and Chuvash languages, from all of whom they have borrowed many words. In number the Votjak make up more than the entire half of the Bjarmian (Permian) population, notwithstanding that their territory is much smaller. The Votjak speak several dialects, insufficiently known as yet to philologists.

The population in 1872 was reckoned at 276,000. Of these there were under the Governments of Vjatka, 262,073; Kazan, 8262; Perm, 2593; Samara, 1357; Ufa, about 1715.

II. The Ugor or Ugric Group.

The primitive home of the Ugor group is the extensive country situated on both sides of the rivers Ob and Irtish, at the present day still occupied by the Vogul and Ostjak tribes, who in their vernacular go by the name of Man-či. The Syrjaen call this country Jögra, plural Jögra-jas. The words Hungaria, Ungarn, Hongrie seem to be connected with that ancient name.

In the Ugor group three subdivisions are noted, namely, 1. the Vogul, 2. the Ostjak, and 3. the Magyar.

1. *The Vogul.*

The least numerous of all the Finn-Ugor tribes, except the Liv, inhabit the slopes on both sides of the Ural Mountains, and are subject to the governments of Perm and Tobolsk, occupying the vicinity of the rivers Sosva, Konda, and Tavda. Their occupation is hunting and fishing; intellectually they stand on the same level as the Lapp, and they are disappearing fast.

The number of the entire tribe according to the last data was only 6558, speaking three dialects, distinguished (according to the regions they occupy on the borders of the three rivers already mentioned) as the *Sosva*, *Konda*, and *Tavda* Vogul dialects, or the Pelim-Vogul, the Konda-Vogul, and the North-Vogul.

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2. *Ostjak.*

In the country bordering on the middle and lower part of the course of the river Ob, and extending furthest eastward, and also in the region of the river Irtish, are found the homesteads of the Ostjak. As regard civilization, they stand on the same level as the Vogul whom they surround on the east and north. In the neighbourhood of Konda, as far as the borders of the Irtish, Ostjak people are found. On the north and north-east is the Samoyed country, beyond that and on the south are the Turki tribes and the Russ.

The Ostjak's chief occupation during the summer is fishing, and during the winter hunting; some are devoted to breeding cattle, and a few cultivate the land. Köppen estimates the whole tribe at 18,840 individuals; later returns make it 23,000. Three thousand Ostjak live under the government of Tomsk, but the bulk of the tribe is found in the province of Tobolsk. These are the

A. *Ugor-Ostjak*, speaking two different dialects, namely:

a. The *Surgit*, on the upper region of the river Ob, and

b. The *North Ostjak* dialect on the lower Ob, commencing from the point where the Irtish and the Ob join the territory of the Samoyed, north of Obdorsk.

B. On the river Jenissei live the *Jenissei-Ostjak*, whose language differs from that of the Ugor-Ostjak. Three dialects can be distinguished, namely, the Kondinsk, the Berezov, and the Obdorsk dialects, in the vicinity of the rivers so named.

In former times all the people living near the Sosva and Konda were designated by a common nomenclature, namely, the *Ostjak*. It was owing probably to the fact that there is no natural boundary between the Vogul and the Ostjak that both tribes went by the name of Jugra, Ugor, etc., and that they call themselves by a common vernacular name *Manj-si* or *Manj-či*. This name is evidently derived from the river Manj or Manj-ja, the end syllable *si* or *či* means 'people,' therefore Manj-people. *Ur, Our, Vuor* means 'forest,' hence *Uro-či*='people of the forest, wild people,'

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according to a Vogul story. By the Syrjaen tribe the river Manj is called *Vogul*. It is manifest, therefore, that the words Manj-či and Vogul refer to the same river, the *Manj*. There is a well-known tradition that the people beyond the Ural, namely, the Ostjak and the Vogul tribes, came anciently from the vicinity of these rivers. The derivation of the word Ostjak is interesting. *As* means a great river, namely, the Ob; *jah* means a tribe or people, ergo *As-jah*, is the people of the Ob. From the word *As-jah* came the Russianized name *Ostjak*.

3. *Magyar or Hungarian.*

Mention has already been made of the controversy still carried on with considerable tenacity by distinguished Oriental scholars of Hungary, namely, by Professors Paul Hunfalvy and Joseph Budenz on the one hand, and by Professor Armenius Vámbéry on the other, regarding the true origin and the ancient home of the Magyar nation and its linguistic affinities. Professor Vámbéry rejects the purely Finn-Ugor relationship on several grounds. From the point of ethnology he declines to admit that tribes of hunters and fishermen could ever be progenitors of a conquering race, such as the Turko-Tatars; while as to the language, there occur double consonants at the commencement of the words of some Finn-Ugor dialects, sounds altogether repugnant to Hungarian. Moreover, some of these languages possess the dual number, quite unknown to Magyar. Vámbéry's conclusion is, therefore, that the Hungarian is a mixed language, claiming affinity with the Finn-Ugor, as well as with the Turko-Tatar families.[1] So much is certain however, that there were some savants who, several centuries ago, had declared that the languages of the Vogul and of the Ostjak tribes sprang from a common stock with that of the Hungarians.[2] According to those authorities the Hungarians

[1] A Magyarok Eredete, 1st edit. p. 230.
[2] Die Ungern. von Paul Hunfalvy. Wien und Teschen, 1881; Prof. P. Hunfalvy: The Regions of the Ural and their Inhabitants, Trans. Hungarian Geogr. Soc. vol. xvi. part iii. 1888; see also Ungarische Revue, 1888.

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came from Jugria or Jogria. This opinion was subsequently adopted by almost every philologist and historian. Some authors went so far as to say that all the tribes in the vicinity of the Volga should be added to this group. What nobody seems to have called seriously in question is a philological affinity between the Manj-či (Vogul and Ostjak) and the Magyar languages, notwithstanding that whilst the Magyar tongue of the present day possesses all the requirements and many-sidedness of a highly-cultured European language, that of the nomads remains in the lowest stage of philological development, and is, in some cases, becoming gradually extinct. According to the census of 1880, there were in Hungary proper 6,403,607; in Croatia 36,857; on the Turkish borderland 4563; and in Fiume on the Adriatic 383; making a grand total of 6,445,487 of Magyar population. Beyond the borders of Hungary there are Magyar colonies in Moldavia (Rumania) and Bukovina, the so-called Csangó-Magyar people, amounting to about 30,000 individuals. Altogether the Magyar race make up, in round numbers, six and a half million souls. If therefore we add to this number all the tribes classed under the Finn-Ugor linguistic family, we shall find that there are the Finn on the Baltic, including the Lapp; those of the Volga-Perm group, and the Manj-či on the Ural, making up in all the eleven and a quarter millions belonging to the Finn-Ugor branch of the Ural-Altaic family.

The Hungarians therefore are the most numerous and important nation of the linguistic family classified under the Ugor branch of the Ural-Altaic division, not merely on account of their number and the extent of continuous territory occupied by them in Central Europe, but also owing to the influence they wield as a political factor among the European nations. They possess a literature on a level with other European languages; the impetus given to national life after the restoration of the ancient constitution, twenty-three years ago, may be judged by the fact, that whilst in 1850, the year following the intervention of Russia in Hungary, there were not more than *nine* Hungarian journals and periodicals,

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in January, 1889, they reached the enormous proportionate number of *six hundred*, giving, according to Professor Joseph Szinnyei, one publication to every 10,275 Hungarian-speaking individuals. By way of comparison: in Great Britain there are said to be 2177 such publications, showing a proportion of one to 16,188 inhabitants.[1] Relying on the sources of information furnished by Hungarian philologists, almost all of whom are members of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Budapest, a short review of the conclusions arrived at is herewith presented to the reader, accompanied by a short account of some of the efforts made by men of science during past centuries, whose aim was to solve the question of the origin of the Hungarian ancestors and the discovery of their ancient home, the memory of whom lives in a legendary form to the present day. The belief is that they were brought to Europe by successive waves of the migration of nations from countries lying far in the interior of Asia, perhaps its most northern parts.

Besides the names mentioned in the course of this Essay, those in recent times, of Csoma de Körös,[2] Jerney,[3] Vámbéry,[4] Berzenczey,[5] and Bálint,[6] will readily suggest themselves. They all have been animated in their arduous researches by the same impulse. The last on this list, Gabriel Bálint, a linguistic genius, full of enthusiasm, not unlike his Székely clansman, Csoma de Körös, proposed and followed up in 1873 and 1874 the plan of reaching Urga in Northern Mongolia. He did so by way of Ekaterinburg, Tumen and Krasnoyarsk in Western Siberia. Thence, travelling eastward, through Irkutsk and Kiakhta to Urga. Here he was busy with acquiring the Mongol language. Csoma guessed and Vámbéry declared [Trans. Hung. (Ertekezések) Acad. of

[1] Vasárnapi Ujság, January, 1889, Budapest.
[2] Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1885.
[3] Gyárfás, J. Panegyric Oration held before the Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1883.
[4] Travels in Central Asia, etc., London, 1864, 8vo.
[5] Sir T. Douglas Forsyth's Autobiography, London, 1887, p. 195, et seqq.
[6] Kazan-Tatar Philological Studies, by Gabriel Bálint, Budapest, 1875-76.

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Sciences, Pt. iv. p. 278, et seq. 1870] that Tatar, Mongol and Manchu philological studies are supplemental of one another; and authorities like von Gabelentz, Schott, León de Rosny, and others, were of opinion that there is a close relationship between these languages and the Ugor, especially the Magyar. Some time after his return from Northern Mongolia, Bálint was invited to join Count Széchényi's famous scientific expedition into China in 1877; ill health compelled Bálint's return from Shanghai. The disappointment was most keenly felt, as Bálint had now hoped to become familiar with the Southern Mongol dialects as well. One of his companions, Louis Lóczy, speaks of Bálint's enthusiasm at the prospect of his long-cherished hope being realized, when he should be placed in the position of discovering the ethnographic relationship of his people with the Mongol, and of proving afterwards a close linguistic affinity between the Ugor and the Dravidian languages. On this topic Bálint wrote an Essay for Count Széchényi's work.[1]

Enumeration of historical details as to the occupation by the Romans of the territories Dacia and Pannonia from A.D. 107–430, at present under the sovereignty of the Crown of St. Stephen, is beyond our scope. We shall commence with the period when the Hungarians, pressing from the north-east upon the Moravian kingdom, gave a final blow to the dominion of King Sviatopolk's heirs by defeating the Moravian host and its allies the Bavarians, in 907 A.D. In that year the victors became masters of the ancient kingdom of the Avar, as far as the river Ems. This refers to what is at present the north-western part of Hungary, next to the Archduchy of Austria. As to what happened at that time in the south-east and north-east of Pannonia is veiled in obscurity. We hear of the Bulgar becoming the subjects of Bajan, the Khan of the Avar,[2] about the middle of the sixth century A.D.; but a century later Kuvrat, the Prince of the Eastern Bulgars, rose in rebellion against the Khagan of the

[1] *Jakab Elek*: Tört. Tud. E'rtek. Budapest, 1888.
[2] Die Avaren, oder wie sie die russischen Schriftsteller nennen die Obr(en) (Schloezer).

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Avar. The exploits of Kuvrat's five sons are described by Theophanes, the Greek historian.

The German author *Johann Christian von Engel*, "Geschichte des alten Pannoniens u. der Bulgaren," Halle, 1797, pp. 263–314, offers a different narrative, suggesting that there had been an ancient Bulgar kingdom in the vicinity of the river Theisz. He speaks of Krumus, a prince of the Thracian Bulgar tribe. This account, however, is founded on no data to be verified from ancient authorities.

Another people mentioned by Engel are the Wallach. They appeared on the east of the river Theisz, in ancient Dacia. Several historians, among them Gibbon and Amadée Thierry, have assumed that as early as the days of Trajan Roman[1] civilization obtained a footing among them, and continued to flourish till the irruptions of the Hungarians. At the present day the Rumanian authors maintain that their ancestors enjoyed a separate national existence, notwithstanding the encroachments of Goths, Huns, Gepides, and of the Avar tribes, and even that a hierarchy of the Christian Church had been established among them. All these assumptions, however, must be subjected to further critical investigation and inquiry.[2]

Another tribe mentioned by the ancient chroniclers, settled in the easternmost corner of Dacia, are the *Székely*, said to be the remnants of Attila's warriors; but authentic historical sources know nothing of Bulgaria on the river Theisz, nor do they of the country of the Rumanian ancestors, or the Székely. It may therefore be stated that up to the ninth century of the Christian era nothing certain is known of the history of the country lying between the Danube and the Theisz, nor of Transylvania.

We come to a safer ground when led by the light which the Arab authors throw upon the history of the populations living on the river Volga, namely, the Khazar and the Bulgar.

[1] Wallachische Sprache hat viele lateinische Worte, ober bei weitem die grössere Hälfte nebst der ganzen Grammatik ist aus einer unbekannten Sprache, die vermuthlich die alte Bulgarische ist. Schloezer, vol. i. p. 252.

[2] Roessler, Rumanische Studien, Leipzig, 1871.

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It is from them that Ibn Dustah,[1] *circa* 912 A.D., and the Greek historians also, have drawn their information concerning the Slav, Russ, Turk, Finn-Ugor and Scandinavian nations.

The Slav people, whose country is said to have scarcely extended as far as the river Oka on the east, occupied a very small territory as late as the year 1100 A.D. The Scandinavian and Russ tribes became formidable to Byzantian subjects, and also the Arabs. These northern tribes inhabited an island covered with forest, were ignorant of agriculture, living on rapine obtained from the Slav, and were known as seafarers, pirates and robbers. Their captives were sold to the Bulgar and Khazar traders. These occurrences took place before the time of Ibn Dustah, and he must have heard of their exploits from other sources. About 900 A.D. the Russ formed an organized state around Kiew.

As to the Bulgar, Ibn Dustah relates that their country was adjacent to the land of the Burtasses, that they resided on the borders of the river Itil (the Volga), and that this river crossed the country of the Slav, the Bulgar, and the Khazar tribes. The Bulgar were subdivided into three sections, the Berzul, the Essegel and the Bulgar, properly so-called. The Khazar and the Russ traded with them, especially in furs. The Bulgar were agriculturists, growing wheat, barley, and pulse. The majority of them had become Muhammadans, mosques and schools being conspicuous in their villages. Those who still remained pagan worshipped all sorts of objects.

Respecting Hungarians Ibn Dustah states: "Between the country of the Pecheneg and the Essegel-Bulgar we first come upon the territory of the Mażar (المضر), a Turkish tribe. Their prince brings 20,000 cavalry on to the battle-field, the Khazar chief only half that number. The Mażar prince is called *Kende* (كنده), a name signifying 'dignity,' his proper name being *Jile* جله. All the Mażar follow him to the battle-field, whether for attack or defence. They live in

[1] كتاب الاعلاق النفيسه ابو على احمد ابن عمر ابن دسته. Kitab ul aalaq al nafisah Abu ali Ahmad ibn Umar ibn Dustah, pp. 260, Brit. Museum MS. 23,378.

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tents, and move from place to place in search of pasture lands. Their territory is very extensive. On one side it reaches as far as the Sea of Rum (the Black Sea), into which flow two great rivers. The larger of the two is called *Jēhun* جيحون Dnieper (the smaller being the Dniester). In the vicinity of these two rivers live the Mażar. When winter sets in, they come close to the river, and live by fishing during the cold season. The country is rich in forests and rivers, the soil is swampy, but there is an abundance of fields producing wheat. As to religion, they are idolaters. They rule over all the neighbouring Slavs, impose heavy requisitions on them, and treat them like captives in war. Sometimes the Mażars make a raid on the Slav tribes, and carry their captives to a port in the Black Sea, and barter them there to Greek merchants for velvet, carpets, and other merchandize." The name "Mażar" has not been found before Ibn Dustah, who believes them to be a Turkish tribe. Considering, however, that our historian was not personally acquainted with this people, he probably obtained his information, says Hunfalvy, from the Khazar or the Bulgar tribes. The more ancient Byzantine authors, when speaking of the Mażar, Magyar, apply the name "Turk" as well as Ugor and Unger. In the twelfth century A.D. they spoke of the Magyars as the Huns. The usual occupation of the Magyar race, when away from the battle-field, was hunting, fishing, and cattle-breeding.

Regino, the Abbot of Prüm, writes thus in 889: "A hitherto unknown and dreadfully wild people, the 'Unger,' pressed by the Pecheneg, came from Skythia, and made repeated incursions into the territories of the Carinthian, Moravian, and Bulgar populations."

Constantinos Porphyrogenitos knew that the original home of the Pecheneg lay between the rivers Atel (Volga) and Geich (the river Ural since Catherine II.). We noticed that Ibn Dustah places the Magyar homesteads between the Pecheneg on one side and the Essegel-Bulgar on the other. Constantinos mentions the name "Mażar" once, describes the first Magyar country under the name of

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Lebedia, and the two rivers therein he calls Khidmas and Khingylos, and adds, "this tribe are Turks." He further remarks that "the Pecheneg drove the Unger (the Magyar, the Hungarians) from Lebedia, who thereupon divided into two sections; the first migrated eastward towards Persia, and was called Savartoiasphaloi,[1] the second went westward towards the territory called Atelkuzu."

Constantinos mentions the rivers Brutus and Seretus, which names in our day evidently stand for Pruth and Seret, and here it was, according to the statement of Constantinos, that the Hungarians first organized a state, by electing Árpád, the son of Salmutes (Almus), to be a hereditary prince. After this event, and as soon as they settled in the kingdom, which to this day goes by their name (Magyar-Ország, the country of the Magyar=Hungary), they were no longer molested by their old foes and eastern neighbours, the Pecheneg; because the Hungarians acquired strength, whilst the power of the former, in their unorganized condition, gradually diminished.

In the Chronicles of Leo Grammaticus (A.D. 1010), following the authority of the more ancient Byzantine authors, we find the Hungarian nation indifferently mentioned as "Unger," "Turk," and "Hun," a circumstance worthy of particular notice from the standpoint of ethnology.

Historical data, however, as to conditions and wanderings of any tribe, before it became a settled nation, are matters of much uncertainty. In the case of the Hungarians we can hardly go with safety beyond the year 836 of the Christian era. No wonder, therefore, that the Hungarians never, even to the present day, ceased to be inspired by the patriotic desire of solving conclusively the question as to whence came their ancestors and who were their nearest kin?

Arminius Vámbéry maintains and thoroughly discusses the subject in his important work "The Origin of the Hungarians," and declares that although the Magyar language belongs to the Ural-Altaic family, yet the people, both as to language

[1] Zeusz, Johann G., Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme. München, 1837, p. 49.

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and ethnology, should more properly be classed with the Turko-Tatar group. His theory is far more popular than that of Professor Hunfalvy, who, on the other hand, brings forward data to prove that the origin of the Magyar race and their first home must be sought in the vicinity of the present Vogul country.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the merits of this controversy. It will suffice merely to mention the existence of the two schools. In course of time it may turn out that, speaking from a strictly scientific point of view, there is probably less divergence in the two theories than at present would appear, especially if, as a result of further research, the near linguistic alliance, suggested by Bishop Caldwell (*op. cit.* p. 71), between the Dravidian and the Finn-Ugor families, be more clearly elucidated, a problem evidently of intense importance to Budapest.[1]

M. Hovelacque's words may be appropriately cited here, when he says, in comparing and classifying the Ugro-Altaic languages, "It would be improper to declare that nations speaking languages so classified must *therefore* have had ethnologically a common parentage."[2] This matter seems to claim some general interest still. We propose therefore to follow Professor Hunfalvy,[3] in giving a short sketch of the researches hitherto accomplished on the field of Ugor philology, noticing particularly the more recent labours of Hungarian philologists.

If we go back to the commencement of the sixteenth century, we find that *Baron Sigismund Herberstein* between 1516-1529 visited Russia in the capacity of Ambassador to the Grand-Duke of Moscow from two German Emperors, viz. Maximilian and Charles the Fifth. Herberstein, in his special position as a diplomatist, was acquainted with several European Courts, especially with that of King Ladislaus of

[1] Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie, in the preceding number of this Journal, "On the Djurtchen of Mandshuria," gives interesting references to the Ugro-Altaic languages.

[2] Abel Hovelacque, Bibliothèque des Sciences, etc., p. 345.

[3] i. *Reguly Antal* Hagyományai (Anton Reguly's Literary Remains), Pest, 1867, edited by P. Hunfalvy. ii. *Die Ungern*, P. Hunfalvy, Wien und Teschen, 1881.

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Hungary. Herberstein knew the Slavonic languages, and was therefore able to collect much information in Russia, which he published in a book printed at Bâle in 1556.[1]

Making use of a Russian manuscript, the author describes countries in the vicinity of the river Pechora, on the north of the Ural Mountains and on the river Ob. Following the course of the Pechora upwards, he describes it as far as the river Usa, of which the Pechora forms a branch, the Usa again being a branch of the river Shugora. Crossing the Ural Mountains Herberstein speaks of the region of the river Sibut (?) and follows the route to the fortress of Lepin, thence to the river Sosva, in the environs of which were found settlements of the Vogul tribe. Along the river Ob were situated the Vogul and Ugor homesteads—Vogulici et Ugritzshi—extending as far as the mouth of the river Irtish, into which the river Sosva flows. Two fortresses, the Jerom and the Tiumen, are described, belonging to the Jugur chiefs, who were tributaries to the Grand-Duke of Moscow. The Ural chain of mountains Herberstein calls "cingulum mundi," the world's belt. This, according to him, was the situation of Juharia, the primitive home of the Hungarians, who, under Attila, had been devastating many kingdoms in Europe, had conquered "Pannonia," and had in due course changed its name into "Hungaria." This author further relates from hearsay that the Ugors or Jugurs of his day spoke the same language as the Magyar of Hungary; but he adds, "Whether that be true or not, I cannot verify the fact, because, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I was unable to meet a native of that country, the Juharia, with whom my servant, a native of Hungary, could have spoken the language."

Herberstein's geographical data as to the Vogul country seem to be fairly correct, which is not surprising when we consider that only a short time before, namely, in 1499 and 1500, Ivan Vasiljevich III. had planned his third expedition against the "Yuigurs" (Jugurs), and subdued their princes. After this conquest the country of the "Yuigur" and its bound-

[1] Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii Sigismundi Lib. Baronis in Herberstein. Neyperg et Göttenburg. Basileæ 1556. Second Edition.

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aries were never spoken of till *Lehrberg*,[1] at the beginning of the present century, through his researches, again examined and brought to notice the ancient half-forgotten data.

But how did Herberstein come to the conclusion, asks Hunfalvy, that this was the primitive home of the Hungarians, from which they emerged as conquerors of other tribes? The answer will become manifest as we proceed.

The next author whose work we have to notice is *Philipp Johann Strahlenberg*, a Swedish officer, who, after the battle of Pultava on the 8th July, 1709, fell into Russian hands, and continued for 13 years a prisoner of war. During this period he saw a good deal of Russia, having been permitted to travel in the interior of the country; he sojourned in Siberia also, and was the first philologist who compiled a vocabulary of Siberian languages; there is an attempt at a linguistic classification made by him of the different tribes of that country, among whom he mentions the Vogul also, whose heathen festivals and sacrificial rites he personally witnessed. What he saw and learnt during his stay among the Ostjak, Samojed, Jakut, Tatar, Turki, and Mongol tribes, he endeavoured to verify from other sources and by statements of former authors. In 1715, Strahlenberg compiled a map of Siberia; but the Governor, Prince Gagarin, laid hands on it, because the Russian Government of that day did not approve of foreigners possessing any information in such matters. Prior to the year 1723, the author had finished his work and sent it to Europe, but it was not printed till after Strahlenberg's final release from Russia. The very long title-page of this book, written in German, is explanatory of its contents, namely: "A description of the Northern and Eastern part of Europe and Asia, in so far as it comprises the whole of the Russian Empire, including Siberia and the great Tatarland, giving a historical and geographical sketch of old and new eras and much other hitherto unknown information, with a 'Tabula Polyglotta' of thirty-two different Tatar dialects never hitherto brought to light. To this is added, a Voca-

[1] Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der ältesten Geschichte Russlands. Von A. C. Lehrberg. St. Petersburg, 1806.

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bulary of the Kalmuk language, but particularly a large and correct map of all the countries just mentioned, besides other various engravings, referring to Asiatic and Scythic antiquities. Published at Stockholm for the author, 1730."

Strahlenberg is probably the first philologist who endeavoured to furnish a comparative vocabulary of Siberian languages, and made an attempt at classification. At page 31 of his work the author speaks thus:

"If I am to express any opinion regarding what are called the Tatar people, we have to assume that in the north-east of Europe and Asia, there are six principal tribes, all of whom are known among Europeans by the generic name of Tatar. These six classes are as follows:

1. The Ujgur.
2. The Turki-Tatar, viz. the Bashkir, Kirgiz, Turki, Jakut, Chuvash.
3. The Samoyed.
4. The Mongol-Manchu.
5. The Tunguss.
6. The several tribes living between the Black and the Caspian Seas.

"To the first or the Ujgur class belong the Mordvin, Cheremiss, Permian and Votjak, all on the European side, and the Vogul, the Ostjak, and the Barabai[1] people on the Asiatic side. All these various tribes, conjointly with the Finn, Lapp, Est, Magyar-Székely, and the small remnant of the Liv, belonged to *one* nation, to which are to be reckoned the *Hun* or *Un*, which, however, like all those of the Ujgur class, were not Tatar. The appellation *hun*, is not a proper, but a generic name, etc."

That these tribes really belonged originally to one nation this author endeavours to establish by the similarity of the names of the numerals, which he thinks are the best proof. He furnishes a polyglott table "gentium boreo-orientalium

[1] *Baraba* was called the extensive plain between the Ob and the Irtish, stretching from west to east. This Tatar name has been given to the watershed, called Great-Barába. See Fischer's Siberische Geschichte, p. 280.

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harmonia linguarum," containing the numerals in Magyar-Székely, Finn, Vogul, Mordvin, Cheremiss, Perm, Votjak, and Ostjak languages, and concludes that all these tribes belong to the Upper-Magyar, otherwise Finn nation; all spoke the same tongue, their ancestors being the Hun or Un. "But at present," Strahlenberg continues, "the Vogul who inhabit the province of Ugoria in Siberia, go by the name of *Mán-chi*; the Mordvin inhabiting a district in the province of Nijni Novgorod are called *Mordva*; the Cheremiss under the Government of Kazan are named *More*; the Perm, living in Great Permia, are called *Komi*; the Votjak of the Duchy of Viatka *Ari*; and the Ostjak, in the neighbourhood of the Irtis, call themselves *Chouti*."

The following is the collection of numerals compiled by Strahlenberg:

Magyar-Székely.	*Finn.*	*Vogul.*	*Ostjak.*
1 egy (eki)	yx (iksi, yhte)	aku (äkve)	ith
2 kettö, két	kat (kaksi, kahte)	kitta (kit, kiti)	kät
3 három	kolm	korom	kolem
4 négy (negi)	nellye (neljä)	nilla (n'ile)	nile
5 öt (oct)	wys (vüsé, vüte)	et, öt	vet
6 hat (kaht)	kuhs (kuusi, kuute)	katt (kat)	kot
7 hét (heht)	zeitzeme (seitsemän)	zaht (sât)	labet
8 nyolcz (nioltz)	kodheten (kahdeksän)	niollola (n'ala-lu)	nilla
9 kilencz	ydhexen (yhdeksän)	antolo (anta-lu)	killien
10 tiz	kymmene (kymmenen)	loo, lou (lou)	yang (jong)
100 száz	ssata (sata)	shat (sat)	etc., etc.

Strahlenberg's inquiry was doubtless in the right direction, but whence did he obtain the knowledge of the supposed affinity between the Finn and the Magyar languages, considering that he was most probably ignorant of both? Not many years before the publication of Strahlenberg's work, a countryman of his, Olave Rudbeck,[1] wrote on the analogy of Gothic and Chinese languages, as well as on the similarity between the Finn and the Hungarian, and states as follows: "I find the Magyar and the Finn languages standing so near to each other that we may indeed

[1] Olavi Rudbeckii, Specimen usus linguæ Gothicæ in eruendis atque illustrandis obscurissimis quibusdam Sacræ Scripturæ locis; addita Analogia linguæ Gothicæ cum Sinica, nec non Finnicæ cum Ungarica. Upsalis, 1717.

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look upon them as cognate." To establish his conclusion, Rudbeck adduces words of both languages for the sake of comparison.

Strahlenberg mentions the name Székely instead of Magyar, in that he seems to have followed a Hungarian writer Matthias Bél de Vetze, who in a work entitled "Litteratura Hunno-Scythica," Lipsiæ, 1718, endeavoured to prove that there was, at one time, a Hun-Scythian alphabet, which *he thinks* must have been known to the Székely, because they, according to this author's opinion, were the direct descendants of the Huns. *Bél*,[1] moreover, was most enthusiastic in his effort to prove that the Hungarian was a direct descendant from the Hun.

During his journeys through Russia, Strahlenberg met with another scientific traveller, Messerschmidt, from whose diary Klaproth makes extracts. He explored the regions about the river Jenissei in 1723, and the next two years he spent among the Vogul and Ostjak tribes, where he made a collection of words, quoted by Klaproth. The next author,

Johann Eberhardt Fischer, published a work, "Siberische Geschichte," St. Petersburg, 1768, containing important information on the Vogul; on it is based chiefly all that *Schloezer* narrates respecting the peoples and countries of Northern Asia. Fischer is the author of several other works; the following three refer especially to our subject: his *History of Siberia* is the continuation of a work begun in 1737 by Gerhard Friedrich Müller. It gives the history from the discovery of Siberia to its conquest by Russia. In the preface to his work Fischer speaks thus: "The Vogul live on both sides of the Jugor Mountains (the Ural), in the vicinity of the Irtis and Ob (which flow into the Frozen Sea), and also on the borders of rivers which fall into the Kama and Volga, and consequently into the Caspian Sea." "The language of the Vogul," says Fischer, "resembles that of the Ostjak, who dwell near the Irtis and the Ob; it is understood by the Esth, Finn, Lapp, Surjaen, Perm, Votjak,

[1] A Hungarian writer, see infra.

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Cheremiss, Mordvin, and the Chuvas." He further mentions that there exist a great many words in these dialects which agree with that of the Magyar; "and here the question arises," says Fischer, "are the Magyar related to the Vogul or not? We know from Russian authorities that in the ninth century A.D. the Ugor or Jugur people migrated from the north, passed Kiev, and continued their journey across the Karpathian mountains. Here they subdued the inhabitants, viz. the Wallachians, and occupied the territory of the Danube, calling this newly-conquered country after themselves. It is therefore quite possible that the ancient Jugurs were the ancestors of the Magyars, the Hungarians of to-day." With this Russian account agree many German and Hungarian authors, who aver that the Magyar were expelled from their original home, as stated above, by the Pecheneg, and afterwards settled in Pannonia. In the ninth century some Pecheneg were still to be met in the vicinity of the river Jaik (the river Ural), the very spot therefore which the Ugor (Magyar) are said to have occupied before them. The river Jaik comes from the Ural Mountains, of which the slopes of Jugoria, the present Vogul country, form a part. The distance between the Jugor and Vogul is not very great; if therefore the Jugor or Ugor in question were the ancestors of the Magyar, the deduction is conclusive that the Vogul of to-day had a common ancestral origin with the Magyar (Hunfalvy).

The travellers *de Plano Carpin* and *Rubruquis* early in the thirteenth century give the name of Basart or Paskatir to the ancient country of the Hungarians, near the river Jaik. The word Basart is analogous to Madsar = Magyar, by interchange of the letters *b* and *m*. The fact that the people named Ugor call themselves Magyar (Madsar) need offer no insuperable difficulty, since history furnishes other similar examples. Fischer moreover states that half of the common Chud and Vogul words sound like Hungarian, and mentions especially the numerals. A good many Tatar and Persian words also occur in Hungarian, such as: 'ten' دس Hung. *tíz*; 'one hundred' سو Hung. *szász*; 'God' یزدان Hung. *isten*, etc. This may

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tend to show that the ancient Jugors lived in the neighbourhood of the Persians, and that the religion of the Magi may have had some influence on them. Fischer's object was to trace an affinity between the Magyar and the Vogul. "I have in my possession," he says, "a collection of 300 words gathered from forty different languages of Siberia, and I know scarcely one Hungarian word which, as to its sound, is not similar to that of the Vogul and Chud languages."

Here follows Fischer's paradigm of six languages in *his* orthography, except the Magyar words, of which the orthography has been emended:

	Magyar.	*Vogul.*	*Irtish Ostjak.*	*Votjak.*	*Cheremiss.*	*Finn.*
1	egy	aku	ejet	odik	iktat	yhte
2	kettö	kiteg	katu	kük	koktat	kahte
3	három	kurom	khulom	kvin	kummut	kolme
4	négy	nille	nilha	nill	nillet	neljä
5	öt	at	uvät	vit	viset	viite
6	hat	kot	koth	kvat	kudat	kuute
7	hét	sát	sabat (labat?)	sizim	šimet	seitsemän
8	nyólcz	nol-lou	nilha	kikjamas	kandaš	kahdeksan
9	kilencz	ontol-lou	artjan	ukmüs	indeš	yhdeksän
10	tiz	lou	jong	dos	lu	kymmenen

Fischer's second work bears the following title: Quæstiones Petropolitanæ, Edit. Schlözer, 1770. The first chapter treats of questions bearing upon the origin of the Magyár. There is nothing new in it but what is already known from *Matthias Bél*[1] and Philipp J. Strahlenberg.

Fischer's third work is the vocabulary, already mentioned, compiled from forty Siberian languages. Schlözer made use of it from a manuscript copy in the Library at Göttingen, and, as we shall see, it was subsequently transcribed by Gyarmathy.

Augustus Ludwig Schlözer's General History of the North, appeared in 1771,[2] and deservedly attracted considerable

[1] 1. De vetere litteratura Hunno-Scythica. Matthias Bél, Lipsiæ, 1718. 2. Apparatus ad Historiam Hungariæ. See also: De vera origine et epocha Hunnorum, Avarum, Hungarorum in Pannonia. Dissertatio Caroli Andreæ Belii, Lipsiæ, 1757. (Schlözer, vol. i. p. 251, criticizes this severely.)

[2] Allgemeine nordische Geschichte. Aus den neuesten und besten nordischen Schriftstellern und nach eigenen Untersuchungen beschrieben, und als eine geographische und historische Einleitung zur richtigen Kenntniss aller Skandina-

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attention in the literary world, but particularly in Hungary. Schlözer's book makes use of all the information contained in *Schöning*, a Danish writer, who writes from Greek and Latin authors. Schlözer furnishes an account of the Scandinavian, Slav and Lettish nations, and also of the Finn, Ugor and Wallachian tribes.

In the second chapter Schlözer describes what he calls the "primitive nations," and he considers to be such the Samojed, Finn, Lett, Slav, German, and the Kimeric, (p. 159) in the north of Europe. The Finn number twelve subdivisions, viz. the Lapp, Finn, Esth, Liv, Sirjän, Perm, Vogul, Vot, Cheremiss, Mordvin, Kond (Ostjak), and Magyar. Then follows the vocabulary of Fischer already mentioned.

In the third chapter there is an account of the Slav people from 412–1222 A.D., after the historian Herr Stritter, a German from Ibstein Nassau, employed by the St. Petersburg Academy, a painstaking writer.[1]

In the fourth chapter Schlözer follows Fischer's data regarding the history of North Asia, and repeats the opinion as to the affinity between the Vogul and the Magyar. In the fifth chapter there is a description of Finland; the rest of the work treats of the Russ after the Byzantine authors, and mentions certain Scandinavian travellers who visited Constantinople.

Schlözer's work was worthy of every consideration, as it deals with important questions which at that period occupied the attention of men of science. Within the short period of four years, between 1768 and 1771, three important works followed, viz. *Fischer's* History of Siberia in 1768, *Sajnovics'* Demonstratio, etc., in 1770, and *Schlözer's* in 1771.

P. S. Pallas travelled in the Asiatic provinces of Russia between 1768 and 1774. During the summer of 1770 he

vischen, Finnischen, Slavischen, Lettischen und Siberischen Völker, besonders in Alten und Mittleren Zeiten. herausgegeben von Aug. Ludov. Schlözer, Halle, 1771–1775. *Schöning*: Vorläufige Abhandlung von der Unwissenheit der alten Griechen und Römer in der Erd und Geschichtkunde des Nordens, von Herrn Gerhard Schöning, Professor in Soroe. See Schlözer, vol. i.

[1] Geschichte der Slaven von Jahr 495–1222 aus den Byzantinern vollständig beschrieben von Herrn Stritter. *Schlözer*, vol. i. p. 345.

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arrived in the Vogul country, and on the left bank of the river Tura reached Verhoturje, and thence making his way by Petropawlovsk, he spent the winter of 1772 among the Ostjak. The Vogul who dwelt in Tarja-paul (*paul*=village), near the river Tarja, were already Russianized and converted to Christianity. The author furnishes a comparative vocabulary of the Ostjak, Vogul, and Mordvin dialects. At the desire of the Empress Catherine, Pallas prepared his great comparative dictionary bearing the title "Vocabularia linguorum totius orbis comparata, Augustissimæ curâ collecta 1786." Klaproth mentions that this laborious work was undertaken solely to please the Empress.

Samuel Gyarmathi, a Hungarian. His work[1] was written in Latin; he endeavoured to ascertain the truth as to the affinity between his mother-tongue and the Finn languages. The plan of his investigation was perfectly sound, had he been able fully to carry out the principle he laid down, namely, to rely, not merely on the sounds of words, but on derivatives, inflections, affixes, postpositions, and on the structure of sentences, when comparing one language with another. He came to the conclusion that originally the Vogul dwelt much nearer the Magyar than any other tribe whose idiom he undertook to collate with his own.

Joannes Sajnovics, S.J., tried to establish a similarity between the Magyar, his native tongue, and the Lapp language. He spent nearly a whole year in Finmark, as one of the astronomers selected by the Imperial University of Vienna, at the request of the King Christian VII. of Denmark, to observe the transit of Venus in 1769. His philological researches were submitted to the Danish Academy of Science.[2]

Paulus Nagy of *Beregszász*, also a Hungarian, wrote on the similarity of the Magyar tongue and the languages of the east; his work was published under the title "Disser-

[1] Affinitas linguæ Hungaricæ cum linguis Finnicæ originis grammatice demonstrata nec non: Vocabularia dialectorum Tataricarum et Slavicarum cum Hungarica comparata. Auctore *Samuele Gyarmathi*, Medicinæ Doctoris. Göttingæ, 1799.

[2] *Joannis Sajnovics, S.J.* Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse. Regiæ Scientiarum Societati Danicæ prælecta. Hafniæ, 1770.

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tatio Philologica," Pest, 1815, 8vo. He asserts that the Hungarians came from the south, and not from the north, and are of Turki origin.

Julius Klaproth. As a result of his travels in the Caucasus, Klaproth published several works on the philology of Eastern Russia. The two following are of special interest to our subject, namely, a *Treatise*[1] on the Language and Writing of the Ujgur, and the *Asia Polyglotta.*[2]

In the first work, speaking of the language of the Ujgur, he criticizes those authors, who, following the Byzantine writers, were led to assume that the *Ugur* of the Greeks, the *Jugor* of the Russians, and the *Ujgur* of the Turks, refer to the same people. Klaproth thinks, on the contrary, that the Hun cannot be looked upon as the Ujgur or the Turk, but rather that the Hun country and relatives are to be sought for in Western Siberia, in the vicinity of the Ural Mountains.

In his "Asia Polyglotta," Klaproth modified this opinion, and, contrary to previous statements, declared that the Vogul and Ostjak languages were closely related to the Finn. He makes mention of five Finn dialects, but describes only three, namely, the *Germanized Finn*, probably the Lapp-Est, and the Finn proper, the *Finn on the Volga*, that is, the Perm, Votjak and Syrjaen, and *Ugric Finn*, namely, the Vogul, the Ostjak around the river Ob, and the Magyar. Klaproth's theory is, that after the dissolution of Attila's empire, about 462 A.D., the Ugric nations emerged from beyond the regions of the Volga, namely, the Unogur, Saragur, and Urog. The most powerful among them appear to have been the Unogur, who in due course became known as Ugor, Ujgor, and Ungor; these are said to have been the ancestors of the Hungarians whom the Russian chroniclers call Ugor. It is very probable that some of the Ugor tribe remained in their ancient abodes, and that their descendants are the Bashkir tribes of the present day, who forgot their own language, and adopted the Tatar (Turki) idioms. Pater Ruysbrœk

[1] *Abhandlung* über die Sprache und Schrift der Ujguren, Paris, 1820.
[2] *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1831, Second edition.

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(Rubruquis), who visited that country in 1253, mentions, that after a journey of twelve days, starting from Ettilia (Volga), he came to another great river, the Jagog or Jaik, flowing from the north from the country of the Paskatir people, and that he found the idiom of the Paskatir country was the same as that spoken by the Magyar. De Plano Carpini, who travelled to the Great Khan in 1246, seems to confirm this statement, by saying that the country of the Bulgar (Belerch) was called Great Bulgaria in the same manner as the country of the Bashkir Great Magyaria. In the middle ages, the region around the Ural as far as the river Jaik went by the name of "Ugor" or "Unger." From this it would follow that, what was called Jugria or Jugoria, inhabited at the present day by the Vogul and the Ostjak, was really the ancient home of the Hungarians extending from the Ob as far as the river Jaik. The Jugur, that is, the Vogul and the Ostjak, spoke the same language, the roots of all the Finn idioms being similar to those of the Magyar. Klaproth therefore concludes that the Vogul and Ostjak are the nearest relatives of the Magyar, both as to language and descent.

The Ostjak call themselves *As-jah*, which, according to Klaproth, is the plural number of *As-chuj*, signifying "inhabitant near the Ob," already referred to. Klaproth, in his "Sprach-Atlas," gives a list of Vogul words copied from Pallas's Russian vocabulary. Gyarmathi quotes it. Professor Hunfalvy accompanies the same with critical annotations.[1] It is a collection of 400 Vogul words found in the authors preceding Reguly. The conclusion Hunfalvy comes to is this, that the words annotated by the above investigators cannot serve as proofs in philological inquiry; the Vogul idiom having no literature, it underwent many changes and was split into several dialects. The authors mentioned above were moreover ignorant of the fundamental principles of the structure of language, particularly of the subjective and objective affixes; the only really useful and important data are the similarity of the numerals, first recorded by Strahlenberg, and after him by every writer of Finn-Ugor philology.

[1] Reguly A. Hagyom, p. 18.

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It may be safely assumed that languages possessing identical words for the numerals must be related. This we find in the Vogul and Magyar languages in the same manner as in the Aryan, Semitic and Altaic family of languages respectively. A peculiarity of the Ugric group in this respect is worth noting here, namely, that up to number *seven*, the words are simple roots; *eight* and *nine* are compound words; this is *not* the case in the Aryan and Semitic languages. Besides the resemblance between words for the numerals, there is also a resemblance between those referring to parts of the human body and to various objects of nature. I have, in Appendix No. I., added a short list of such similar sounds.

Professor Hunfalvy therefore maintains that there exists a relationship between the Magyar and the Vogul, and consequently between the Magyar and the whole group of Finn languages, such a relationship as cannot be found between the Magyar and any of the languages in the catalogue of the Aryan and Semitic families. In the derivatives the similarity is still more apparent.

Strahlenberg, Fischer, Schlözer, and Klaproth, started in a right direction when examining the numerals, the names of the parts of the human body, and other words for things pertaining to nature and its phenomena; all these inquirers came to believe that the Magyar and the Vogul languages must be considered as having a common origin. But by far the most important researches on this subject are undoubtedly those of

Anton Reguly, who, when scarcely twenty years of age, started for the north to devote his energies to that study to which his countrymen Sajnovics, Gyarmathi, Révai, and others had, during the two preceding centuries, devoted some attention. Reguly was born of noble parents in the town of Zircz, in the county of Veszprém, in the south-east of Hungary, on the 13th July, 1819. He studied at the Gymnasium of Székesfehérvár, from 1828 to 1834, and afterwards in the Academy of Györ in 1834 to 1836. The following three years, from 1836 till 1839, he spent at the University of Pesth, studying law and political sciences. The summer vacations of 1837 and 1838 he spent in travel-

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ling through Upper Hungary, through the Duchy of Austria, in Moravia, and Galicia. It is not certain whether Reguly had studied through the works of his predecessors, although the results arrived at by them could scarcely be regarded as making any real progress in the direction of Finn-Ugor philology. Francis Toldy, writing in 1845, well describes the position in which this inquiry was left by the Hungarian savants just mentioned, when he says: "Certain it is that that the discovery of Finn relationship has evoked no marked opposition, but neither has it any particular sympathy. The suggestion has been set aside or scarcely noticed by the scholars of the day; and the nation at large ignored it completely. Without fear of contradiction we may, therefore, safely say that the Finn-Ugor affinity was neither accepted nor disbelieved. Such being the case, it was evident that the pending question must finally be decided either by a Finn who knew Magyar, or by a Hungarian who would undertake the study of the Ural-Altaic languages. Reguly seemed, therefore, to be the man destined to solve the still pending problem." In 1839, with the approval of his parents, Reguly planned a journey of four months duration.

He started on the 15th of July, touching at Vienna, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Rostock. From Hamburg he was to commence his return journey home, but the nearness of Scandinavia induced Reguly to embark for Copenhagen, Gottenburg, and Stockholm. At the last place he became acquainted with the Finn scholar Arwidson, Librarian to the King, who took great interest in the handsome and intelligent young Hungarian, and was often engaged in conversation with him on the Finn language and people. Reguly had frequent opportunities of meeting natives of Finland, and thereby became interested in that language. The importance of this subject grew upon him; he became anxious to obtain as much knowledge as he could, before continuing his northward journey. He therefore studied the works of Sajnovics and Gyarmathi, the conclusions of the latter especially impressed him very much. Gyarmathi had only the acquaintance, though a very imperfect one, of the western Finn dialects,

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those spoken eastward he hardly mentions at all; "yet even so," says Reguly, "there are in his book many proofs of affinity between the Finn language and the Magyar, and this question therefore appeared to me very important from a patriotic point of view, and well worthy of further investigation." Full of hope and youthful ardour Reguly abandoned the idea of returning to Hungary; he spent yet some time at Stockholm before starting for Helsingfors, at which place he arrived about the middle of December. To his vexation Reguly soon became aware of the serious impediments which his unpreparedness for the work before him placed in the way. Enthusiasm can stimulate energy, but there is no royal road to acquiring knowledge, especially philological knowledge. At Helsingfors Castrén became his friend, and was willing to assist the young Hungarian in the study of the Finnish lore; but young Reguly was only a beginner in philology, without overmuch general knowledge and experience besides. After three months at Helsingfors, he resumed the northward journey, and reached the parish of Laukas, a distance of 300 versts from Helsingfors. At the village of Lamasaho he obtained accommodation at a Finn peasant's house, and began to study the language. In ten weeks' time Reguly made sufficient progress to make himself understood in Finnish. The homestead of a well-to-do Finn peasant consists of some twenty or thirty separate buildings. In one of these Reguly lived in sufficient comfort, the accommodation being far better than what is obtainable in a common peasant's house in Hungary. He left Lamasaho in May, 1840, and travelled in a northerly direction towards Lapland. In the village Rautalampi Reguly met Paul Korhonen, the famous peasant poet of Finland, already 70 years of age. The obliging old man accompanied our traveller a certain distance. The Whitsuntide was spent at Nurmi, and passing through Sotkamo, Kuusamo, Kenijarvi, Sodankyle and Kittili, he reached Muomoniska and Karesuvanto; here he passed a few weeks with the well-known botanist Laestadius. It was the season of the midnight sun, the charm of those regions impressed him much. "With no man have

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I had so much argument as with Laestadius," remarks Reguly in a letter dated 11th July. "I learnt much from him. His speech to me is like the treasure which I have looked for so long. I find, alas! that at home I have learnt nothing."

Towards the end of the month Reguly left Lapland and travelling along the rivers Muonia and Torneå, he reached the towns Torneå and Kemi. At the latter place he spent the month of August in the house of Dean Castrén, a relative of the philologist. Hence he travelled to the town Vasa, where he hoped to spend the winter and to prepare for a further journey northwards; but circumstances compelled him to return at once to Helsingfors in the beginning of 1841. His friends were surprised at the great progress Reguly had made in the Swedish and Finn languages; his pronunciation of the latter was especially commended. The long-expected letters and pecuniary help reached him in March. He subsequently took the steamer to Reval, and thence visited Dorpat and Narva. On this occasion he made an excursion into Estland, and arrived at St. Petersburg on the 11th of June.

Reguly felt that he was ready to enter the field of study for comparative Finn philology and history, having now the prospect of better times for the future. To obtain this, he thought a visit to Eastern Finland desirable, and he wrote to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as follows: "On the 26th of July I received a letter from the Academy in which several points are mentioned referring to the origin and linguistic affinity of the Hungarians, questions towards the solution of which my studies are now directed. I desire to express my views on this subject as far as I am able, and to formulate them. I had favourable opportunities for such a study at St. Petersburg, and the Academy will now be in a position to judge whether my efforts run in a right direction or not. There is, doubtless, no safer mode of arriving at a proper decision in questions of this nature than through the study and comparison of languages. Gyarmathi, with very slender linguistic knowledge, discovered some similarity between the Hungarian and Western Finn languages." Reguly thought that the time had arrived when

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the pending question should, by the help of science, be decided. "What an immense gain to Hungarian philology would accrue if we discover that the supposed affinity is a real one?" "There may," he said, "among the Finn dialects, be found one which is an elder sister of our common tongues, or by comparing the Finn dialects with each other, a primitive language may be discovered, from which our own has grown? What an important step it would be if we could trace the laws of the origin, the development, and changes in our Hungarian mother-tongue. I have therefore made up my mind to continue the labours of Gyarmathi. I shall commence work like a digger after hidden treasures, ignorant whether he may find anything at all in the track, and should his labours prove fruitless, that much at least he may say to his countrymen, do not look for results in that direction."

Linguistic researches lead necessarily to history and ethnology; if, therefore, there be a similarity of language, it may be surmised that ethnology will lead to corresponding results. But this is just that subject which, as Reguly points out, "is not in any great favour with Hungarians. Truth, however, must prevail, and prejudices based on ignorance will have to be laid aside. Physical appearance of populations is subject to changes according to various circumstances among which they live. Take, for instance, the striking characteristics existing among the Western Finn tribes; those of the Hämetavastland are of a sulky disposition, stupid and dirty in their habits; the Karjaläans, on the other hand, are open-hearted, clean and of a sociable disposition, yet their language is the same. We find a similar condition between the brave *Sojot* in the Altaic region and the *Samojed* on the Frozen Sea, as we do between the *Turk* and the *Jakut*; in both cases the respective *idioms* are identical. From the little knowledge I gathered at St. Petersburg concerning Finn languages I should place the Finn dialects of the north and east within the same class with the Magyar." Reguly thereafter discusses the formation of the infinitive mood, the participles, derivation of substantive nouns, etc., which appeared to him very striking. "I submit the

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question," writes our traveller, "to the judgment of the Academy of Sciences for decision, namely, in how far I have been able to approach the subject? If circumstances permit, I should at once start towards the Ural Mountains, to study the Vogul and Ostjak languages. We know as yet very little about them; but what we do know seems of the greatest importance, both as to the structure of the language, and the phonetic resemblance of particular words. From an historical point, the Vogul seem the most interesting tribe. Their neighbours, the Sirjäen, call them *Yögra*, which reminds one of the ancient name 'Ugor,' or 'Yugor,' at least the Russians pronounce the word so. The name 'Yugria' was given to the country where the Yogra people lived. A Russian word for Hungarian is Yugri (Vengertsi), which is a striking coincidence."

"The Vogul call themselves Man-či; in this way the derivation of the word 'Magyar' may possibly be arrived at."

Reguly remained at St. Petersburg for two years and three months, preparing for his philological researches. The Academicians of St. Petersburg showed him much friendly sympathy, till at last the necessary assistance from home had reached him, and he then resumed the journey to the Ural. A certain coincidence will be noticed between the primary motives of research of Alexander Csoma de Körös and of Anton Reguly. Csoma, whilst travelling through Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, Panjáb, Turkestan and Tibet, found friends and patrons among English officers; Reguly speaks of much friendliness and assistance given him by the Russians. He left the Russian capital on the 9th of October, 1843. On the 21st he arrived at Nijni Novgorod, and on the 27th in Kazan. Here he met many learned men among the Professors of the University, and obtained valuable information as to the Cheremiss and Chuvash languages. From Kazan he hastened towards Perm, visiting on the way the Votjak tribe; after a short sojourn among them, he arrived, on the 20th of November, at Solikamsk, north of the town of Perm, on the small river of Usolka.

From Solikamsk Reguly travelled to Usolja near the Vogul

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country. Here he enjoyed for four days the hospitality of Mr. Volegow, the director of a salt manufactory. This gentleman gave Reguly a vocabulary containing 4000 Vogul words, and our traveller besides made valuable memoranda on the ethnography of the Perm tribe, and collected data as to the history and topography of the country. A journey of two days more brought him to the foot of the Ural Mountains which he crossed in safety on the 4th of December. These mountains nowhere exceed the height of 4000 feet. The first place Reguly stopped at was Verhoturje on the river Tura; Pallas calls it Tér. This settlement appears to have been built on the ruins of a Vogul fort, and is now the seat of the Government, having jurisdiction over all the Vogul settlements. In the local archives here Reguly hoped to obtain some information; but the public documents he found in utter disorder, consequently not available for his purpose. Sixty miles north of this is Bogoslovsk, where he made the acquaintance of Mr. Protasov, director of a gold-washing expedition, which extends its operations as far as the river Sertan, a tributary of the Sinja. The maps he found here were of great assistance to him. Reguly mentions having secured two Vogul skulls. The senior priest of the place most good naturedly offered to show Reguly the way into the interior of the Vogul country, where he had lived for thirty-five years, and was therefore well acquainted with the people. On the 15th of December Reguly and the priest arrived at Vsevolodoz-Blagodatsky, where Senator Boroskov, the manager of the estates of the family Vsevolodski, received the traveller kindly and entertained him most hospitably. Here Reguly parted with his guide the priest, whose continued services on the journey along the river Losva would have been superfluous. His host, the Senator, procured two intelligent Voguls named Turkini and Bakhtiar, both very old men, the one 79 and the other 60 years of age. Their hair was still black, the skin of a dark colour as is the Vogul generally; they are more intelligent, and of livelier disposition, than the Finn tribes generally, and ready to give intelligent answers. The difficulty to overcome was the language, Russian being the

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only mode of communication. Reguly was much gratified with the conduct of his new acquaintances, and always spoke of the companionship of these two old Vogul men as the only pleasure he ever enjoyed during his whole expedition. The elder of the two was anxious to return to his home, but Baḳhtiar remained. His good temper and unwearied patience and good nature were beyond praise. Reguly's questions, as may be supposed, were inexhaustible. "Baḳhtiar's services to me are as important as is his position among his own people," says Reguly. "He is a Vogul minstrel, and often officiates as priest at the horse sacrifices, which are practised every year by the Voguls. This double qualification of Baḳhtiar's is a rich source of valuable information to me. My annotations of songs, prayers and hymns, made from his dictation, exceed twenty sheets of writing already; they throw a remarkable light, not merely on the material and intellectual condition of his countrymen, but they are important also in a linguistic point of view. I have effected a collection of 2600 words already, and am beginning to speak the Vogul dialect; moreover, I am fairly well informed as to the structure of the language. Its near relationship in that respect to the Magyar is unquestionable; pursuing the subject in this direction, Magyar philology will be possible. As I accumulate the treasures of the Vogul tongue, my knowledge of Finn etymology is widening, and the studies I now pursue will be important to Finn philology as well."

The settlement of Vsevolodskoi was at that time the most distant Russian station on the Ural, about 240 versts from Verhoturje. Reguly spent three months there. In company with Baḳhtiar he used to make excursions into the adjacent regions. On one occasion two Vogul men appeared before him, coming from the north of the river Sosva, with the view of making the acquaintance, as they said, of the man whom they thought to have been specially sent to the Vogul people, requesting him to pay a visit to their country; they offered to send reindeer to speed Reguly on his journey to them. These Vogul messengers made a stay of two days, and gave much topographical information, which Reguly was careful to note on his map.

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Later on he made the acquaintance of Alexis Kasimow, a man of great wealth, being the possessor of nearly 19,000 reindeer. These herds spread over a large territory, he therefore knew the country well. Reguly had the good fortune of enjoying this man's company for five days, during which he elicited information regarding the region beyond the Ural, ascertained the direction of the rivers and mountain ranges, also the height of the peaks, all of which were carefully noted down.

During his stay in the Ural Mountains Reguly compiled a Vogul vocabulary, containing upwards of 5000 words. He furthermore copied and arranged annotations of Vogul songs, covering thirty sheets of foolscap. Thus provided, our traveller took leave of the manager of the Vsevolodski estates, who had entertained him most hospitably for three months whilst in the country.

On the 2nd of March Reguly turned his steps southward, towards Irbit (57° lat.), thence, after five days rest, he touched Turinsk and made his way towards the river Tavda, where he spent a few days with the Vogul people. From this spot he marched along the course of the rivers Tavda and Tobol, and reached Tobolsk on the 17th March. He hoped to meet here pastor Vologodski, who for many years lived among the Ostjak tribes, and was writing a grammar and dictionary of their language. The other man Reguly looked for was Satigin, the learned son of the last Vogul chief. This man held the appointment of a schoolmaster under the Russian government, and was the author of several works in the Vogul tongue. Unfortunately the pastor had left the place some time ago; but Satigin furnished such information as he was able, considering his long absence from the country of his birth, which caused him to forget much of his mother-tongue. Reguly was fortunate to meet Castrén here.

Still accompanied by his faithful Vogul friend and teacher Bakhtiar, Reguly travelled down the river Irtis to Demiansk, and thence across the country to the river Konda. He spent some time at Bolcharova, a village with a church, the people being Ostjak, whose dialect, the Konda, Reguly thought would be of service in better understanding the Vogul.

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From Bolcharova Reguly travelled up the stream along the tributaries of the Konda as far as Sajmi, and across the country to the river Pelim, where he arrived on the 11th of April, and stayed among the Vogul to arrange his memoranda.

This was the second visit Reguly paid to the Vogul country, arriving this time from the easterly direction; he found that the people were not as friendly to him now as when he first visited them, coming then from the Ural Mountains. A rumour was spread about him, namely, that he was possessed of magic power, and was cutting off people's heads, covering them with plaster of Paris. This was doubtless owing to the fact that Reguly was taking casts, and carried the necessary apparatus for that purpose with him. Matters went so far that on one occasion some women threatened his life; but after a while the excitement subsided, and the people became friendly again. On this, his second visit, Reguly was permitted to witness a national Vogul festival and the sacrifice of a horse.

Two months were spent at Pelim, a miserable place. The so-called society there, according to Ahlquist, consisting of a Government official, an exile, the priest, who was a common peasant, a publican, and the clerk, an ill-conditioned youth, a drunken surgeon, and a blacksmith.

On the 24th of June, 1844, Reguly left the village, and travelling by boat up the river Pelim, he arrived at Atimja-paul, which is the northernmost hamlet on the river Pelim. From there he continued the upward journey for five more days, passing through a desert country, only a hut was visible here and there, used as shelter during the hunting and fishing seasons. On the sixth day, accompanied by half a dozen Vogul men, Reguly left his boat near a point where the Pelim river approaches the river Tapsija. This delta our traveller determined to cross on foot. At the commencement of the journey everything promised well, the weather being favourable; but as clouds gathered and poured down torrents of rain, and as at the foot of the hills the paths led the travellers into morasses and floating bogs, through which men had to wade knee-deep, their feet often

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becoming entangled among the roots of trees. After a severe struggle with unexpected difficulties, the party arrived at last opposite the village Kalyim-paul, quite exhausted. Fortunately there was a ferry at that spot, which conveyed the travellers to the village, to enable them to partake of a repast of fish and water-nuts. After a short rest, Reguly's companions returned home. His further journey led him to the mouth of the river Tapsija, where, at that time, much people were assembled in expectation of abundant fishing.

The description of Reguly's travels in this locality reminds one of the heroic endurance of Csoma de Körös at Zanskar in Tibet. Reguly says, "The mode of life here, except in a case of actual compulsion, or as a matter of duty, would indeed be difficult to endure. To have allotted to you a corner of the room in a wooden house full of smoke, to repose on a reindeer skin, and have for nourishment nothing but boiled or dried fish, without salt, and without bread: these are hardly compatible with our ordinary habits, and must in a short time become unbearable. Only an enthusiast, supported by a lofty idea, who sees around him the new world of his dreams: only such a one will be capable of enduring the miserable existence—of want and filth which surround him at every step; and yet an enthusiast will find amidst it all satisfaction and even enjoyment."[1]

At this place, writes Reguly, "I remained twenty days, spent in studying the dialect spoken there, after which I travelled up the river Sosva as far as the mouth of the Sigva; my steps led me thence to Sukerja-paul, the most northern village on that river, opposite the ruins of the fort of Jujl, at one time a fortified place in those distant regions."

In this, the most remote region inhabited by the Vogul, on the borders of the river Man-ja,[2] Reguly found herds of reindeer, the property of a rich Vogul, Tyobing by name. The journey to his tents, on the sources of the river Man-ja, on one of the highest, and consequently coldest plateaux of the Ural, was difficult and very fatiguing to accomplish; but

[1] Reguly Hagyom, p. 60.
[2] An old name of the river Sosva.

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the companionship of his new host, from whom Reguly obtained hospitality and much valuable information, was most interesting. Reguly had fresh opportunities of enhancing linguistic knowledge, and of obtaining information as to the geography of that region. The country between the rivers Sosva and Sigva has scarcely been visited at all by European travellers; a map therefore had to be prepared either from personal experience or from information culled on the spot. The tract of land along the two rivers just mentioned is the boundary between the Ostjak and Vogul tribes, who, at the time Reguly stayed there, were much estranged from each other.

At the river Sinja Reguly's travels were brought to an end, having reached the extreme limit of 58°–60° N. lat. and 76°–85° E. long., comprising 3780 square geographical miles, with a population computed at only 6342 souls. In the exploration of this country Reguly spent nine months; he then devoted himself to ethnological and linguistic studies of the Ostjak. In the course of the month of September, 1844, Reguly arrived in Tildom on the river Sinja, thence passing the rivers Vojkar, Larus, and Sob; on the 27th he crossed the river Ob and reached the village of Obdorsk, consisting of forty houses, the inhabitants of which drove a profitable trade. On the 10th of October he set out in the direction of the Ural, and at the eminence called Ményes (Minissei according to Hoffmann) Reguly reached the most northern peak of the mountain range. Hence the left side of the river Kara was his guide, following it as far as the Straits of Vaigatch. On the return journey along the Kara he reached the forest land on the river Usa, at the Lahorta pass, recrossed the Ural, and made for Berezova, with the view of spending the winter among the Ostjak. On the 3rd of March he again set out along the rivers Sosva and Losva; and returned to Vszevolodskoi, a village which was the first starting-point of Reguly's journey towards the country lying on the north of the Ural. Through Ekaterinburg and Perm he reached Kazan. The date is not mentioned by Professor Hunfalvy, whose laborious and valuable work entitled "Reguly Antal Hagyományai

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Pest 1864," has rendered invaluable assistance in the preparation of this short and very imperfect paper. Reguly's strong constitution suffered much from the long-continued hardships. In the hope of recruiting his health, on the way to his native country, he spent the winter of 1847 at Græfenberg, in Austrian Silesia. Here the writer of this paper met him accidentally, and learnt many incidents of his perilous journeyings. Reguly used to speak of the kindness and sympathy experienced by him at the hands of friends in Russia, particularly from the members of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, among them M. Baer and M. Kunig. The latter paid him a visit at Græfenberg. Reguly was able to render important service to the Russians by the publication of a map at St. Petersburg in 1846.[1] Dr. Hoffmann,[2] the leader of the Russian scientific expedition in the years of 1847–1850, speaks of it thus: "Mr. Reguly's return from his travels in the north was a lucky event for our expedition, he having just been exploring the country of the Vogul, Ostjak, Syrjæn, and the Samojed tribes, as far as the most northern range of the Ural leading to the shores of the Arctic Sea. His diary contains rich treasure of information of all he saw there, and he placed with the greatest readiness the results of his experience at my service, and at the request of Admiral Lüttke prepared a map of the region lying between the 50°–70° N. lat. The map, imperfect as it was, has been of essential service, and it contains names of rivers and mountains which we could never have pointed out to our native guides as the landmarks to lead us on our way. This map was used by Ahlquist also.[3] A stay among the Silesian mountains was unfortunately of little avail to the patient. His powers seemed to have become utterly unstrung, and he never felt well enough to resume any enduring exertion, bodily or mental. On Aug. 23, 1858, at

[1] Ethnographisch-geographische Karte des Nördlichen Ural-Gebietes. Entworfen auf einer Reise in den Jahren 1844 und 1845, von Anton von Reguly. St. Petersburg, 1846.

[2] Der Nördliche Ural und das Küsten-Gebirge Pae-Choi. Untersucht und beschrieben von einer in den Jahren 1847–1850, durch die Kais. Russische Geographische Gesellschaft ausgerüsteten Expedition. Verfasst von dem Leiter der Ural-Expedition. Dr. Ernst Hoffman. St. Petersburg, 1856. p. 4.

[3] Muistelmia, etc. Reminiscences of Travels in Russia. Aug. Ahlquist. Helsingfors, 1859.

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the age of 39 years, Reguly died near Budapest quite unexpectedly. Truly a self-sacrificing and unselfish man, whose memory well deserves to rank with the martyrs to science.

The literary treasures brought home by him remained unarranged at his death; the task, as already mentioned, was accomplished by Hunfalvy.[1]

Reguly's Vogul and Ostjak literary annotations consist:

I. *The Vogul Documents.*

A. From the Vogul of the North: 1. Stories, "Majt." Seven in number, describing the creation, the universal flood, etc. 2. Songs, "Erit and Jerit," chiefly in praise of the bear and of the goose, five in number. 3. Incantations.

B. From the Vogul of the South: 1. A Story, its subject being a woman's darling grandchild. 2. Songs. *a.* On martial subjects; on forests and rivers. *b.* In praise of the bear. This animal is highly esteemed in the Vogul country. Songs used on occasions of bear festivals, thirteen in number. 3. Prayers and praises, seven in number. 4. Dance and festival songs, eleven in number. 5. Songs on miscellaneous subjects, eleven in number. 6. Songs from the Pelim country, five in number.

C. *Translations* into Vogul from Russian. *a.* Târïm Kvoshïn. Our Father, etc. *b.* Lov zapoved Târïm. The Ten Commandments of God.

[1] The following explanation is given by Professor Hunfalvy as to the meaning of the name *Magyar* in his work Die Ungern, p. 39, etc.: We know, says the Professor, that the Magyar race came from Scythia, which country had three provinces, viz. Bascardia, Dentia and Magoria, the country of the Jorians being its easterly neighbour. The Hungarian chronicler "Anonymus Belæ regis Notarius," calls Scythia "a very large kingdom in the east," and he calls it Dentu-Mogeria. From this description we may infer that the Jorian or Jurian country lay to the east of Dentia and Magoria, and that it was the Jugoria or Juharia, spoken of by Byzantine writers that was the land of the Ogor or Ugor. This country was conquered by Ivan III. and annexed to Moscow. Under the name of Jugoria was comprised the country of the Ostjak and Vogul; the extent of it was, according to Lehrberg (op cit.), sixteen thousand geographical square miles. The name Unger corresponds to Ogor, Ugor or Jugor, known to the Byzantines as early as the tenth century. Moger, Magor and Magyar Prof. Hunfalvy explains by the Hungarian word *gyer-ek*, or *gyerm-ek*, corresponding to the Vogul *kär*, *kärem*, meaning 'a man.' The Hungarian word *gyerm-ek* (a diminutive) means a male child. The Vogul word *ma*, *mo*, signifies 'the land,' the same as in Finn *maa*, and *kum*, 'a man.' The letter *k* is interchanged with *g* when in apposition with a vowel, therefore *ma-gum*, in Vogul 'an inhabitant.' The same way *ma* and *kär* became (in Vogul tongue) *ma-ger*, *mo-gär*, which Prof Hunfalvy thinks to be identical with *ma-ger*, *mo-ger* = *magyar*, meaning 'the man of the country, a countryman.' The name of the Dravidian tribe Maler, meaning 'a man' (Rev. E. Droese, Malto Language, Agra, 1884) is a noteworthy coincidence.

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II. *The Ostjak Documents.*

These are much fewer and less important than the Vogul. 1. Polm Târom ar, song to the God Polm, on three sheets. 2. In praise of Nating the Chief. On eight sheets. 3. In praise of the Sosva country. On nineteen sheets. 4. In praise of Munkes, the god of war. On seven sheets. 5. In praise of the peak of Puling Mountain. On sixteen sheets. 6. Song "of Lung-aut n'al ari," in praise of the town of Lu. On four sheets. 7. Song on the Ostjak chief. On twelve sheets. 8. Song in praise of Angve, wife of Pulingaut. On two sheets. 9. Song, on the chief's attaining his manhood. On eight sheets. 10 and 11. Two songs entitled, Uort ar, Song of the Prince, and Tomä Kaltmem Käli Ki. The former on ten, the latter on three sheets.

No further details are given of these last literary annotations here, but they are noticed in the Ostjak and Vogul grammars.

Here we pause to fulfil the pleasant duty of giving a short account of Professor Hunfalvy's book: a quarto volume, published in Hungarian by the Academy of Sciences, in 364 pages. It is divided into three parts, preceded by an introduction, showing what was generally known of the peoples living on the Ural before Reguly visited them.

Part I. describes the land of the Vogul and boundaries; its geography; the products of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; habits of the people, their dwellings, occupations, and family life. Details are quoted from Strahlenberg, Pallas, Castrèn, Ahlquist, and from Reguly's annotations.

Part II. treats of what was known of the ancestors of the Vogul from tradition; there is an account of their religious belief; how Târom created the world; the stories of giants, of water deities, and of those of the forest; an account of the flood; their national ceremonies are described, which, besides horse sacrifices and the worship of the bear, show influences of Shamanism and Buddhism. A translation is given of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. Almost all from Reguly's annotations.

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Part III. is devoted to the consideration of the relationship of the Vogul to the Magyar, based on the testimony of linguistic and historical data.

Reguly's researches are being followed up at present under the patronage of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by three zealous Hungarian philologists, namely, Mr. Ferdinand Barna, among the Finn and Lapp; Mr. Bernat Munkácsy and Dr. Charles Pápai on the east of the Ural, in western Siberia, among the Vogul and Ostjak people. An important preliminary report has been sent by Dr. Pápai, dated in the vicinity of Narym, written in October, 1888, and published by the Hungarian Geographical Society, vol. xvi. parts ix. and x. in French.

Apart from many distinguished men of science who in various seats of learning promote linguistic research, Helsingfors and Budapest are the two principal points from which, by a number of zealous and competent workers, impulse to Finn-Ugor philological studies steadily proceeds. Prof. O. Donner and Prof. Joseph Budenz have, after years of labour, each published their comparative dictionaries of Finn-Ugor languages, works of high value and of eminent scholarship. The latter has also edited a comparative "Treatise of Grammatical Forms of Ugor Languages" (Alaktan), from which we learn that each language belonging to the Ugor family has developed, to a greater or less extent, its own grammatical forms; that is to say, we notice in each language a separate word-formation of its own for substantive nouns and for verbs. There are also separate suffixes of nouns, separate adverbial forms and adverbial suffixes. Even superficially considered, these linguistic forms lead nevertheless to the conclusion that they present many details common to all Finn-Ugor languages, an evident proof, as Budenz remarks, "that a certain portion at least of such formations is not the special property of one individual language, but that it is actually the common inheritance, derived from a common ancestral source." "Facts, corroborative of this theory, have already been brought incidentally to light. The time seems therefore to have arrived, when comparative philology of Finn-Ugor

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languages may be attempted, its special problem being the reconstruction of the primary tongue, by thorough investigation and elucidation of the common word-treasures appertaining to these languages and by demonstrating the identity or similarity of their grammatical structure."[1] In carefully conducting such investigation, it will become apparent by what process each individual language has further utilized and developed the common inheritance, or in how far it may have deviated from it by dropping certain forms, or by creating others, according to its special circumstances and requirements. And the task here is the more arduous, because the Finn-Ugor family is not so fortunate as to possess an ancient model like the Sanskrit to refer to. The very foundations of Finn-Ugor philology have yet to be built up, and this initial difficulty requires much caution, when, according to Budenz, "phonetic investigations are here of greater importance than hasty etymological deductions" (Összehas: Szotár, Elöszó p. vi).

M. Setälä[2] points out that the manner in which Finn-Ugor words were developed from primary roots was by *suffixes*. The ulterior formation of roots being effected through *derivative-suffixes* (Derivations-suffixe), the formation of words proceeded through flexion-suffixes (Flexions-suffixe).

By adding a derivative suffix to the primary root, its original meaning becomes modified, and thus a new root is formed. Only in its simplest form may the primary root stand for a word, that is to say: instead of a part of a sentence; in other cases flexion-suffixes figure as etymological factors, expressing the relative position of the parts of a sentence.

Midway between the derivative and flexion-suffixes stand what are called the "characteristics"; they are, when speaking of nouns, or of the determination of "locality," the signs of the plural number, and, when any reference is made to verbs, then, under the name "characteristics," are understood the signs of *moods* and *tenses*.

[1] Alaktan, Budapest, 1884, p. 2.
[2] Setälä, E.N. Journal Finno-Ougr. Part II. p. 1, et seq. 1887.

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The chief problem to solve by Finn-Ugor philology therefore is to investigate the formation of verbal roots, with reference to moods and tenses.

Etymologically, the Finn-Ugor languages distinguish only two tenses, namely, the preterite and the present.

As to the moods, the *indicative* has no separate distinction, since the verbal root is the root of the indicative mood.

The *imperative* in Finn-Ugor languages stands, by reason of its special form, separately from the indicative.

Under the name "*conjunctive* or *subjunctive* mood," are understood all the modus-forms, which express the action, depending on or proceeding from the will or idea of the speaker. The particular suffixes which determine the various roots of the subjunctive mood, are of great importance in Finn-Ugor languages.

The following is the resumé of the root-formations of the moods and tenses (Modus und Tempus Stammbildung); they are supposed to have been settled:

A. during the first, or primary period, viz. before any separation of the Finn-Ugor family into different branches:

1. The present, showing a suffix *-kʒ*,[1] or *-gʒ*.

2. The preterite by a suffix *-jʒ*.

3. Indicative and imperative moods without any specially determinable element.

4. The subjunctive mood being characterized by the suffix *-nʒ*.

B. Previous to the separation of the Finn-Ugor family into various dialects, the *present tense* was indicated by suffixes: *pʒ* and *bʒ*, and in this form seems particularly to prevail in the Finn, Lapp, Cheremiss, Mordvin, Syrjaen, and Votjak. There is an uncertainty here as to the subjunctive with a suffix of *-kʒ*, so well noticeable in Finn, Lapp and Mordvin.

C. After the separation into individual languages the following forms have developed:

1. In the formation of the present: in Lapp *-je* (Mordv. *-i*); Syrj. *-i*; Ostj. *-l-* etc.; Votj. *-shk*; Magy. *-sz-*.

2. The preterite formations are noted with the following

[1] The sign *ʒ* stands for an undetermined vowel.

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suffixes: Magyar, *-tt-*, *-t-*; Cher. *sh-* (Mordv. *-ź*, *-ś*); Vogul and Ost. *-s-*.

3. The subjunctive formations, with the following simple and compound suffixes, viz. Finn-Lapp. *-le*; Finn. *-i+-kse*, *-ne+i+kse*; Lapp. *-i+n-+ch-*; Mordv. *kse+le*, *-l+ksi+-le*.

The above rules may be expressed more concisely thus:

a. Roots of tenses in Finn-Ugor languages are noun-roots, that is, roots expressive of (the noun of) the agent.

b. Verbal roots without any special modus-element assume functions of indicative and imperative roots. The meaning of the imperative depends upon its interjectional function (interjectionelle Funktion).

c. The roots of the subjunctive are verbal roots formed by special verbal suffixes (Setälä, *op. cit.* p. 182).

DECLENSION.

	Finn.		*Magyar.*		
		FINN-UGOR SUFFIXES.			
	Sing.	*Plural.*	*Sing.*	*Plural.*	
Nominative	taatto	taatto-t	atya	atyá-k	father, fathers.
Indefinite	taatto-a (for taatto-ta)	——ja (for taatto-ta)			
Genitive	taatto-n	——jen / ——in	atyá-é	——k-é	—— of
Accusative	taatto-n	——t	atyá-t	——k-at	
Inessive	taatto-ssa	——issa	atyá-ban	——k-ban	——in
Elative	taatto-sta	——ista	atyá-ból	——k-ból	——out of
Illative	taatto-hon	——ihin	atyá-ba	——k-ba	——into
Adessive	taatto-lla	——illa	atyá-nál	——k-nál	——near
Ablative	taatto-lta	——ilta	atyá-tól	——k-tól	——of
Allative	taatto-lle	——ille	atyá-hoz	——k-hoz	——to (near)
Abessive	taatto-tta	——itta	atyá-tlan	———	——without
Prolative	taatto-tse	——itse	atyá-nál	——k-nál	——by (near)
Translative	taatto-ksi	——iksi	atyá-vá	——k-vá (-ká)	—— as
Essive	taatto-na	——ina	atyá-úl	——k-úl	——like
Conjunctive	taatto-ne	——ine	atyá-stól	———	——with
Instructive	taatto-n	——in	atyá-val	——k-val (k-kal)	——by means of

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Conjugation.

A. *Indicative.*

			Finn.		*Magyar.*
Present —	singular	1 pers.	saan	'I obtain'	kapok
		2 ,,	saa-t		kapsz
		3 ,,	saa		kap
	plural	1 ,,	saa-mme		kapunk
		2 ,,	saa-tte		kap-tok
		3 ,,	saa-vat		kap-nak
Preterite—	singular	1 ,,	sain	'I obtained'	kapám
		2 ,,	sait		kapád
		3 ,,	sai		kapá
	plural	1 ,,	saimme		kapók
		2 ,,	saitte		kapátok
		3 ,,	saivat		kapák.

B. *Imperative.*

Singular	1 pers.			
	2 ,,	saa	'receive thou'	kapj
	3 ,,	saakan	'let him receive'	kapjon
Plural	1 ,,	saakaamme	'let us receive'	kapjunk
	2 ,,	saakaattte	'receive you'	kapjatok
	3 ,,	saakaat	'let them receive'	kapjanak

C. *Subjunctive.*

Singular	1 pers.	saanen	'I should receive'	kapjam
	2 ,,	saanet		kapjad
	3 ,,	saanee		kapja
Plural	1 ,,	saanemme		kapjuk
	2 ,,	saanette		kapjátok
	3 ,,	saanevat		kapják

D. *Conditional.*

Singular	1 pers.	saisin	'I may receive'	kapnék
	2 ,,	saisit		kapnál
	3 ,,	sasi		kapna
Plural	1 ,,	saisimme		kapnánk
	2 ,,	saisitte		kapnátok
	3 ,,	saisivat		kapnának

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The Ostjak and Vogul languages have a dual number:

DECLENSION.

Ostjak (Surgut dialect).

	Singular.		*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Nom.	kara	'field'	karagan	karagat
Dative	kara-ga		karagan-a	karagad a
Locative	kara-na		karagan-na	karagat-na
Ablative	kara-geuh		karagan-euh	karagad-euh
Instrum.	kara-nat		karagan-nat	karagat-nat
Carit.	kara-dah		———	———

Ostjak (Irtish dialect).

	Singular.		*Plural.*
Nom.	kerap	'ship'	kerabat
Dative	keraba		kerabeda
Locative	kerapna		kerabetna
Ablative	kerabîvet		kerabedîvet
Instrum.	kerabat		kerabedat
Carit.	kerapta		———

CONJUGATION OF OSTJAK VERB *mende* 'to walk.'

		Singular.		*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Present	1st pers.	mendlem	'I walk'	mendlemen	mendleuh
	2nd ,,	mendlen		mendleden	mendledeh
	3rd ,,	mendl		mendlegen	mendlet
Preterite	1st ,,	menem	'I walked'	menmen	menuh
	2nd ,,	menen		menten	menteh
	3rd ,,	men		mengen	ment

DECLENSION.

Vogul (Wiedemann).

	Sing.		*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Nom.	lu	'horse'	luvvi	lut
Accusative	luma		luuvima	lutma
Locative	luta		luvvita	lutta
Ablative	luna		luvvina	lutna
Instrum.	lul		luvvil	lutl

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Declension.

Vogul (Hunfalvy).

	Singular.		*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Nom.	kval	'house'	kvali, kavalog	kvalet
Accusative	kval		kavalogme	kvaletme
Dative	kvalag	'to the house'	———	———
Transl.	kvali		———	———
Illative	kvalne	'into the ,, '	———	kvaletne
Elative	kvalnel	'out of ,, '	kitagnel	kvaletnel
Locat.	kvalt	'on the ,, '	———	———
Conjunct.	kvalel	'with the ,, '	———	———

Conjugation of Vogul Verb *Te-chv* 'to eat' (Hunfalvy).

Indicative.

		Singular.		*Plural.*
Present	1	tegem	'I eat'	teve
	2	tegen		tene
	3	teg		tet
Preterite	1	te-s-em	'I ate'	te-s-ov
	2	te-s-en		te-s-an
	3	te-s		te-s-et
Imperat.	2	tajen	'eat thou'	tajan
	3	taje		tajet

Vogul Conjugation (Wiedemann).

Indicative.

	Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
Present	qōlim 'I die'	qolima	qoliva
	qōlin	qolina	qolina
	qoli	qolii	qolt
Preterite	qol-s-im 'I died'	qolsam	qolsan
	qol-s-in	qolsan	qolsān
	qol-s	qolsii	qolst
Conditional	qolnem 'I should die'	qolnima	qolniva
	qolnen	qolnina	qolnina
	qolni	qolnii	qolnēt

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APPENDIX I.

A List of Words for Common Objects.[1]

English.	*Finn.*	*Vogul.*	*Magyar.*
head	pää	päng, pong	fej, fö
hair	hap-ena	sau	haj
nose	nëna	ur, urem	orr, orom
abdomen	watsa	keher	has
eye	silma	sem	szem
a tear	kyynel	sem-vit	köny
gum (palate)	ikene	égn, eń	iny
throat	kurkku	tur	torok
chest (thorax)	rinta	majl	mely
nipple	nenä	šakve	csecs (pronounced chech)
heart	sydäme, syömi	sim, šim	sriv
liver	maksa	májt	máj
bile	sappe	vošrem, ošram	epe
urine	kusi	kunš	húgy
blood	vere	vér, vúr	vér
hand	käte	kát	kéz
finger	sormi	tul, tule	újj
fingernail	kynsi	kérem	köröm
bosom	syli	täl	öl
foot	jalka	lajl, lél	láb
on foot (walking)	jalka	jajl	gyalog
a span	waaksa	tarasz	arasz
ear	korwa	pel	fül
name	nime	näm	név
soul		lil	lélek
intellect	aisti	us	ész
word	sana	suj	szó
water	vete	vit	viz
ice	jää	jäng	jég
frost	pak	pal	fagy
fire	tule	tal, taut	tüz
month	kuu	jong-op	hó
snow	lumi	tujt	hó
heat	kuum-che		hév
cloud	pilvi	tul	felhö

[1] The numerals, see pp. 606, 609.

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English.	*Finn.*	*Vogul.*	*Magyar.*
wind	tuule		szél
winter	talvi	tél	tél
spring	kevähä	tuoja	tavasz
year	vuote	jis	év
week	wiikko	sat	hét
evening	ehtoo	iét, jét	est
night	yö	iét, jét	éj
daybreak	koi	kuj-p	hajnal
mildew	rajet	räg, räh	ragya
gold	kulta	sarı'	arany
lead	lyijy	aln	ón, ólom
silver	hopea	sév	ezüst
iron	vaski	vogi	vas
wood	puu	iju, ju	fa
stem	tyve	tit	töv, tö
branch	oksa	taj, tau	ág
root	juur		gyökér
leaf	lehti	luopt	levél
tinder	taula	taplah	tapló
hops	humala	komlah	komló
pea	herne	parišah	borsó
berry	marja	págve	bogyó
grass	ruoho	pum	fü
thread	lanka, säie	panel	fonal
horse	hepo	lú	ló
colt	warsa	lu-pi	ló-fi (csikó)
ox	kärkä	kár, kär	ökör
dog	koira	amp	eb
greyhound	winttikoira	aǵár	agár
sheep	uuhi	oš	juh
butter	vaj	voj, vaj	vaj
marten	näätä	ňohs	nyuszt
mouse	hüre	tänger	egér
quill, feather	sulka	taul	toll, tallu
raven	karrehe	kulla	holló
crane	kurki	tari	daru
female (of an animal)	nais	né	nöstény
a swallow	pääsky	šekajt	fecske
nest	pesä	pit'	fészek

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English.	*Finn.*	*Vogul.*	*Magyar.*
honey	mete	mau	méz
fish	kala	kul	hal
shoulder	olka	vañn, ojn	vál
knee	polve	sans, šanš	térd
back	selkä	sis, šiš	hát
bone, skeleton	luu	lu, lusm	tetem, csont
marrow	ytime	valem, vualm	velö
mouth	suu	sop, suop	szaj
tooth	? hammas	pänk, ponk	fog
tongue	? kiele, kēle	ńelm, ńilm	nyelv
throat	kurkku	turr	torok
lung	täky, täty	kapsi, kops	tüdö

APPENDIX II.

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NOTE 1. The orthography adopted at Helsingfors and Budapest has been followed.

NOTE 2. Tribal names, as: Finn, Pecheneg, Ugor, Vogul, etc., stand unaltered in the plural number, the same as: Scotch, Irish, Dutch, French, etc.—T. D.

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Art. IX.—*The O'mánee Dialect of Arabic.* By Surgeon-Major A. S. G. Jayakar, M.R.A.S.

Part I.

The dialectical variations of a language principally consist of deviations from the standard rules of Grammar and accent, and in the adoption of certain words in preference to others. In this latter respect Arabic is particularly remarkable, as owing to the copiousness of its vocabulary, its dialects are so strongly marked as to render the speech of an uneducated inhabitant of one province sometimes almost unintelligible to an equally uneducated inhabitant of another province. In the case of educated Arabs, however, although the colloquial language may be affected by the dialectical influence, still, in writing, the established rules of grammar are generally observed, and words with universally accepted meaning are only used. It follows, therefore, that the state of education of a province must influence to a considerable extent the degree of departure from standard rules in the dialect of that province.

In Oman learning has never flourished to the same extent as in other parts of Arabia, which may be observed by the almost total absence of any local literature, and although at one time a school of some eminence existed at Nezwa, the province has not produced any great poets or authors. The masses as a rule, as in other countries, are uneducated, but even the educated few are so regardless of the rules of Grammar, that they are constantly in the habit of using, both colloquially and in writing, forms and expressions which strike as strange to an outsider.

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Whatever may have been the dialect of Arabic spoken in Oman at the first occupation of the province by the Yamánee Arabs under Malik ibn Fahm, this much is certain that in the present dialect one often meets with traces of the influence exerted on the language by the Persian invasions and occupation of the province, and also by a long-continued intercourse with the people of India, particularly in the terms used in the trades; this is perhaps more apparent in the sea-coast towns. Among other circumstances which have given such marked features to the dialect, especially in the adoption of rare words, the part played by the favourite authors of the people is not to be overlooked. Next to the Koran the only books almost universally read and committed to memory are the "Mukámás of al-Hareeree" and the "Dewan of al-Mutnabbee"; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at that words of most unusual occurrence, perhaps only used by these authors, have crept into the language of every-day life. On the other hand, words, although purely Arabic in their origin, have been adopted with significations either totally different from what is generally understood by educated Arabs, or so far removed from the original sense that it is sometimes difficult to trace the connexion. In some cases the words themselves are distorted, the distortion consisting either simply in the transposition of letters, or, as in the case of the word هِنْتَيْن for اِثْنَيْن (*tnro*), in the double process of substitution and transposition of letters.

The Ománees, as a general rule, pronounce their words distinctly; some letters, however, such as the initial, are usually elided, and others less frequently; but in expressions which by a general usage have assumed abridged forms, several letters are suppressed. Their accent, though irregular in some instances, does not produce a discordant effect on the ear, and their speech is so soft and gentle—a pleasant contrast to that of the Najdees and I'rákees—that it is open to a charge of effeminacy. In fact, it is not at all unusual to hear two men

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addressing each other in a form which is distinctly feminine; thus فَطَنْتِه (*Did you understand*), سَمَعْتِه (*Did you hear*), أَخَبَرِّكِه (*Shall I inform you*). In these instances, although the pronominal affixes are feminine, the sense intended is masculine, and a distinction is made between the two genders by the addition of the sound of ه to the masculine and prolonging the final vowel in the case of the feminine.

With the following exceptions the sounds of the letters of the alphabet are generally the same as in standard Arabic:

ا.—It would seem that the Ománees find a difficulty in pronouncing this letter at the beginning of a word, and, therefore, resort to the simple measure of either eliding the letter altogether, or substituting و or ه for it, thus أُخْت (*sister*) becomes خَت, إِبْرَاهِيم (*Ibraheem*) becomes بِرَاهِيم, etc. As instances of the substitution of the semi-vowel و and silent ه for ا may be mentioned وَيْش for أَيْش (*what?*), thus وَيْش إِسْمَكْ (*what is your name?*); وَيْن or هَيْن for أَيْن (*where*), thus مِن وَيْن or مِن هَيْن (*whence*); هَل for أَل thus هَلَا يَّام (*now a days*) and هَلَا هَلَا for اللّه اللّه (*for God's sake*—an Ománee expression used for urging expedition in an affair or when making a request). This difference, however, is more colloquial, for in writing one often meets with the words spelt properly with the initial ا, although the tendency to elision is great, as may be observed by expressions such as ستوا لناجر, عن حالك لشريف, صدرت لك لكتاب, وعن الوصول ستوا لنا المانع, and others which abound in their letters.

ب.—This letter is pronounced as in standard Arabic; but in the word بِيَا, the Ománee for ب (*with*), it is often substituted by و; thus مِن وِيَاك (*who is with you*), اللّه وِيَاك (*Goodbye* or *God be with you*).

ت.—This letter is never pronounced as the cerebral *t* in English, but takes more the sound of the Indian dental त. I

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make this remark, for I have heard that the people of Northern Arabia pronounced it as a hard letter like the English *t*.

ج.—This letter is pronounced differently in different parts of the province; it sometimes takes its normal sound of the English *j*, sometimes the sound of the English *g* in *good*, and at other times the sound of the Arabic ي. In the word وَاجِد (*plenty*, in the Ománee dialect), however, it is invariably pronounced like ي. In words of a foreign origin this letter is invariably substituted for the sound of *g* as in *good*, both colloquially and in writing, thus جَوَادَر (*Gwadur*), جُونِيه (*Gonee*, H. for a sack), جُوْدِري (*Godree*, H. for a coverlet).

د.—This letter, like ت, is invariably pronounced as a dental, and never as a cerebral.

ذ.—Always retains its standard sound and is never pronounced as *z*, but is sometimes, though rarely, substituted by د.

س and ص.—Although these two letters sometimes take the place of each other in writing, colloquially each one has its own standard sound.

ش.—The sound of this letter is as in standard Arabic; it is the only substitute used for چ, *ch* as in *church*, in foreign words; thus شَمَّار (چَمَار H. for *a worker in leather*), شَادَر (چادر H. for a *sheet*).

ض and ظ.—The sound of these two letters being alike, they are generally confounded with each other; but the tendency of this dialect is to use ض instead of ظ even in words of established usage; thus نظر (*he saw*), حفظ (*he preserved*), are generally written with a ض instead of with a ظ even by the educated. Instances of the substitution of ظ for ض, though rare, are, however, not wanting, thus الخظرا (*the green* fem.) stands for الخضرى.

ع.—Initial ع, like initial ا, sometimes undergoes elision colloquially, thus اعطى (*he gave*) and اعطوا (*they gave*) become طَى and طيُّو, whilst عيال, when expressing the name of a

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tribe, the initial letter is invariably dropped, thus يَال وَهِيبَة, يَال بُوسَعِيدِي, which are evidently corruptions of عَيَال وَ هِيبة and عَيَال بُوسَعِيدِي.

ق.—The sound of this letter is inclined to that of غ, but it is not so distinctly guttural, thus قال and قام would be pronounced as if they were spelt with an indistinct غ, but towards the north this letter assumes the sound of the English *j*, thus قَاسِم is pronounced as *Jasim*.

ك.—Is invariably pronounced by the Ománee Arabs as a liquid letter, and takes the sound of a combination of the English *k* and *y*.

It may be here noted that in this dialect a full ا generally takes the place of the abbreviated ا or الالف المقصُورة at the end of a word, even in the case of defective verbs, thus حتّى, علا, متى, رمى, توّفى, etc., would be written as حتّا, علا, متا, رما, توّفا, etc.

In copying manuscripts, and sometimes in general writing, the Ománees are in the habit of distinguishing between certain letters having the same form either by placing a single point below those that carry none, or in some cases by inserting above or below according to the letter to be distinguished, the mark ح, which they call لَمْعَة, thus ح ح is distinguished by a لَمْعَة from ج and خ, so also ح س from ش, ح ص from ض, ح ط from ظ, and ح ع from غ; whilst ب and ر are distinguished from ذ and ز by a point placed below each of them.

One of the remarkable features of this dialect is the frequent transposition of letters that is to be met with even in words of a purely Arabic origin. In some instances only the initial and final letters interchange places, thus رَمْسَة (from رمس, *he held a mighty meeting*) is the Ománee for مُسامَرة (from سمر), and نعل often stands for لعن (*he cursed*) in اللّه يلعنه, whilst رَشْبَة, a word commonly used in Muskat for a *hooka*, is evidently derived from a corruption of the root شرب; in

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other instances the transposition is irregular, thus غَرِنز is the Ománee for غَزِير (*deep*). In words of a foreign origin, when any transposition of letters takes place, the tendency is to an irregular one, thus in شُبْرِيَة (*a cot*), which is evidently a corruption of the Persian word چارپاي, ب and ر have changed places. In the word هِنْتَيْن, the Ománee for إِثْنَيْن (*two*), we have not only an instance of transposition of letters, but also one of division of the letter ث into its component sounds of ت and ه. In هلا هلا for الله الله we have another instance of the initial and final letters changing places.

Another peculiarity of this dialect is the substitution of letters either of the same or another group, thus حُفْرَة (*a hole*) becomes جُفْرَة, بَرْذُون becomes بَرْذُول (in Ománee *lazy*), قَرْظ (*Mimosa Flava*) becomes قَرْط, حِزَام (*a girdle*) becomes حِزَاق; in نَشَر (*he unfolded*) and مصربخ (Ománee for a *musket*) ر is often converted into ل; حجاب (*eye-brow*) becomes حجاج, whilst the imperfect of أَوْمأ (*he beckoned*) becomes يِنْوِي first by a transposition between و and م in the preterite, and subsequently by a substitution of ن for م. In the case of حِزَاق, however, it is possible that the Ománees in adopting it have not substituted ق for م, as the word, though rarely used in this sense now, is purely Arabic, and conveys the same meaning as حِزَام. In موخرة (Ománee for a *nose*), evidently a corruption of مَنْخَرَة (*a nostril*), we have an instance of the substitution of و for ن; and in كدف, a corruption of كتف (*a shoulder*), and بَادُوت, a corruption of بَارُود (*gunpowder*), we have instances of the substitution of ت for د. In some parts of the province بِلَاد (*a country, a village*) is written and pronounced as بِلَات, whilst مَسْكَة (the generally adopted way of spelling the name of the town of مَسْقَط by the Ománees) is sometimes both pronounced and written as مَسْكَد. In some instances the substitution is one of sounds, and therefore only colloquial, thus ه in به, in such expressions as

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ما اعلم به, ماجا به, ما ادري به, takes sometimes the sound of و, as *o* in *old*, with a slight reduplication of ب. Similarly in certain proper names, as will be noticed hereafter, the final ة is generally pronounced as و, thus خَدِيجَة would be pronounced as *Khadeejo*.

Beside the initial ا other letters are sometimes elided both colloquially and in writing, thus ولد (*son*) in composition is almost invariably pronounced and written as و د, for instance خلفان بن سُالمين و د ربيع ; وجدتُ (*I found*) and اردتُ (*I desired*) are sometimes met with written as وجت and إرت, whilst colloquially the د in وَاحِد (*one*) and the initial ن in نحنو (Ománee form for *we*) are generally elided.

The following are some of the abridged expressions in general use in which more than one letter is elided :

English.	Long Form.	Abridged Form.
Good morning	صَبَّحَكَ اللّه بِالخَيْر	صُبح الخَيْر
Good evening	مَسَّاكَ اللّه بِالخَيْر	مُسَا الخَيْر
Good evening	يَمَسِّيكَ اللّه بِالخَيْر	مَسِّيك بِالخَيْر
How do you (in the evening)	كَيْف مَسَيْت	كَيْمَسَيْت
How do you do (in the morning)	كَيْف صَبَحْت	كَيْصَبَحْت

The letter ة or تأ مربوطه is occasionally found written as ت or تأ مبسوطه, thus we have مضحكت الناس instead of مضحكة النّاس.

Among other peculiarities of this dialect may be mentioned the tendency that exists to the use of long vowels, as in ancient Arabic, in the place of short ones, but without affecting the pronunciation; thus we sometimes meet with لزمجبار, اليك, اذاكان, اذا, نحن, and انفُسنا written as نحنو or نحنا, ايذا, ايذاكان, ايليك, لي زمجبار, and انفوسنا.

Considering the state of education in the province it is not a matter of wonder that vowels sometimes undergo most unexpected changes; the vowel points as a rule are never expressed in writing, but even colloquially all the three

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vowels undergo the process of substitution; thus in the expression بُخير (*well*) it is evident that the *dammah* of ب has transplaced its *kasrah*: in the like manner مَن (*who*) becomes مِن, مَا (*what*) becomes مُو, كُلّ (*all, every*) becomes كِلّ, كَذَا (*thus*) becomes كِذَا, كُشَّة becomes كِشَّة (*hair*), and كَلَام (*words*) becomes sometimes كِلَام. In words with an initial ك, however, the substitution of a *kasrah* for a *dammah* or a *fathah* may partly be attributed to the liquid sound of that letter in this dialect, a sound which can more easily adapt itself to a *kasrah* than to either of the other two vowels. But great as the tendency to this kind of substitution of vowels, particularly in the case of the verb and its derived forms, exists, we rarely find the educated using forms such as لَازُم and سَالُم for لَازِم and سَالِم, although they are not uncommon in the mouths of the illiterate.

The reduplication of letters, particularly in instances where an intervening vowel is dropped, is another remarkable feature of this dialect; thus جِبْتُ لَهُ, سِرْتُ لَهُ, قُلْتُ لَهُ, would be pronounced as جِبْتُلُّه, سِرْتُلُّه, قُلْتُلُّه, in which the intervening *dammah* of the ت having been dropped, the ل of لَهُ has been doubled, and the final *ه* has assumed the sound of English *o*, as in *old*. In such instances it is evident that, primarily, abbreviation for colloquial purposes is aimed at by dropping the intervening vowel, and a reduplication of the following consonant takes place by an operation of the natural law of euphony. But there is a great tendency observable in the dialect to the adoption of forms with a *tashdeed* where both *tashdeed* and non-*tashdeed* forms are admissible; thus the causal form of verbs, irrespective of their being transitive or intransitive, is invariably the measure of the second conjugation فعّل, for instance نَزَل (*he descended*) becomes نَزَّل and خَبَر (*he had or possessed knowledge*) becomes in the causal خَبَّر. In the perfect tense form of verbs, adopted

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from the emphatic form of the standard Arabic, the ن is invariably doubled, as مِن راسِلِنّه (*who has sent him, or it?*), مِن جايِلِبِنّه (*who has brought it?*). But a still more remarkable use of the *tashdeed* occurs in words like رَجّال (*a man*).

In addition to these peculiarities in the use of the vowels, it may be here mentioned that in conversation, especially in interrogatory sentences, the people of Oman are in the habit of using either a long or a short *kasrah* vowel after proper names of persons and places, particularly in cases where the person addressing directly answers his or her own question; thus مِن وَيْن جاي مَسْكَدِ (*where do you come from, Muskat?*), مِن ضَرَبَكْ مُحَمَّدِ (*who beat you, Muhammad?*), مِن جات وِيَاش فَاطماهي (*who came with you, Fatimah?*). The final syllable of such female proper names as end in ة, such as غَنِيمَة, خَدِيجَة, سَلِيمَة, etc., takes generally the sound of the English *o* as in *old*, but this is more a pet and familiar way of calling, and, although an instance of the substitution of the sound of و for ة, can hardly be looked upon as a dialectical peculiarity. Similarly in nouns derived from triliteral verbs with a medial radical و, the *fathah* of the initial letter is converted into a *dammah*, whilst the *jazmeh* of the second letter, which is و, is retained, giving the syllable the sound of *o* as in *robe*; thus ثَوْب (*a garment*), صَوْم (*a fast*), قَوْم (*a body of men*), ثَوْر (*a bullock*), etc., instead of being pronounced as *thawb, ṣawm, ḳaum, thawr*, etc., are pronounced as ثُوْب (*thobe*), صُوْم (*ṣome*), قُوْم (*kome*), ثُوْر (*thore*); the aorist of the verb رَام (Ománee, *he was able*) takes also a similar sound in the second syllable, thus يَرُوم becomes يَرُوْم (*yarome*).

As in standard Arabic, the usual method of rendering masculine nouns feminine is by the addition of ة, but this rule is so extensively applied in this dialect as to include also nouns of the form فَعْلان, فَعُول, and فَعِيل in the sense of

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مَفْعُول, thus سَكْرَان, صَبُور, and قَتِيل would also follow the general rule and become in the feminine سَكْرَانَة, صَبُورَة, and قَتِيلَة. The adjectival form أَفْعَل, expressive of degrees of comparison, undergoes no change whatever, and is the same in both the genders, whilst the form أَفْعَل, descriptive of colour or deformity, sometimes takes the form فعلا without the prolongation of the last vowel, and sometimes retains the original form in the feminine. Excepting the above instances and the names of winds, which are generally expressed as masculine, there is no marked deviation from the standard rules.

The case terminations of nouns as a rule are omitted both colloquially and in writing, and even the additional ا necessary to express the *fathah tanween* of the objective case is never expressed. The words أَبُ (*father*) etc., and أَخ (*brother*) are always written and pronounced as أَبُو and أَخُو, sometimes with the initial ا elided, and undergo no ultimate vowel change either in declension or in construction with a pronominal affix. The words مَال and حَال are often used in government with nouns to express the Genitive or Dependent case; thus بَيْت مَال فُلَان (*the house of so and so*), حَالَك أَنْت (*yours or for you*).

The dual number is not always expressed by a regular form, the word ثِنِين (*two*) being added to the plural to express the duality; such instances are, however, rare; but when the dual form is used, it is invariably يْن, irrespective of the case of the noun, and of the standard exceptions to the general grammatical rules; this is more from a disregard to euphony than an actual breach of the rules of grammar; thus عَصَا (*a stick*) and كِسَا (*a dress, clothes*) become in the dual عَصَايْن and كِسَايْن.

The Ománee dialect makes no distinction between the plural of paucity and that of multitude, and as a general rule only

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the latter is used. The plural of the regular masculine nouns is formed by the addition of ـين irrespective of the case of the noun, that is to say, in the subjective case also the form instead of being ـون is ـين; thus we have مُسلِمين, ضارِبين, instead of مسلمُون and ضارِبُون in the subjective case. The broken plurals present a great variety of forms as in standard Arabic, and generally follow the usually adopted rules of grammar, but several instances of departure from them are occasionally met with. No definite rules can, however, be laid down as regards these exceptions, some of which are noted down here, and others may be found by a reference to Part II. of this paper. The verbal noun denoting *occupation* of the measure فَعَّال invariably makes its plural in فَعَاعِيل, whilst other nouns indicating the same sense, but not of the same measure, also make their plural in فَعَاعِيل; so also nouns with the second radical reduplicated. Two of the commonest forms used in the formation of broken plurals are فَعْلَان and فِعْلَان, and it sometimes occurs that a word having taken either of these forms undergoes a second plural formation; thus we have فِيَارين and لِيَاحِين as the plurals of فَار (*a mouse*) and لُوْح (*a plank*), the first plurals according to this dialect being فِيرَان and لِيحَان.

The plural of feminine nouns ending in *ŭ*, as in standard Arabic, is formed in several ways, as may be seen from the table given below, and by a reference to Part II.; but when the noun is regular, the plural is generally of the measure فَعْلَات or فِعْلَات, which method of rendering feminine nouns plural is not restricted to nouns ending in *ŭ* only, but is also applied to nouns with a final ا; thus حَلْوَى or حَلْوَا (*halwa, a sweetmeat*), حَصَا (*a stone*), and كَرَا (*a fare*) become in the plural حَلْوِيَات, حَصِيَات, and كَرِيَات, as if the words are taken in a collective sense and have for their singulars حَلْوِيَة, حَصِيَة, and كَرِيَة.

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Broken plurals of feminine nouns ending in ة :

	Singular.	Plural.	Plural Measure.
طَارِقَة	a bier	طَوَارِق	فَوَاعِل
حَارَة	a quarter of a town	حَوَايِر	
زَفَّة	a procession	زِفَف	فِعَل
حَاكَة	a large cavern	حِيَك	
بَرْوَة	a cheque for money	بَرَو	فَعَل
فُرْضَة	a Custom House	فُرَض	
غَرْشَة	a bottle	غَرَش	
زَانَة	a tool, an instrument	زُوَن	فُعَل
جُفْرَة	a pit	جُفَر	
صُفْرِيَة	a cooking-pot	صَفَارِي	فَعَالِي
كِمَّة	a cap	كِمِيم	فِعِيل
لَكِيمَة	a gag	لَكَايِم	فَعَايِل
قَصْبَة	old clothes or a rag	قَصْبَان	فَعْلَان
مَنْظَرَة	(verbal nouns) a looking-glass	مَنَاظِر	مَفَاعِل

Table of different forms of broken plurals in common use :

	Singular.	Plural.	Plural Measure.
خَصِين	an axe	خَصَن	فَعَل
جَرِيد	a beam	جُرْد	فُعْل
عِسْقَة	a bunch (of dates, etc)	عِسَق	فِعَل
دَرْس	a fold (of goats, sheep, etc.)	دُرُس	فُعُل
غَيْم	a cloud	غِيَام	فِعَال
مَصْرِي	a donkey	مَصَارا	فَعَالَا
سَفَن	a pestle	سَفَانَا	

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Singular.		Plural.	Plural. Measure.
جَدَل	a bat	جِدَالَا	فِعَالَا
عَزَب	a servant	عَزَّابَة	فَعَّالَة
شَيْخ	a chief or headman	شُيُوخ	فُعُول
بِشْت	a cloak	بُشُوت	
مُخْبَا	a pocket	مَخَابِي	فَعَالِي
حَلُول	a flower pot	حَلَاوِيل	فَعَاوِيل
صَبَاح	a gate	صَبَاحَات	فَعَالَات
ذَرَاع	a yard (measure)	زَارِيع	فَاعِيل
حَمَّال	a porter	حَمَامِيل	فَعَاعِيل
جَمَّال	a camel man	جَمَامِيل	
نَجَّار	a carpenter	نَجَاجِير	
عَيَّار	a cunning (man)	عَيَايِر	
سَنُّور	a cat	سَنَانِير	
رَجَّال	a man	رَجَاجِيل	
عَرِيش	a shed	عُرْشَان	فُعْلَان
صَبِي	a boy	صِبْيَان	فِعْلَان
سِبَال	a monkey	سِبْلَان	
جِدَار	a wall	جِدْرَان	
حَصِير	a mat	حَصْرَان	فَعْلَان
طَوِي	a well	طَوْيَان	
عَرَب	an Arab or a man	عَرْبَان	
شَيْخ	a chief or headman	مَشَايِخ	مَفَاعِيل
مَهْبَاش	tongs } verbal nouns	مَهَابِيش	
مَحَسَّن	a barber } verbal nouns	مَحَاسِنَة	مَفَاعِلَة

In the case of nouns of a foreign origin the general form of plural adopted is فَعَالِي, but some words take the form فَعَايِل, and as in the case of words of Arabic origin, other forms are also in use which will be seen from the following table:

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	Singular.	Plural.	Plural. Measure.
شَيْلَة	a mantle	شِيَل	فِعَل
كِشْمَة	spectacles	كِشَم	
بَهَار	a Bhar (measure)	بُهَرَة	فُعْلَة
مَنّ	a Maund (weight)	أَمْنَان	أَفْعَال
فِيف	a cask	أَفْيَاف	
مَيْل	a mail steamer (generally a steamer)	أَمْيَال	
جُلُولَة	a cannon ball	جُلُول	فُعُول
نُوْكَر	a domestic servant	نَوَاكِر	فَوَاعِل
شَاذَر	a sheet, a mantle	شَوَاذِر	
دَرِيشَة	a window	دَرَايِش	فَعَايِل
بِشَكَار	a servant	بِشَاكِير	فِعَاعِيل
دَنْجِيَّة	a kind of a boat, a dingy	دَنَاجِي	فَعَالِي
جُوْنِيَّة	a sack	جَوَانِي	
مَاشُوَّة	a boat	مَوَاشِي	
كُوْت	a fort	كِيتَان	فِعلَان
سَمَادَار	a kind of a bedstead	سَمَادَارِيَات	فَعَالِيَات
كَيْتَلِي	a kettle	كَيْتَلِيَات	فَيْعَلِيَات
مَقَمْشَة	a spoon	مَقَامِش	مَفَاعِل

To indicate the number of collective nouns the general method adopted consists in the addition of certain words according to the nature of the noun, either in government with it or without; thus human beings take the word—singular نَفَر, dual نَفَرَيْن, plural أَنْفَار, without any collective noun, *one man*, *two men*, and *ten men* will be respectively expressed by نَفَرْوَاحِد, نَفَرَيْن, عَشْرَة أَنْفَار. Lower animals take the word—singular رأس, dual رأسَيْن, plural رُؤُوس; thus *one horse*, *two horses*, and *three horses* would be رَاس خَيْل,

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ثَلَاثَة رُؤُوس خَيْل, رَاسَيْن خَيْل; in the case of plants the word used is singular فُوْرَة, dual فُوْرَتَيْن, plural فُوَر; thus *one jessamine plant, two jessamine plants*, and *three jessamine plants* would be فُوْرَة يَاسْمِين, فُوْرَتَيْن يَاسْمِين, and ثَلَاث فُوَر يَاسْمِين. Fruit of the smaller kind, such as *limes, figs*, etc., are indicated by the use of the word—singular حَبَّة, dual حَبَّتَيْن, plural حَبَّات; or singular شُوْب, dual شُوْبَيْن, plural شَوَاب or اَشْوَاب; whilst the larger kind, such as *mangoes, water-melons*, etc., by—singular شَجَر, dual شَجَرَيْن, plural اَشْجَار; thus حَبَّة لُوْمِي, حَبَّتَيْن لُوْمِي, and ثَلَاث حَبَّات لُوْمِي, and شُوْب تِين, شُوْبَيْن تِين, and ثَلَاث اَشْوَاب تِين would be *one, two*, and *three limes*, and *one, two*, and *three figs*; whilst شَجَر لَمْبَا, شَجَرَيْن لَمْبَا, and ثَلَاثَة اَشْجَار لَمْبَا would be *one, two*, and *three mangoes*.

The Diminutive, as in the standard Arabic, is formed by the insertion of a quiescent ي after the second radical, which takes a *fathah*, but the initial letter is invariably pointed with a *kasrah* instead of a *dammah*; thus كَلْب diminutive كِلَيْب, جَبَل diminutive جِبَيْل. In nouns of more than three letters, some words such as عَقْرَب, ضَارِب, يُوسُف, instead of taking a *kasrah* after the quiescent ي, take a *dammah* over the following letter, thus عِقَيْرُب, ضِوَيْرُب, يُوَيْسُف; whilst nouns with the termination اَن, instead of retaining it in the diminutive, are subject to the general rule of *kasrating* the letter after the quiescent ي, thus سَلْمَان and سَكْرَان become in the diminutive سِلَيْمِين and سِكَيْرِين; عَيْن instead of becoming عُيَيْنَة in the diminutive, becomes عِوَيْنَة, دَم and فَم become دِمَيْم and فِمَيْم in the diminutive, which seems to be the form adopted for all biliteral words generally; قَاضِ becomes قِوَيْضِي notwithstanding the standard rule of not restoring the dropped radical in the diminutive. The diminutive of compound words is formed according to the

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standard rules of grammar, excepting in the matter of the initial vowel, which in the diminutive is invariably a *kasrah*.

The separate personal pronouns are the same as in standard Arabic excepting in the following respects:

The first person plural نَحْنُ is more generally pronounced and written as نَحْنُو, حَنُو or نَحْنَا; the second person feminine singular generally takes a ي at its end instead of a simple *kasrah*, thus أَنْتِي or إِنْتِي and in the second person masculine plural, the final م is invariably elided, the *dammah* of ت being prolonged into a و, thus أَنْتُو or إِنْتُو, whilst the *dammah* of the ت in the second person feminine plural is converted into a *fathah* أَنْتَن, the final letter losing its *shaddeh*; and the *dammah* of the ه in the third person feminine plural is converted into a *kasrah* هِن, the *shaddeh* of the final letter being dropped. The two last-named pronouns, أَنْتَن and هِن, are sometimes not used by the vulgar, their places being taken by their respective masculine forms. The dual number is never employed, the plural being substituted for it.

SEPARATE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

	Singular.			Plural.		
	Masculine.	Common.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Common.	Feminine.
3rd P.	هُو		هِي	هُم		هِن
2nd P.	إِنْتَ or أَنْتَ		إِنْتِي or أَنْتِي	إِنْتُو or أَنْتُو		أَنْتَن
1st P.		أَنَا			نَحْنُو حَنُو نَحْنَا	

In the case of affixed pronouns the invariable substitution of ش for كِ the sign of the second person feminine singular, strikes as a remarkable peculiarity of this dialect, but is not restricted to it alone, for a similar substitution occurs in the dialects of Benoo 'Amr and Temeem (Lane, Art. ش). It

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may be an abbreviation of كِش or گش sometimes employed in place of the affixed pronoun كِ in the second person feminine as عَلَيْكِش (*above thee*) for عَلَيْكِ (Johnson's Arabic and English Dictionary); but it is certain that it is not a mere example of the substitution of letters. The duals of these pronominal signs as in the case of the pronouns themselves are expressed by their respective plurals, the feminine plurals of the second and third person are sometimes expressed by their respective masculine forms.

SIGNS OF AFFIXED PRONOUNS.

	Singular.			Plural.		
	Masculine.	Common.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Common.	Feminine.
3rd P.	هُ		ها	هُم		هِن
2nd P.	كَ		شَ	كُم		كَن
1st P.		ي			نَا	

These pronominal affixes are sometimes joined to the adverbs وَيْن or هَيْن (for أَيْن, *where*), بَعْد (*yet, not yet*), and عَلام (*why*, for على مو), and convey the sense of the pronominal agent; thus وَيْنَكْ (*where are you?*), هَيْنَهَا (*where is she?*), هَيْنَهُم (*where are they?*), etc., لَا بَعْدِنِي (*no, I have not yet*), بَعْدُهُ (*he has not yet*), etc.; in this sense بَعْد is sometimes employed in a plural form, thus in answer to a question جَاين (*have they come?*) one may hear لَا بَعْدَيْن (*no, they have not yet*), عَلَامِك (*why did you?*), عَلَامِش (*why did you*, fem.?), etc.

When nouns ending in ة take these pronominal affixes, the final radical is invariably quiescent if the affix is composed of only one letter; but if it consists of two letters, the final radical generally takes a *kasrah*, the ة instead becoming quiescent; thus حُرُمْتُه (*his woman or wife*), خُدُمْتَك (*your work*), مَعْرُفَتِي (*my knowledge*), حُرُمِتْنَا (*our woman*), خُدُمِتْهُم (*their work*), مَعْرُفِتْهَا (*her knowledge*).

The employment of separate personal pronouns in con-

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junction with the affixed ones is another peculiar feature of this dialect. This is done sometimes with the object of giving emphasis, but it is also very often met with in instances where no such emphasis is needed; thus يُوم أَنْت تَدْخِل بَيْت مَالِي أَنَا (*when you enter my house*), أَنْت ضَرَبْتَنِي (*you struck me*), حَالَك أَنْت (*for you, for your sake*), أَلْبَيْت بَيْتَك إِنْت (*the house is yours*).

The demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

Singular.			Plural.	
Masculine.		Feminine.	Common Gender.	
هَذَا	*this*	هَذِي	هَذَيْلَا	*these*
هَذَاك	*that*	هَذِيك	هَذَيْلَاك	*those*

The initial *ه* is sometimes altogether omitted, and as these pronouns are never declined, the case has to be understood by the context. In writing the standard forms masculine ذَلِك and feminine تِلْك (*that*) are sometimes used. In addition to these may be mentioned as demonstrative pronouns هَاوَّه (*this here*) and هَاكُوَّه (*that there*, or *lo there*), which are evidently abbreviations of هَذا هُو and هَذَاك هُو.

The relative pronoun in the colloquial is generally بُو, an abbreviation of أَبُو; it is never declined, and sometimes even the correlative pronoun to express the antecedent is omitted after it; الكِتَاب بُوأَنْت أَعْطَيْتَنِي (*the book you gave me*), الرَّجَاجِيل بُو ضَرَبُوك (*the men who struck you*), الحَرِيم بُوأَنْت نَهَمْتَهِن (*the woman you called*). The employment of this monosyllable to express the sense of relation may be easily accounted for by the sense of possession conveyed by the original word أَبُو, and is an analogous instance of a similar application of ذُو by "some of the Arabs, especially the tribe of Tayyi" (Wright's Grammar). In writing, however, the only relative pronoun used is masculine أَلَّذِي, feminine أَلَّتِي, which is rarely declined either for case or number, the plural, especially where the antecedent is a broken plural,

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being sometimes expressed by the feminine form, but, unlike the case of بُو, when this pronoun occurs in construction, the correlative pronoun referring to the antecedent is generally expressed; thus الِشجَار اَلَّذِي اَنْت سَقَيْتَه (*the trees you watered*).

Of the other relative pronouns مَن is invariably converted into مِن, and مَا into مُو, which forms they retain also as interrogatives; their use, however, as relatives is limited, both of them being generally substituted by بُو. Examples as relatives: خُلِّي يَدْخل بُو (مِن for) يَبْغَي (*let him enter whoever wants*), تَسْمَع بُو (مُو for) يَقُول لَكْ (*do you hear what he says to you?*), تَعْطِيني اَخَد (مُو for) بُو (*I shall take what you give me*). Examples as interrogatives: مِن جَاء عَلَى البَاب (*who came to the door?*), هَذَا البَيْت مَال مِن (*whose house is this?*), مُو إِسْمَكْ (*what is your name?*), مُو تَبْغَي (*what do you want?*).

اَيّ, sometimes converted into هَيْن, is also used both as a relative and an interrogative, but is never declined, and retains the same form for both genders; thus هَيْن كِتَاب تَبْغَي (*which book do you want?*), هَيْن رَجَّال جَاي (*which man has come?*), هَيْن مَكَان تَسِير اَجي وِيَاكْ (*whatever place you go to, I shall come with you*).

Owing to the general practice of eliding the initial ا, the article اَلْ often loses its prosthetic ا, the demonstrative letter ل being retained in its position; thus لَوَادِي (*the valley*), لَغْطَالِي (*the shaded*), لَمْبَأ (*the mangoe*). In some instances where the article conveys the sense of this or the present one, it is pronounced as هَل, thus in اَلاَيَّام (*now a days*), اَلسَّاعَة (*just now*), اَلْمَكَان (*this place*), the initial ا would take the sound of *s*.

In the employment of adjectives, both separately and in construction, the usual rules of grammar are observed, but in the colloquial the article of the qualified noun, when the sense

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is definite is generally omitted, whilst the article of the adjective is retained, thus حَوْض اَلْكَبِير (*the big tank*), رَجَّال العُوْد (*the big man*), whilst in some instances, even in writing, the usual rule of adjectives following nouns which they qualify, is transgressed, thus لَاتَقْطَع اَلْكَرِيم كِتَابَكْ (*do not cease sending your kind letter, or do not cease writing*), ودَايِم لَاتَقْطَعْنَّا كَرِيم كِتَابَكْ (in which تقطعنا evidently تَقْطَع عَنَّا, *never cease writing to us*). The comparative degree generally takes the particle عَنْ instead of مِن, thus أَحْسَن عَنْه (*better than he*).

With the following exceptions the numerals are the same as in standard Arabic. No distinction of gender is generally made, one form serving for both genders in most cases:

1.	وَاحِد	generally with the last letter د elided giving it the sound of وَاحِي
2.	ثِنِين	sometimes هِنْتَيْن
8.	ثَمَانِيَه	
11.	حِدعْشَر	
12.	ثَنَعْشَر	
13.	ثِلِتَّعْشَر	the second ث takes the sound ت and is doubled
14.	رِبَعْتَعْشَر	
18.	ثَمَنْتَعْشَر	

From 20 upwards all the tens take the form of the oblique case in ـين even in the subjective, thus خَمْسِين رَجَّال (*fifty men*).

100.	مِيَة
200.	مِيَتَيْن
300.	ثَلَث مِيَة
800.	ثَمَان مِيَة
8000.	ثَمَانِيَة اَلَاف
100000.	لَكّ (from H. لاكه) plural لُكُوك

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The indefinite multiplicate plural of لَكّ is لُكُوك on the model of أُلُوف, whilst that of مِيَة is مِيَات.

The mode of writing figures up to ten, excepting in the case of 5 and 6, is the same as in standard Arabic. Five is expressed by ٨ or 8, and six by 7. All figures above ten and up to ninety-nine take a dot expressive of ten between the figure of unit and the figure of ten, thus twenty-five is ٢٠٨; whilst hundreds, thousands, etc., are expressed in words; thus 125 = ٢٠٨مِيَة; 4326 = ٢٠7مِيَة٣الاف٤.

The ordinal numbers are first = حَادِي and the subsequent numbers up to tenth as in standard Arabic, but the sense of the following numbers is generally expressed by cardinal numbers, sometimes with the addition of words explanatory of its nature; thus *this is the fifteenth day of the month* would be expressed by اَلْيَوْم خَمَسْتَعْشَر مِن اَلشَّهَر, *I want the fifteenth* by أَنَا أَبْغَي بُو خَمَسْتَعْشَر.

Fractions above fourth, with the exception of eighth ثُمُن are generally expressed by the expression 'a part from so many parts,' سَهَم من, أَسْهَام; but when a regular form is used, it is of the measure of فَعِل, thus a fifth would be expressed by سَهَم مِن خَمْسَة أَسْهَام, or by خَمِس; but above "tenth" the fraction is invariably expressed by "a part from — parts," the word جُزْء of the standard being substituted by سَهَم.

Approximate numbers are expressed by the addition of بِقَدَر, قَدَر or نَحْو, thus '*give him about twenty*' would be أَعْطِيه بِقَدَر or قَدَر or نَحْو عَشْرِين. *Alternate* is expressed by تَرَك, thus وَاحِد تَرَك ثَانِي (*every other*), but *every alternate day* would be expressed by يُوْم وَرَا يُوْم. *At*, meaning *at the rate of*, is invariably expressed by عَلَى, thus أَنَا اِشْتَرَيْتهُم عَلَى أَرْبَعَة قُرُوش (*I bought them at the rate of four dollars each*).

In the Ománee dialect no part of speech presents such a number and variety of deviations from standard rules as the verb. The tendency so peculiar to the Arabic language of

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curtailing words and expressions, and of conveying sense in a compact manner, exists in an exaggerated form in this dialect, and although it is true that the accent undergoes a considerable modification owing to the transposition or change of some of the vowels and elision of others, still the sound to an accustomed ear is neither harsh nor unpleasant.

In the preterite tense of the active voice the second radical of the third person singular is pronounced generally either with a *fathah* or with a *dammah* irrespective of the transitive or intransitive nature of the verb; thus حَسَب (*he thought*), عَطَش (*he thirsted*), عَلَم (*he knew*), جَلَس (*he sat*) and رَكَب (*he mounted*); but the last verb sometimes, though rarely, takes a *kasrah* for its middle radical. In the third person feminine singular the second radical is invariably quiescent, whilst the third radical is invariably *kasrated*, thus جَلَسِت (*she sat*), رَكِبت (*she mounted*), ضَرَبِت (*she struck*); the final letter ت of the second person feminine singular generally takes a long *kasrated* vowel as تِي, thus ضَرَبْتِي (*thou* feminine *struckest*); whilst the final letter تُ of the first person singular is invariably unpointed, a distinction between it and the second person masculine singular, which is also sometimes unpointed, being shown by the separate pronoun expressive of the agent, which generally accompanies the verb. In the third person plural both in the masculine and the feminine, the second radical is invariably quiescent; whilst in the second person plural the final م of the masculine is invariably elided, the *dammah* of the preceding تُ being prolonged into وُ; and the pronominal affix of the feminine takes a form analogous to the two final letters of the corresponding separate pronoun أَنْتُن.

In the aorist of the active voice the middle radical may take any of the three vowels without affecting the sense of the verb, whilst the vowel of the pronominal prefix is generally determined by the vowel of the middle radical of the third

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person singular masculine; thus in the verb كَتَب the third person singular masculine in the aorist being يِكْتِب the pronominal prefixes ي, ت, and ن would all take a *kasrah*; this rule, however, does not hold good with regard to verbs having a medial ء, such as نَهَم (*he called*), in which the aorist is يِنْهَم instead of being يَنْهَم. In this tense the final ن of the third and second persons plural masculine is invariably apocopated, whilst the middle radical in both the genders is rendered quiescent, its vowel being transferred to the first radical. In the first person singular the pronominal prefix is not affected by the vowel of the middle radical, but invariably takes a *fathah*. In triliteral verbs with a medial ء the pronominal prefix, excepting in the first person singular, is invariably *kasrated*, although the vowel of the aorist may be a *fathah*.

As in the case of substantives the dual is generally expressed by the plural form, thus هَذَا اَلرِّجَالَيْن ضَرْبُونِي or هَذَا اَلْقِنِين ضَرْبُونِي (*these two* (*men*) *struck me*). The third and second person feminine plural forms, both in the preterite and aorist are sometimes, though rarely, ignored in use, their places being then taken by the corresponding masculine forms.

The future tense, when not sufficiently expressed by the aorist, is indicated by prefixing the letter ب or ح to the aorist, the vowel of the pronominal prefix being in that case converted into a *fathah* or rendered quiescent; thus بَيَكْتِب (*he will write*), بَنْشُوف (*we shall see*), حَيْجِي (*he will come*), also spelt as هَيْجِي.

The Imperative never takes the short prosthetic vowel *hamzet-ul-wasl* either in writing or colloquially, which peculiarity is common to most of the modern colloquial dialects of Arabic; in this dialect, however, the vowel of the *hamzet-ul-wasl* is retained, being transferred to the first radical; thus ضُرُب is the imperative of ضَرَب (*he struck*), the *dammah* of the prosthetic ا of the standard imperative اُضْرُب

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being transferred to the first radical. The vowel of the imperative is, however, not always determined by the vowel of the aorist as in standard Arabic, thus رَكَب (*he mounted*), aor. يَرْكَب has for its imperative رَكَب instead of رِكَب by the standard rule. In the third and first persons the imperative is generally expressed by the imperative of the verb خَلَّي with the pronominal affix added, thus خَلِّيني أَجِي (*let me come*), خَلِّيهُ يَجِي (*let him come*), but *come let us go* (that is to say together) would be expressed by خَلَانَسِير Of the verbs which in the standard Arabic altogether reject the prosthetic *hamzeh* in the imperative, أَخَذ (*he took*) forms its imperative as خُذ (sometimes expressed as masculine ذُوك, feminine ذُوش), أَكَل (*he ate*) as كِل, instead of كُل, whilst أَمَر (*he ordered*) retains the ا, and instead of becoming مُر is أُمُر in the imperative.

Both colloquially and in writing the passive voice (المَجْهُول) is rarely used, but in reciting verses from the *Koran*, or citing poetry, it is invariably and properly expressed.

The Omanees rarely or very seldom use any vowel points in writing, and colloquially there are such variations in the speech of different persons that it is very difficult to formulate any regular form of inflexion with precision; but an attempt is here made to give a general outline of the different kinds of inflexions most commonly in use. As the passive voice is not in use, only the active voice is given; the dual form also not being in use is not shown.

ضَرَب = *he struck.*

Preterite.

Plural.			Singular.			
Feminine.	Common.	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common.	Masculine.	
ضَرْبَن		ضَرْبُو	ضَرْبَت		ضَرَب	3rd P.
ضَرْبَتَن		ضَرْبَتُو	ضَرْبَتِي		ضَرْبَت	2nd P.
	ضَرْبَنَا			ضَرْبَت		1st P.

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Aorist.

Plural. Feminine.	Plural. Common.	Plural. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Singular. Common.	Singular. Masculine.	
يُضْرَبْن		يُضْرَبُو	تُضْرُب		يُضْرُب	3rd P.
تُضْرَبْن		تُضْرَبُو	تُضْرَبِي		تُضْرُب	2nd P.
	نُضْرُب			اَضرُب		1st P.

Imperative.

ضُرَبْن	ضُرَبُو	ضُرَبِي	ضُرُب	2nd P.

كَتَب = *he wrote.*

Preterite.

كَتَبَن	كَتَبُو	كَتَبِت	كَتَب	3rd P.
كَتَبْتَن	كَتَبْتُو	كَتَبْتِي	كَتَبْت	2nd P.
	كَتَبْنَا		كَتَبْت	1st P.

Aorist.

The vowels of the pronominal prefix and Aorist may either be *kasrahs* or *dammahs.*

يُكْتُبَن	يُكْتُبُو	تُكْتُب	يُكْتُب	3rd P.
تُكْتُبَن	تُكْتُبُو	تُكْتُبِي	تُكْتُب	2nd P.
	نُكْتُب		اَكْتُب	1st P.

Imperative.

Either with a *kasrah* or a *dammah.*

كُتُبَن	كُتُبُو	كُتُبِي	كُتُب	2nd P.
كِتِبَن	كِتِبُو	كِتِبِي	كِتِب	2nd P.

رِكُب = *he mounted.*

Preterite.

The middle radical instead of taking a *dammah* may take a *kasrah.*

رِكَبَن	رِكَبُو	رِكَبِت	رِكَب	3rd P.
رِكَبْتَن	رِكَبْتُو	رِكَبْتِي	رِكَبْت	2nd P.
	رِكَبْنَا		رِكَبْت	1st P.

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Aorist.

Feminine.	Common.	Masculine.	Feminine.	Common.	Masculine.	
يَرْكَبْن		يَرْكَبُو	تَرْكَب		يَرْكَب	3rd P.
تَرْكَبْن		تَرْكَبُو	تَرْكَبِي		تَرْكَب	2nd P.
	نَرْكَب			أَرْكَب		1st P.

Imperative.

رَكَبْن	رَكَبُو	رَكَبِي	رَكَب	2nd P.

جَلَس = *he sat.*

Preterite.

جَلَسَن	جَلَسُو	جَلَسِت	جَلَس	3rd P.
جَلَسْتَن	جَلَسْتُو	جَلَسْتِي	جَلَسْت	2nd P.
	جَلَسْنَا		جَلَسْت	1st P.

Aorist.

يِجْلِسَن	يِجْلِسُو	يِجْلِس	يِجْلِس	3rd P.
تِجْلِسَن	تِجْلِسُو	تِجْلِسِي	تِجْلِس	2nd P.
	نِجْلِس		أَجْلِس	1st P.

Imperative.

جِلْسَن	جِلْسُو	جِلْسِي	جِلِس	2nd P.

نَهَم = *he called.*

Preterite.

All triliteral verbs with medial *s* are inflected in this manner:—

نَهْمَن	نَهْمُو	نَهْمِت	نَهَم	3rd P.
نَهْمْتَن	نَهْمْتُو	نَهْمْتِي	نَهَمْت	2nd P.
	نَهَمْنَا		نَهَمْت	1st P.

Aorist.

يِنْهَمَن	يِنْهَمُو	يِنْهَم	يِنْهَم	3rd P.
تِنْهَمَن	تِنْهَمُو	تِنْهَمِي	تِنْهَم	2nd P.
	نِنْهَم		أَنْهَم	1st P.

Imperative.

نَهْمَن	نَهْمُو	نَهْمِي	نَهَم	2nd P.

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The past participle which in this dialect generally takes the place of the passive voice, forms its plural like the regular plural nouns by the addition of ـين for all cases; thus مَضْرُوب has for its plural مَضْرُوبِين both in the subjective and oblique cases.

In the noun of place formed in م of the measure مَفْعَلَة, the first radical, instead of being quiescent as in standard Arabic, carries a *fathah*, and the second radical instead becomes quiescent; thus مَضْبَغَة (*a tannery, a place for tanning skins*), مَقْبَرَة (*a graveyard*), would be pronounced as مَضَبْغَة, مَقَبْرَة, etc.

The verbal noun of quality is generally formed of the measure فَعْلَان, notwithstanding the presence of forms of other measures in the standard; thus it is that we find words of this measure so commonly in use, for example, خَيْفَان for خَاف or خَايِف (*afraid*), فِزْعَان for فَزِع or فَازِع (*afraid*), ضَعْفَان for ضَعِيف (*weak*), خَرْفَان for خَرِف (*unsound in intellect*), خَرْسَان (*rotten*), زَعْلَان (*angry*), طَمْعَان (*greedy*), سَمْعَان (*has heard*), etc.

Some verbs which in ordinary Arabic would be expressed as intransitive are expressed as transitive in this dialect, thus قَبَض عَلَيهِ (*he seized him*) would be قَبَضُه, جَآءِلي (*he came to me*) would be جَانِي, سِرْتُ الِي البَيْت (*I went to the house*) would be سِرْت البَيْت, مَرَرْتُ بِه (*I passed him*), and مَرَرْتُ بِبَيْتِه (*I passed his house*) would be مَرَّتِيه and مَرَّيت بَيْتُه, مَايَحْتَاج إِليهِ (*he does not want it*) would be مَايَحْتَاجُه, etc.

The second conjugation فَعَّل is generally employed to render both transitive and intransitive verbs causal, and sometimes to render intransitive verbs transitive instead of the fourth conjugation أَفْعَل, as in other dialects; thus جَلَّسنِي (*he caused me to sit*), نَزَّلنِي (*he caused me to descend*), خَبَّرنِي (*he informed me*). The third conjugation فَاعَل is also commonly used for rendering intransitive verbs transitive without con-

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veying any direct sense of reciprocity, thus فُلَان يخَاصَمْنِي (*so and so is at enmity with me*), هُو رَابَعْنِي (*he accompanied me*), رَاجَعْنَاهُ الأمر (*we referred the matter to him*), حَارَجْه (*he talked with him with a view to gain him over*), لَا تَخَالف أمرِي (*do not disobey my order*). A great diversity exists in the use of the 7th إِنْفَعَل and 8th إِفْتَعَل conjugations, which, although nearly allied to each other in sense, are by common usage only distinguished by their applicability to certain roots; thus whilst كَسَر (*he broke*) takes the 7th conjugation, the root رَكِب (*he mounted*) takes the form of the 8th conjugation. The Omanee dialect occasionally disregards this rule of common usage, and adopts the one or the other form according to local usage, thus although يَنْكِسِر, يَرْتِفِع, يَرْتِكِب, يَشْتَاف are the forms in common use, one often meets with يَكْتِسِر, يَنْرِفِع, يَنْرِكِب, يَنْشَاف, etc., both conveying the same sense, namely the passive condition resulting from the action of the primary verb. There is, however, a great tendency to the use of the 8th conjugation in preference, which is not only used in this sense, but is also sometimes made use of to express the sense of the simple primary verb. Another remarkable peculiarity, especially in the colloquial, is the elision of the initial ا in the preterite of both these conjugations, the vowel *kasrah* belonging to it being transferred to the first following letter, and the *sukún* of that letter removed to the next following one, thus إِنْكَسَر, إِرْتَفَع, etc., would be in the Omanee dialect نِكْسَر, رِتْفَع, etc. The 10th conjugation إِسْتَفْعَل is not only used to express actions of *asking*, *considering*, *desiring*, and the like as in standard Arabic, but is also sometimes used to convey the sense of the primary verb or that of the 1st conjugation, thus هُو يَسْتَحِبِّنِي (*he likes me*), أَنَا أَسْتَحِبّ الْمَكَان (*I like this place*), which expressions do not necessarily convey any sense of preference. The 5th conjugation is in common use, but the 9th is rarely used either colloquially or in writing, the action derived from the noun of *colour* or *quality*

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being generally expressed by the addition of إِسْتَوَى or سِتَوَى (*it became*) to the noun; thus instead of expressing إِحْمَرَّ (*it became red*), the Ománees would express it as إِسْتَوَى أَحْمَر.

The conditional subjunctive is generally expressed by the conditional particle إِن گان of which colloquially إِن is often altogether dropped and كان never inflected; thus گان تَحْرِسْنِي أَنَا أَجِيك (*if you wait for me I shall come to you*), أَنَا أَسَوِّيهُ گان تَعْطِينِي غَوَازِي (*I shall do it if you give me money*), گان تَرُوم تَجِي تَعَال (*come if you can*). Conditional sentences conveying the sense of the past are generally introduced by the particle لَوْ followed by كان in the complement, which, as is the case with إِن گان, is never inflected, whilst the complementary particle لَ of the standard is never used; كان also is sometimes used in this sense instead of لَوْ, thus لَوْ أَعْطَانِي گان أَعْطَيْتُك (*if he had given me I should or would have given you*), لَوْ مَاخَرَجْت گان قَتْلُوك or گان مَاخَرَجْت قَتْلُوك (*if you had not gone out they would have killed you*).

In this dialect the double verbs undergo a remarkable change in the preterite of the 1st and 2nd persons; the third radical is kept united with the second, and a vowel sound is inserted before the pronominal suffix in the shape of the diphthong ي. The *aorist* is regular in its inflexion, and follows the general rules observed in the case of other verbs, but retains the 2nd and 3rd radicals united in all the numbers and genders.

رَدّ = *he returned*

(used in the transitive and intransitive senses).

Preterite.

Plural. Feminine.	Plural. Common.	Plural. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Singular. Common.	Singular. Masculine.	
رَدُّن		رَدُّو	رَدَّت		رَدّ	3rd P.
رَدَّيْتَن		رَدَّيْتُو	رَدَّيْتِي		رَدَّيْت	2nd P.
	رَدَّيْنَا			رَدَّيْت		1st P.

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Aorist.

The pronominal prefix may take either a *kasrah* or a *fathah*.

يَرِدّن	يَرِدّو	تَرِدّ	يَرِدّ	3rd P.
تَرِدّن	تَرِدّو	تَرِدِّي	تَرِدّ	2nd P.
نَرِدّ		أَرِدّ		1st P.

Imperative.

رِدّن	رِدّو	رِدِّي	رِدّ	2nd P.

Such verbs have generally either a *dammah* or *kasrah* as the vowels of the aorist and imperative and only rarely a *fathah*, as may be seen from the following table. The vowel of the imperative is invariably the same as that of the aorist. The following are only some of the verbs with the final letter doubled in common use, and are given here to illustrate the above remarks:

Imperat.	Aorist.	Preterite.		Imperat.	Aorist.	Preterite.	
قِلّ	يَقِلّ	to become little	قَلّ	تُمّ	يَتُمّ	to complete	تُمّ
كُرّ	يَكُرّ	to repeat	كَرّ	تَمّ	يَتَمّ	to remain	تَمّ
كُفّ	يكُفّ	to stop	كَفّ	جُرّ	يَجُرّ	to draw	جُرّ
مُرّ	يَمُرّ	to pass by	مَرّ	دِسّ	يَدِسّ	to hide	دَسّ
مِسّ	يَمِسّ	to touch	مَسّ	دِلّ	يَدِلّ	to show	دَلّ
مُصّ	يَمُصّ	to suck	مَصّ	شُبّ	يَشُبّ	to fan	شَبّ
مِلّ	يمِلّ	to be tired	مَلّ	ضُمّ	يَضُمّ	to hide	ضَمّ
				ظِلّ	يَظِلّ	to shade	ظَلّ
				عُضّ	يَعُضّ	to bite	عَضّ
				فُرّ	يَفُرّ	to flee	فَرّ
				فَلّ	يَفَلّ	to go away	فَلّ
				قَرّ	يَقَرّ	to affirm	قَرّ

In the case of weak verbs with a *hamzeh* the general rules of grammar are observed, but verbs which are more especially

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called *weak verbs* with the initial و do not reject that letter either in the aorist or the imperative, thus وَصَلَ (*he arrived*), وَعَدَ (*he promised*), وَقَعَ (*he fell*), وَرَثَ (*he inherited*), have for their aorists يُوصَلُ, يُوعَدُ, يُوقَعُ, يُورِثُ, the vowel of the pronominal prefix being assimilated to the first radical; and for their imperatives وَصَلْ, وَعَدْ, وَقَعْ, وَرِثْ. In verbs with initial ي there is no noticeable difference between the Ománee and the standard manner of inflexion, and in those with a medial ا, و, or ي, the only difference is that some of the feminine plurals take a long form in this dialect instead of a short one in the preterite, aorist, and imperative; and in those with a medial ا the imperative of the masculine singular also takes a long form; thus:

FEMININE PLURALS.

Imperative.		*Aorist.*		*Preterite.*		
STANDARD.	OMANEE.	STANDARD.	OMANEE.	STANDARD.	OMANEE.	
		يَقُلْنَ	يَقُولَن	قُلْنَ	قَالَن	3rd
قُلْنَ	قُولَن	تَقُلْنَ	تَقُولَن	قُلْتُنَّ	قُلْتَن	2nd
		يَبِعْنَ	يَبِيعَن	بِعْنَ	بَاعَن	3rd
بِعْنَ	بِيعَن	تَبِعْنَ	تَبِيعَن	بِعْتُنَّ	بِعْتَن	2nd
		يَخَفْنَ	يَخَافَن	خَفْنَ	خَافَن	3rd
خَفْنَ	خَافَن	تَخَفْنَ	تَخَافَن	خِفْتُنَّ	خِفْتَن	2nd

The masculine singular in the imperative of خَافَ is خَافْ instead of خَفْ. Verbs with a final و are unknown, the place of that letter being taken by ي. The following tables will give an idea of the inflexion of verbs ending in ي, and also of the doubly weak verb رَاوَى (*he showed*) which is adopted in this dialect as the causal form of رَأَى (*he saw*) instead of the more usual measure of the 4th conjugation أَرَى:

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بَغَى = *he wanted.*

Preterite.

Plural. Feminine.	Plural. Common.	Plural. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Singular. Common.	Singular. Masculine.	
بَغَيْن		بَغَيُو	بَغِت or بَغَت		بَغَى	3rd P.
بَغَيْتَن		بَغَيْتُو	بَغَيْتِي		بَغَيْت	2nd P.
	بَغَيْنَا			بَغَيْت		1st P.

Aorist.

يَبْغَيْن		يَبْغَيُو	تَبْغَى or تَبْغِي		يَبْغَى or يَبْغِي	3rd P.
تَبْغَيْن		تَبْغَيُو	تَبْغِيِي		تَبْغَى or تَبْغِي	2nd P.
	نَبْغَى			أَبْغَى		1st P.

Imperative—none from this root.

جَاء = *he came.*

Preterite.

جِيَن or جَيَن	جِيُو or جَيُو		جَات		جَاء	3rd P.
جِيتَن		جِيتُو	جِيتي		جِيت	2nd P.
	جِينَا			جِيت		1st P.

Aorist.

يِجْيَن		يِجْيُو	تِجِي		يِجِي	3rd P.
تِجْيَن		تِجْيُو	تِجِيي		تِجِي	2nd P.
	نِجِي			أَجِي		1st P.

Imperative—none from this root.

رَاوَى = *he showed.*

Preterite.

رَاوَيْن		رَاوِيُو	رَاوِت		رَاوَى	3rd P.
رَاوَيْتَن		رَاوَيْتُو	رَاوَيْتِي		رَاوَيْت	2nd P.
	رَاوَيْنَا			رَاوَيْت		1st P.

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Aorist.

يَرَاوِين	يَرَاوِيُو	تَرَاوِي	يَرَاوِي	3rd P.
تَرَاوِين	تَرَاوِيُو	تَرَاوِيِي	تَرَاوِي	2nd P.
نَرَاوِي			أَرَاوِي	1st P.

Imperative.

رَاوِين	رَاوِيُو	رَاوِيِي	رَاوِي	2nd P.

Such verbs, instead of being inflected as بَغْيُو, جيُو, and رَاوِيُو in the preterite of the third person masculine plural, take sometimes the forms بَغُو, جاُو, and رأُو; so also in the aorist of 2nd and 3rd person plural masculine instead of taking the form given above they sometimes take the form يَبْغُو, يَجُو, and يَرَاوُ. In verbs with final و and ي the passive participle always takes an additional ا after the second radical, whilst a quiescent ي becomes the final letter; thus مَبْنَايْ (*built*), مَسْقَايْ (*watered*), مَعْطَايْ (*given*), مَرْمَايْ (*thrown*), مَغْزَايْ (*raided*). The passive participle of رَاوَى is مَرَاوَايْ (*shown*).

The English perfect with the auxiliary verb *to have*, which would be expressed in standard Arabic by the addition of قَدْ, denoting the nearness of the past to the present, is represented in this dialect by the *nomina agentis* of the measure فَاعِل, which, properly speaking, is only a verbal adjective, and as such is declinable; thus وَاصِل (*he has arrived*), وَاصِلِين (*they have arrived*), وَاصِلَة (*she has arrived*), وَاصِلَات (*they* fem. *have arrived*). Similarly جَاْي (*he has come or is in the act of coming*), رَاسِل (*he has sent*), رَاكِب (*he has mounted*), طَالِع (*he has gone out*). This form does away with the necessity of expressing the pluperfect with كَان. The energetic نّ is sometimes added on to the perfect without conveying any sense of emphasis, thus مِن رَاسِلْنَه (*who has sent him or it?*), هُوجَايِبْنَه (*he has brought it*). It may be here noted that in this dialect

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جاب (*he brought*, originally جأ ب) is used and inflected as a regular transitive verb.

جاب = *he brought.*

Preterite.

	Plural. Feminine.	Plural. Common.	Plural. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Singular. Common.	Singular. Masculine.	
	جابَن		جابُو	جابت		جاب	3rd P.
	جِبْتَن	or	جُبْتُو	جُبْتِي	or	جُبْت or	2nd P.
	جُبْتَن		جِبْتُو	جِبْتِي		جِبْت	
	جِبْنَا or جُبْنَا			جِبْت or جُبْت			3rd P.

Aorist.

يَجِيبَن		يَجِيبُو	يَجِيب		يَجِيب	3rd P.
تَجِيبَن		تَجِيبُو	تَجِيبِي		تَجِيب	2nd P.
	نَجِيب			أَجِيب		1st P.

Imperative.

جِيبَن	جِيبُو	جِيبِي	جِيب	2nd P.

Passive Participle.

مَجْيُوب

In all precative and anti-precative expressions the aorist of the verb is employed, and the subject precedes the predicate against the rule observed in standard Arabic, in which the predicate precedes the subject and the preterite is invariably employed; this is constantly observed in the colloquial and sometimes even in writing; thus سَلَّمَكْ اللّه, بَارَكْ اللّه فِيكْ, بَقَاكْ اللّه, لَعَنَكْ اللّه, etc., would in this dialect be اللّه يَسَلّمَكْ, اللّه يُبَارِكْ فِيكْ, اللّه يَبَقِّيكْ, اللّه يَلَعْنَكْ (sometimes pronounced as اللّه يَنَعْلَكْ).

It may be here mentioned that the Ománees are in the habit

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of expressing the last letter of a word sharp, unless it takes a distinct long vowel sound, which will explain the reason of almost all the verbs in the above tables being unpointed in their last letters. In writing, the final ا of the third and second persons masculine plurals is also generally elided, which form is retained here to show the dialectical peculiarity.

Another peculiarity of this dialect is the universal adoption of the verb سَوَّى (*to do, to make*, originally *to make level* or *straight*) and its 8th conjugation إِسْتَوَى (*to become*, originally *to become level* or *straight*) for expressing actions of all kinds, the meaning of the particular action being conveyed either by the context or the noun denoting the object which follows it, or by the existing circumstances. It primarily carries with it the sense of *making* or *doing*, and in government with substantives does away with the necessity of expressing an action by its proper verb. Thus there is no action which cannot be expressed by its application, provided the speaker and person spoken to have the same object in view. It and its derived form closely correspond to the English verb *to do* and *to become*, owing to the numberless shades of meaning they are employed to convey, thus سَوِّي السِّرَاج might mean one of several actions according to existing circumstances, that is to say, if the *lamp* is ready and it is time to light it, it would necessarily mean *light the lamp*; but if it is not time to light it, and if it is not ready, it would simply mean *prepare the lamp*; thus also if a dish of food be placed before a person the order سَوِّي would necessarily mean *eat*, whilst سَوِّي اَلْعَيْش would mean *cook the rice*. The 8th conjugation إِسْتَوَى, beside being the reflective voice of the primary verb in all its shades of meaning, sometimes conveys a sense of possibility in the third person singular of the aorist; thus يَسْتَوِي used alone may mean *it is possible*, and corresponds in sense to يَمْكِن and يَحْتَمِل. The primary verb is infected in some respects like all weak verbs with final ي.

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سَوَّى = *he made.*

Preterite.

Plural. Feminine.	Plural. Common.	Plural. Masculine.	Singular. Feminine.	Singular. Common.	Singular. Masculine.	
سَوَيْن		سَوَيُو	سَوَّت		سَوَّى	3rd P.
سَوَّيْتَن		سَوَّيْتُو	سَوَّيْتِي		سَوَّيْت	2nd P.
	سَوَّيْنَا			سَوَّيْت		1st P.

Aorist.

يَسَوْيَن		يَسَوْيُو	تَسَوِّي		يَسَوِي	3rd P.
تَسَوْيَن		تَسَوْيُو	تَسَوْيِي		تَسَوِّي	2nd P.
	نَسَوِّي			أَسَوِّي		1st P.

Imperative.

سَوْيَن	سَوْيُو	سَوْيِي		سَوِّي	2nd P.

Passive Participle.

مَسَوَّاي

It will be seen in the above table that wherever the و or the second radical becomes quiescent it also loses its *tashdeed.*

The following deviations in the uses and forms of the particle may be noticed here as peculiar to this dialect. As has been already noticed before, the preposition بِ, when attached to a pronominal affix, a substantive or a separate pronoun in the sense of *with* or *together with*, invariably becomes بِيَا, which, owing to an interchange of sounds between ب and و is very often heard pronounced as وِيَا; thus بِيَاي, وِيَانَا, بِيَاك, بِيَامُحمد, وِيَامِن بِيَامُو, etc. The particle لِ, when used as a sign of the dative, also takes sometimes the prolonged form لِي, thus لِي زَنْجَبَار. The use of this particle is generally restricted to express the dative, whilst the sense of *for, on account of*, is conveyed by the words حال and لَأَجَل, thus الكِتَاب مَجْيُوب حَالَه (*this book is brought for him*); while

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حَال expresses an indefinite sense of possession like مَال, and is often used to express the genitive, لَأجَل expresses a purpose, thus لَأجل هَذَا أنَا جِيت (*for this purpose I came*). مِن أجل and بِأجل are also forms in use to express a reason, and are occasionally corrupted into مِن لَأجل and بِلَأجل.

The preposition إلي sometimes takes the prolonged form إيلَى in writing, whilst حَتَّى is invariably shortened into حَتَّا, no difference, however, however, being made in the pronunciation. عَن generally takes the place of مِن to express *than* as a sign of the comparative degree, and لَدَن or لَدَيْ are only rarely used. *Before* (a place) is generally expressed by قَدَّام or عَدَّال, *behind* by وَرَا, *after* by بَعْد or عَقُب, thus عَقُبُه (*after him*), *round about* by دَايرمَدَار, and sometimes by حَوَالَيْ, thus دَايِرْمَدار المَكَان (*round about the place*), حَوَالَيْه (*round about it*); whilst مع, in addition to the generally known sense of *with*, is used sometimes to express *to*, thus أنَا سِرْت مَعْهُ أَلْيُوم (*I went to him to-day*). *Like* is expressed by شَرْوَى and not unfrequently by مِثْل and كَمَا.

The adverbial interrogatory particle أ is never used, a question being generally understood to be so by context, or intonation of the speaker. سَ, the abbreviation of سَوْف, is never used as a sign of *futurity*, but is substituted by ب, ح or ز, as has been mentioned before. The letter م is generally used as the particle of imitative sequent, thus شجر مَجَر, حُوْل مُوْل, خَرِيط مَرِيط.

Where is expressed by هَيْن or وَيْن, and *whence*, *whither*, and *wherever* by its combination with مِن, إلي and مَا, thus مِن هَيْن or مِن وَيْن (*whence*), وَيْن or إلي هَيْن (*whither*) and هَيْنَمَا or وَيْنَمَا (*wherever*); *wherever* is also sometimes expressed by the simple adverbs هَيْن and حَيْث, whilst *whither* by هَيْن or وَيْن simply. As has been observed before هَيْن or وَيْن,

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when conveying the sense of *where*, may take a pronominal affix after it to express the pronominal agent instead of a separate pronoun, thus وَيْنَكْ (*where are you?*) instead of وَيْن أَنْت.

هِنَا and هِنَاكْ are invariably used for هُنَا and هُنَاكْ to enpress *here* and *there*, whilst *hence* and *thence* in the sense of place are generally expressed by مِنَّا and مِنَّاكْ instead of مِن هُنَا and مِن هُنَاكْ.

When as an interrogative adverb is expressed by مِتَى, sometimes written as مِتَا, which stands for the مَتَى of the standard Arabic; but as a conditional adverb by يُوْم colloquially, and in writing by لَمَّا, حَيْن or إِذَا, thus يُوْم أَنَا أَجِي (*when I come*), يُوْم يَحْصَل لِي (*when I get it*). *Now* (more immediate) is expressed by تَوّ for تَوّاً, *distant* by الحَيْن, *hereafter* by فِي اَلْغَادِي, *while* (in the sense of time) is expressed by مَادَام sometimes pronounced as مِن دَام, *always* by دُوْم دُوْم or دَايم, and *never* or *not at all* by اَلْبَرّ, thus مَارَيْتُه البَرّ (*I have never or not at all seen him*), اَلْبَرّمَا أَجِيكْ (*I shall never or not at all come to you*). *Yet* or *still* is expressed by بَعْد, which in this sense, as has been observed before, takes the pronominal affixes after it to indicate the pronominal agent, and is also sometimes declined for number, but this occurs only in sea-coast towns, and is, properly speaking, not a feature of the dialect.

Why is generally expressed by حَمُوْه, in which مُو stands for مَا, and which is therefore an abbreviation of حَال مَا (*for what*); the word لَيْش is, however, the one generally used in writing, whilst عَلَى مُو for عَلَى مَا sometimes takes the place of حَمُوْه colloquially, and, like بَعْد, takes the pronominal affixes after it, in which case the long vowel و is altogether dropped, thus عَلَامِكْ, عَلَامِش, etc.

The *tanween* of the accusative adverbial case is generally

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omitted, excepting in the case of أَبَدًا (*for ever* or with a negative particle *never*), thus بَغْتَة (*suddenly*) is used for بَغْتَةً, رَبَع (*together*) as in هُم جَايِن رَبَاعَة (*they have come together*) stands for رَبَاعًا, وَاحِد وَاحِد (*gently* or *slowly*) stands for وَاحِدًا وَاحِدًا. In like manner كَثِيرًا and قَلِيلًا when used as adverbs drop the *tanween* altogether, but sometimes adverbs of this class are expressed as nouns governed by a preposition, thus نَهَارًا and لَيْلًا (*by day* and *by night*) would be expressed as فِي ٱلنَّهَار and فِي ٱللَّيْل, whilst نَهَارِيَّة and لَيْلِيَّة are forms used to express *throughout the whole day* and *throughout the whole night*.

The expression لَابِد without the following مِن is sometimes used to express *perhaps*, thus لَابِد يَجِيكُم بَاكر (*he may perhaps come to you to-morrow*); in such cases the context only indicates the sense. *Yes* in writing is generally expressed by نَعَم whilst colloquially by هِي or كِي كِي; the negative particles are مَا and لَا, and sometimes لَم, which, as in the standard, is used with the aorist to convey occasionally the sense of the past tense.

Note.

It is to be distinctly understood that the dialect of which this paper treats is that of the Ahal-ul Hadar of O'man, and not that of the Beduins. In the case of O'mánee words and expressions, to enable the reader to recognize the dialectical peculiarities, the phonetic in preference to the grammatical orthography, has been adopted throughout the paper.

(*To be continued.*)

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CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Kalasa, or Water-Pot, in connection with Burial Rites.

Sir,—O'Donovan, about the time of his risky visit to Merve, describes, in one of his letters, the Turkoman tombs about Tchikislar, on the south-east of the Caspian: "The soldier's tomb consists of a pole of some twenty feet in length planted vertically in the sand, its base surrounded by a circle of small stones, within which are accumulated a selection of water-jars and earthen tea-pots, tributes to the memory of the deceased." This short quotation bears on what has formerly appeared in the *Journal* in relation to the vase or water-pot, and burial rites. Central Asia is near enough to India for a possible connection of customs between the two regions. It may also be of interest to know that this primitive use of the water-pot, as a sepulchral symbol, is not confined to the old world. In a work called *The Myths of the New World*, by Dan. G. Brinton, there is an account of a vision related by Coacooche, a Seminole chieftain, in which he says he visited "the happy hunting grounds and saw my sister, long since gone. She offered me a cup of pure water, which she said came from the spring of the Great Spirit, and if I should drink of it, I should return and live with men for ever. Some such mystical respect for the element, rather than as a mere outfit for his spirit home, probably induced the earlier tribes of the same territory to place the conch-shell, which the deceased had used for a cup, conspicuously on his grave, and the Mexicans and Peruvians to inter a vase filled with water with the corpse, or to sprinkle it with liquid, baptizing it, as

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it were, into its new associations. It was an emblem of hope that should cheer the dwellings of the dead, a symbol of the resurrection which is in store for those who go down to the grave. The vase or the gourd as a symbol of water, the source and preserver of life, is a conspicuous figure in the myths of Ancient America. As Akbal or Huecomitl, the great or original vase, in Aztec and Maya legends, it plays important parts in the drama of creation," pp. 135–6.

I offer these references, which may be worth adding to the collection of data on this subject.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. THE KALASA, OR WATER-POT, IN INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

Collector's Camp, Panwell,
Kolaba Districts,
April 21st, 1889.

. . . . . I have been looking over the plates in Fergusson's Indian Architecture, to see what could be made out of them about the Āmalaka ornament on temple spires.

There is a pretty good sequence in respect of *pillars.*

In the early caves an inverted bell-shaped water-pot is a common capital (Fergusson's "Persepolitan" capital), and one of very similar shape is still used in the cave region to cap the "Kambs" (Stambha) erected near many villages for festival purposes—"Maypoles" one might call them.

Where anything has to be superimposed on a round bottomed inverted pot, the annular pad is as necessary between them as it is under the pot when right side up.

Accordingly at Bedsé, Karlé, etc., you find this capital connected with the abacus by such a pad, and the whole construction strengthened and secured by a square frame of very modern design.

This capital dies out as we get to the later caves, and is replaced by a pot right side up. Under this there is always a circular member, which appears to me to be the same pad

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in its right place. The artists, however, have usually turned it into a garland of Champaka flowers, slightly conventionalized.

So in modern Hindu festivals I have seen the pad supporting a water-chatty (itself often made of rags, and far from ornamental), surrounded and concealed by a garland of real flowers, which appears to support the pot.

As we get on in the caves, and into the early structural temples, the pad has in some cases a tendency to disappear; and at last we have, on one side, vases capable of supporting themselves; as in the Lankeswara at Ellora, and illustration 180 of *I. and E. Architecture.* On the other side, however, the pad supersedes the pot, and becomes the "cushion" capital of Elephanta and its generation of caves.

I think we have here a clear case of the influence of this annular pad upon pillar designs, including pots. And as in the temple spires we have undoubtedly the pot (which goes to this day by that very name "kalas"), the argument from analogy is very strong that the thing next under the pot was originally in the spires (as it clearly was in the pillars) the same thing that is next to the pot on every Hindu woman's head and in every Hindu hut of the India of to-day.

Another thing about the spires is at page 116 of the *Cave Temples* (note), where Mr. Fergusson makes some suggestions about Draupadi's Rath at Mahavallipur as possibly representing the germ of the North-Indian spire.

Now, the roof of Draupadi's Rath shows a curve (or set of curves) which can only be taken from bamboo construction; as the Hindus of the eighth century certainly had no curved iron roofs, bamboos were the only other possible material.

Looking at the woodcut we see a bamboo form ready to develope either into the exaggerated curves of the modern Bengali temple roof, or into the aspiring sweep of the northern Vimāna. I may add that in my opinion it is no mere accident or caprice that has given the monolithic temples of Mahavallipur the name of "Raths," or chariots.

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The people who first gave that name to these small standing fixed temples were probably, as their descendants are to-day, accustomed to seeing the gods' "Raths" or "Catafalques" constructed in the shape of small temples.

I think that in a former letter I quoted the little fixed stone Rath with moveable stone wheels at Vijayanagar (*I. and E. Architecture*, p. 375).

And where you have any covered carriage in natural India you are not very far from the bamboo.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

P.S.—I have latterly been doing a little in flint tools, rare things here, and not known as existing before my time, though found elsewhere, especially about Sakkar and Rori on the Indus.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April–June, 1889.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15th April, 1889.—Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

The election by the Council of the following new members was announced to the Society: Brynmîr Jones, Esq., County Court Judge of Gloucester; The Divan Daulat Ram; H. Thomson Lyon, Esq.; Mr. Justice Pinhey (Retired Bombay Service); The Baron George de Reuter.

Mr. Granville Browne, Reader in Persian at the University of Cambridge, read the first part of his paper on the Bābīs, that part which appears in this issue of the Society's *Journal*.

In the discussion which followed Sir Murdock Smith, Mr. Kay, Ghool Meer Khan, Baron George de Reuter, General Schindler, Mr. Pusey, and Mr. Hyde Clarke, took part.

20th May, 1889.—Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

The election by the Council of the following new members was announced to the Society: Alexander Francis Baillie, Esq.; P. V. Chari, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn.

The President said: Before calling upon our Secretary to read the report of the Council on the working of the Society during the past year, I have only a very few words to say. The Society has this year to deplore the loss by death of

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more than the usual number of its members. Captain Eastwick and Colonel Nassau Lees had rendered important service, in their special departments, to the work of the Society, and the Paṇḍit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī, one of the most distinguished of our Honorary Members, was a remarkable instance of the success with which the most intelligent natives of India have been able to add to their native scholarship the knowledge also of the European canons of historical criticism. A full account of the labours of these scholars will be found in the Obituary Notices published in our Journal. On the financial position of our Society the Report will speak for itself. I have to congratulate the Society on the results there shown, and would only add that the improvement is largely due to the zeal and ability of our Secretary. We can also say that the number of papers sent in for publication in the Journal—always a safe test of the vitality of the Society—is increasing in a very satisfactory degree.

The Secretary then read the

Report.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that since the last Report the Society has lost by death or retirement nine Resident and seven non-Resident Members, and has admitted as new Members ten Resident and eleven non-Resident Members, showing a gain of three Members for the year.

The Society has to regret the loss by death during the last year of the following Members: General Baillie, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, James M. Campbell, Captain Eastwick, Tyrrell Leith, Colonel Nassau Lees, Dr. Loewe, General Malcolm, W. G. Palgrave.

The following is the list of the new Members referred to above: Resident—Petrus Aganoor, Esq., Alexander Francis Baillie, P. Narismha Chari, Dewan Dowlat Ram, Brynmîr Jones, H. Thomson Lyon, Baron George de Reuter, Mr. Justice Pinhey.. Non-Resident—Edward Granville Browne

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(Persian Lecturer at Cambridge), L. C. Casartelli, Lionel Charles Hopkins, Enrió Inouyé (of Japan), D. Lulloobhoy, the Zemindar of Sangamvalsu.

Besides the above, the following institutions and libraries have become subscribers to the Journal, under the new rule No. 59, passed by the Society at its last Anniversary Meeting: The Bibliotheca Nazionale Central, Firenze, the East Indian United Service Club, the Indian Institute, Oxford, the London Institution, the London Library, Messrs. Parker, Messrs. B. F. Stevens, Messrs. Trübner (35 copies), the National Liberal Club, the United Service Club.

The statement of membership at the present date is therefore as follows:

Members who have compounded—		
Residents	42	
Non-Residents	53	95
Members who have not compounded—		
Residents	126	
Non-Residents	172	298
Subscribers to the Journal		44
Honorary Members		30
Total		467

This list represents an income of £655 19*s.* The actual receipts from subscriptions for the year ending Dec. 1888, was £575 12*s.* 7*d.*, which is a larger income than has ever been received from subscriptions in any one year since the Society was founded. The difference between the two amounts is chiefly owing to the inclusion in the larger sum of the new class of subscribers to our Journal, a class which the Council have every reason to believe will continue to grow.

The comparative table included in the last Report showed that the number of paying members varied from 147 to 286, the earliest existing records of the Society showing 185, and the highest number 286, being that of the last year. The list above given shows, it will be seen, a considerable advance even

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ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1888.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
123 Resident Members at £3 3s.	387	9	0			
143 Non-Resident Members at £1 1s. ... ... (Including one over remittance 5d., and two short remittances of 1s. 8d. and 2d. respectively)	150	1	7			
10 " " " at £1 10s.	15	0	0	686	18	7
Arrears—4 Resident, 10 Non-Resident	23	2	0			
Compositions—2 Resident at £31 10s.	63	0	0			
4 Non-Resident at £10 10s. and balance of £6 6s.	48	6	0			
Donation from the India Office	210	0	0	256	15	3
Dividend on Consols	46	15	3			
Rents—						
British Association	117	0	0			
Hellenic Society	30	0	0			
Numismatic Society	20	0	0	185	18	0
Aristotelian Society	12	12	0			
Folk Lore Society...	6	6	0			
Sale of Journal for first six months of 1888 ...				47	12	4
Total Receipts				1177	4	2
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1888				129	2	6
				£1306	6	8

Amount of Society's Funds,
Consols £1200.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House—Rent	300	0	0			
Insurance	5	0	0			
Water	9	10	0	343	7	3
Gas	14	0	7			
Income Tax	14	16	8			
(Including last payment reimbursed to Secretary.)						
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant	250	0	0			
Bedford (pension)	25	0	0	335	0	0
Housekeeper	60	0	0			
Journal—Printing Part IV. Vol. XIX. 1887; Parts I., II., III., Vol. XX. 1888 ..	260	7	3			
Illustrations—Griggs, and Autotype for Pt. I. 1889...	31	10	6	291	17	9
Books purchased	10	0	0			
" bound and repaired	22	4	9	32	4	9
Stationery	18	3	5			
Cheque book	0	10	0	33	5	11
Miscellaneous Printing...	14	12	6			
Advertisements	2	15	6			
Postage and parcels	26	15	4			
	29	10	10			
Less due to Housekeeper	3	2	1	26	8	9
Repairs	2	19	0			
Household	3	11	3	11	15	9
Coals	5	5	6			
Returned Subscription paid in error	3	3	0	13	3	0
Errand Boy	10	0	0			
Total Expenditure				1087	3	2
Balance 31st Dec. 1888				219	3	6
				£1306	6	8

Examined and found correct, May 10, 1889. J. F. HEWITT. H. C. KAY.

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Years.	Income.			Expenditure.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1824–30	No accounts						
1831	1047	12	8	1184	18	0	
1832	1148	10	4	850	13	10	
1833	1263	18	5	1058	14	3	
1834	1107	5	1	1523	1	9	
1835	1344	8	8	1136	10	9	50.
1836	1418	9	3	1310	11	8	nts).
1837	2120	11	8	2459	16	2	
1838	1151	18	1	1026	14	0	
1839	1056	13	3	945	12	4	
1840	1033	16	11	1084	13	9	
1841	994	7	4	964	18	0	
1842	830	6	6	1037	13	11	
1843	935	0	4	821	15	7	
1844	998	1	10	912	14	0	210.
1845	946	19	4	732	13	4	105; £30.
1846	1030	12	5	1292	12	8	
1847	850	15	10	896	11	5	
1848	918	6	1	1572	9	2	£30.
1849	922	3	3	1004	9	6	
1850	854	14	6	825	19	9	
1851	1333	0	6	1077	5	2	
1852	1491	4	0	900	14	10	
1853	885	4	9	1105	14	1	
1854	929	11	3	999	8	1	
1855	802	17	11	936	9	5	
1856	1053	9	11	923	16	1	
1857	849	19	8	852	4	5	
1858	823	1	5	746	17	11	210.
1859	571	4	2	773	4	1	
1860	801	15	11	887	4	5	
1861	972	15	5	1229	2	3	
1862	881	2	6	936	15	11½	
1863	888	13	6	970	7	7½	
1864	973	5	6	1007	13	9	
1865	911	1	6	814	18	3	
1866	827	12	0	858	18	9	
1867	898	10	0	820	1	10	
1868	828	18	0	895	2	2	
1869	890	13	2	1370	4	2	
1870	754	11	2	744	10	1	
1871	862	18	3	807	15	9	
1872	733	15	3	888	9	7	
1873	813	16	11	729	18	2	
1874	772	16	8	713	16	1	
1875	.....			.....			
1876	774	13	8	783	10	4	
1877	865	14	2	819	4	0	
1878	928	4	0	1033	12	9½	
1879	891	4	6	820	3	1	
1880	1036	0	9	972	5	9	
1881	1041	2	10	1128	9	10	
1882	1201	3	10	1210	12	7	
1883	1179	18	5	1030	2	4	
1884	1243	1	5	1271	17	0	
1885	1193	10	9	966	17	4	
1886	1144	17	5	1188	10	4	
1887	1162	9	9	1125	1	9	
1888	1177	4	2	1087	3	2	

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on that previous best record. The Council may add in this connection that there have been discovered since the last Report statements of income and expenditure for some years before the earliest accounts then known to exist. An abstract of the balance sheets from the year 1831 down to the year 1888 is accordingly appended to this Report. It has been a matter of no little difficulty to prepare this table. But it is encouraging to see that the financial position of the Society has been gradually but steadily improving for some time past, and is in fact more assured now than it has ever been. As special receipts, not properly to be described as income, swell the total receipts of certain years (notably 1835–37, and 1851–52), a separate column has been added showing the nature of them, and headed accordingly "Special Receipts."

The Council recommend the following officers for election for the ensuing year:

President—Sir Thomas F. Wade, M.A., K.C.B.

Director.—Major-General Sir H. 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., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A.; Colonel Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., LL.D.; Professor W. Robertson Smith, M.A.

Council.—F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq.; Sir Charles Bernard, K.C.S.I.; F. V. Dickins, Esq.; 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. Francis 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.; 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.; T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.

Treasurer.—E. L. Brandreth, Esq.

Secretary.—Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D., LL.D.

Honorary Secretary.—Robert N. Cust, Esq., LL.D.

Honorary Solicitor.—Alexander Hayman Wilson, Esq.

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Mr. THORNTON moved, and Mr. HYDE CLARKE seconded, a motion that the Report be adopted, and the motion was carried unanimously.

17*th June*, 1889.—Sir THOMAS WADE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

The election was announced of Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, as a non-Resident Member. On the recommendation of the Council, Muhammad Hasan Khan, Etimad us-Sultaneh, Minister of the Press to the Shah of Persia, was elected an Extraordinary Member.

It was resolved to record on the minutes the deep regret of the Society at the death of its distinguished Honorary Member Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, and the President was requested to convey to his widow this expression of regret.

Mr. GRANVILLE BROWNE read the second part of his paper on the Bābīs, dealing more especially with their literature and opinions. The paper will appear in full in the October number of the Journal.

Dr. LEITNER, being invited by Sir F. Goldsmid to make some remarks on the paper read, drew special attention to the movement which now characterized the Muhammadan world. This was not so much the growth of rationalism among a certain section of Muhammadans in different countries who had come in contact with Europeans, or the adoption of European reforms in an Oriental garb, as was to some extent the case with the Bábís, but the rise or development to almost unexampled influence of mystic sects, whose heads, each in their own way, claimed before their followers to be the door, avenue, or "báb," to the Deity. The orthodox clergy were puzzled how to act in this matter, for, on the one hand, they did not wish to quench the spirit of Muhammadan fervour evoked by these sects, and, on the other, the interposition of saint- or chief-worship, was opposed to the true spirit of single-minded orthodox Muhammadanism. The fact was, that old bodies like the Naqshbandis, Kádiris, etc., had received a new lease of

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life from the impetus given by European encroachments, whilst new sects like the Senûsis had acquired an enormous influence which might soon be a danger to the orthodox community. Sunnis were less affected by such aberrations than the Shiahs, whose quicker imagination, influenced by the spirit of Persian scepticism, ever made them a ready prey to false Imáms; but even the Sunnis could not escape the contagion, for not only was there ever a covert affection for the "House of 'Ali," which was fostered by its descendants, the Sharífs and Sayads, but a "Mahdi" was also looked forward to by them as a Messiah for existing evils. Yet the pseudo-Mahdi of the Soudan was not the coming Imám of the Shiahs, for was he not succeeded by a Khalífa, and were his pretensions, as expressed in his letters to Gordon, to the Viceroy of Egypt, and to Her Majesty, and in his proclamations, not actually self-condemned, or at all events explained in them? These matters deserved greater consideration than they had received in official reports, and Dr. Leïtner felt certain that had the question of the exact position of the Mahdi been properly studied, as late even as 1883, the mischief in the Soudan might have been avoided. As for the Bábís, they seemed inoffensive enough, to judge from what Professor Browne had said; they reminded him of the crude notions of reforms which germinated in the heads of young Hindus or Muhammadans who had just passed the Entrance Examination of an Anglo-Indian University and who wanted to combine reform with self-deification. If, however, Bábíism was something more than this, then it might have esoteric analogies to those pernicious sects which were more or less connected with the history or legendary tradition that had sprung up in connexion with the Seventh Imám, in other words, with the Ismailians, the so-called Assassins or Hashíshín, the followers of the old man of the mountain and the worshippers of the mad Fatimite Khalífa of Egypt, Hákim. The direct lineal descendant of the Seventh Imám was, for the existing Ismailians, H. H. Aga Khan of Bombay, a very amiable nobleman, fond of

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racing, and as pious as many of his followers were impious; but he was the object of veneration or rather adoration of thousands in Central Asia, especially in Derwáz, Shignán Wakhan, Zebák, Hunza, etc., and to him, instead of to Mecca or Kerbela, was a pilgrimage properly due, for a living Imám was surely better than a dead prophet. Dr. Leitner possessed some portions of the mysterious Kelám-i-pír, which, with these nominal Muhammadans, took the place of the Korán (thus offering an analogy with what he had understood Professor Browne remark as regards the Bábís). The "Kelám-i-pír" was a work which practically dismissed most of the orthodox Sunni or Shiah observances; indeed to the Muláis or modern Ismailians the Sunni was a dog and the Shiah an ass, and the specific tenet was the interrelation of all life, whether animal, human or that in plants and even stone, instead of personal immortality rewarded immediately by eternal bliss or eternal damnation. The practice in Hunza was gross immorality; the Tham or ruler used to dance and get drunk in the local Mosque; but details on the Kelám-i-pír, the Mulái sect or the Ismailians of the Hindukush, and the coincidences of their forms with those of the Druses, especially with the covenant "Mithâq," of the latter he reserved to a special communication. Dr. Leitner had just sent (on the 14th inst.) a Hunza man to a pilgrimage to Kerbelá by the "Kaisar-i-Hind," disembarking at Port Said. He had been converted to Shiism, and was the first Hunza man who had come to Europe. The struggle between the *hereditary* principle of the spiritual succession from Muhammad or "Imámat," supported by the Shiahs, and the elective theory of the Khiláfat, as now embodied in the Sultán of Turkey by the "*consensus fidelium*," were the corner-stones respectively of these two contending sects, among whom there might well be peace, so that Muhammadanism might be appreciated in its fulness and as a sister-faith of Christianity and Judaism; but, be this as it may, and be the differences between Sunnis and Shiahs, as also the aberrations from the latter, chiefly religious, ethnical or even political, there

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could be no doubt that the hereditary view of Shiism had been influenced by the claims of 'Ali and of his successors to certain landed property, which Muhammad, and after him Abu Bekr, Omar and Othman, held on behalf of the community, "the jemáa't," the word accompanying the "Sunnat wa Jamáat," the appellation for the Sunni world. Mr. Browne had also referred to the Wahábis. There was a great difference between the Wahábis of Arabia and those of India, erroneously so-called, because most of them did not even know the name of the founder of the Arabian sect, Abd-ul-Waháb; some of the Indians even smoked, but, of course, as Puritans, they ought not to indulge in any such gratification, in silk dress, dainty food, etc., and they ought to avoid the worship of saints. As for the charge of disloyalty that had been brought against the Indian Wahábis, they were neither more nor less disloyal than their accusers; but, being in the minority, they had to bear the accusations of the majority. The Indian Wahábis were "Muváhidín" or "worshippers of the one and true God," and any one who cared to read up this important subject could not do better than study the learned works of Maulvi Sidiq Husain. Dr. Leitner then asked a number of questions from Mr. Browne regarding his interesting paper, and regretted that the author of it should have skipped so much of it that would have deepened the impression of the meeting as to its great value. However, he, with all those present, looked forward to its appearance in full in print, when it would stimulate further inquiries in that and kindred directions.

Mr. H. C. Kay said, I have long been under the belief that a direct connection may be distinctly traced between modern Babism and the old religious movements which, during the Muhammadan period, have originated in Persia or have been led by Persians in other countries. After having now had the pleasure of listening to both parts of Mr. Granville Browne's instructive paper, I feel strongly confirmed in that view.

One of the strangest things in history is, as is well known, the extraordinary vitality exhibited by the ancient philosophy

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of the Persians, its continuity down to comparatively recent periods, and, as I believe Babism will help to prove, down to the present day. Ismailism and its predecessor the insurrection led by Babek, carry us back to the teaching of Mani in the third century of our era, and the elements of Manichæism must be sought for in the remotest periods of Persian history. The mystical teaching of Sufyism, propagated by Persian writers, who whilst professing boundless devotion to Islam, have inculcated doctrines absolutely opposed to its fundamental principles, may be said to have kept alive much of the ancient philosophy. But Sufyism has been rather a symptom, demonstrating the prevailing spirit of the Persian temperament, than a cause to which its existence could be attributed.

Unfortunately we know but little of the teaching of Babek, and our knowledge even of Ismailism is very imperfect. In both cases the difficulty is largely the result of a circumstance which, unless I am greatly mistaken, forms a serious obstacle to a full comprehension of Babism. Secrecy has formed one of the main elements of the policy whereby, under pretence of inculcating a stricter observance of the religious law introduced by the conquerors, it has been sought to transform their religion into something absolutely inconsistent with its real spirit. In the case of Ismailism, the mass of the people, it is well known, was kept in ignorance of the goal which it was helping its leaders to reach. A comparatively small number, whose vanity was carefully flattered, were, under the seal of secrecy, allowed an insight into mystical interpretations, all tending in a direction at best only dimly perceptible to the learner. Only a select few were allowed admission into the innermost circle of men who, with full and complete knowledge, laboured for the definite ends, to the attainment of which they had devoted their lives. How admirably their policy was based upon a deep knowledge of human nature and a profound insight into the character of the people with whom they had to deal, has been clearly shown by such scholars as de Sacy and his distinguished successor Professor de Goeje. And a

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noteworthy piece of evidence to the wonderful skill with which the Ismailites advanced their objects may be perceived in the history of the Carmathians of Bahrayn, where a people, mainly composed of Arab Muslims, was induced to intercept the caravans proceeding to and from the Holy Cities and to put an end, by terror of plunder and massacre, to the practice of pilgrimage from the most important and one of the largest portions of the Muhammadan empire. Marching next upon Mecca itself, they devastated the city, massacred both pilgrims and citizens, defiled in the grossest manner its most sacred spots, and finally tore down and carried away the Black Stone, than which no religion probably possesses an object of more general and of deeper reverence.

The mutual hostility between Persians on the one side and Arabs and Turks on the other is commonly ascribed to their religious differences. In the adoption of that view, I venture to think that cause is mistaken for effect. The Persians were subdued by a barbarous race, infinitely their inferior in intellectual capacity. And the consequences have been precisely such as were to be expected. As to the barbarism of the conqueror, it is unnecessary to speak. As to the intellectual superiority of the Persians, it is enough to say that it is distinctly admitted by the Arabs themselves. And indeed the fact is one which it is not possible to dispute. In every department of Arabic literature, not excluding Arab linguistic science, the leading names are those of men of northern race and for the most part of Persians. The Persians adopted Shi-ism and originated its extreme developments, not only because these afforded them scope for indulgence in their traditionary love for pantheistic mysticism, but also because they offered them the means of freeing themselves from political and intellectual enthralment. I had the pleasure last year of making the acquaintance of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, whose name is already familiar to all interested in Eastern scholarship. Our conversation was not on the particular subject before the present meeting, but rather on his experiences of men and things, acquired

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during his sojourn at Mecca. His opinion that the hostility I have spoken of is far rather of a political than of a religious character was clear, and he pointed to the significant fact that the South-Arabian Zeydite, who in the eyes of a Sunnite is no less a *rāfiḍy* or heretic than the Persian Shi-ites, is everywhere admitted and received as a friend and fellow-religionist.

Notwithstanding the mists produced by their system of secrecy and by the reports of enemies, partly calumnious, but in part also resting upon an indubitable foundation of fact, the object which the leaders of Ismailism kept steadily in view is not capable of doubt. They sought to acquire for themselves that supremacy over the Muhammadan faith, which formed the corner-stone of the power that had been wielded by the Arab, and which was afterwards won by the Turkish race, a position in which they could mould the Semitic system at their will. How nearly they approached complete success and what the causes were that led to their eventual failure, forms the subject, as I need hardly remind this meeting, of one of the most extraordinary chapters in the history of the human race. As to the causes of failure, I may perhaps allow myself to add that they were, to my mind, chiefly the result of one weak point in the fabric erected with such wonderful ability and patience. The danger was either unperceived or, as seems to me more probable, it is one which it was not found possible to remedy. The Ismaily system required its supreme guidance to be confided to an all-powerful political as well as religious chief. That object was attained when the rival Khalifate was established at Ḳayrawān, and more completely so when its seat was transferred to the wealthy and more central province of Egypt. But the Khalifah and the subordinate princes as well, were inevitably placed under strong temptation to care rather for the security of their thrones and dynasties, than for the triumph of the system they were intended to foster. Herein, let me add as an example, we may probably find an explanation of that signal act of ingratitude committed by the Mahdi 'Obayd Allah when he

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mercilessly put to death the man, a zealous Ismailite agent, to whom he was absolutely indebted for his liberty, for his throne, and for his life, and doubtless also a leading motive for the abandonment of the Fatemite cause by the Carmathians and by the Eastern Ismailites.

It can hardly be necessary for me to say that I do not conceive Babism to be an actual revival of Ismailite designs or even of so much of the Ismailite system as could serve to identify the two movements as one and the same. Times change, and under altered circumstances even similar causes will not produce the same phenomena. But it is sufficiently clear that the old religious movements and Babism have much in common, and that they derive their elements from the same source. As to political tendencies in Babism, the letter of which Mr. Browne has just spoken, in which the Queen is praised for subordinating the rule of her Empire to the advice of a council elected by the nation, can hardly be without significance. But indeed, as all here present are well aware, religious and civil law and government are, in the East, inseparably connected with one another. However much, or however little special information the Persian Government may have possessed, it was inevitable that the author of the Bābi movement should be suspected of political and perhaps revolutionary designs. Whether the ruling power may not some day be induced to consider the possibility of converting Babists from victims into instruments is a question I can only venture to suggest to those more competent than I am to offer an answer.

Mr. Browne has also told us that the Bayān is leavened with Zoroastrian ideas. The fact may seem strange, but it is precisely what we would expect. There is nothing new, I may add, in the designation *Bab*; it was used by the Ismailites, who, as mentioned by Prof. de Goeje, applied it in particular to Aly, son of Abu Ṭālib.

The practical conclusion I have desired to indicate is this, that the history of the past will in Persia, above all other countries, help us to understand the present, and that careful study of past movements, and especially of Ismailism, will, I

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believe, suggest to the inquirer into Babism the quarters in which some of its most important factors are to be sought. And furthermore that it will supply him with a key by means of which he will more readily arrive at an understanding of things that are obscure, and even of language which to the uninitiated may be misleading.

List of Presents to the Society, April–July, 1889.

From H.M. the Shah of Persia.—Journey through Khorassan. (Written by His Majesty in Persian.)

From the Maharaja of Baroda.—Burgess (James) and Cousens (H.). The Antiquities of Dabhoi.
Folio. Edinburgh, 1888.

From the Publishers.—Trübner's Record, a Journal devoted to the Literature of the Far East.
3rd ser. vol. i. part 1, 1889.

From the Bengal Government.—India. Selections from the Government Records, Foreign Departments, No. 255. Report on Administration of the Ajmere-Merwara Districts for 1887–88. Folio. Calcutta, 1889.

From the Bombay Government.—Bombay Government Records, Selections from the, No. 224, N.S. Papers relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of 165 villages of the old Nasrapur, now Karjat Taluka of the Thána Collectorate.
Folio. Bombay, 1889.

From the Government of the Punjab.—Punjab, Report on the Administration of, for 1887–88. Folio. Lahore, 1889.

Punjab. Gazetteer of the Punjab, Provincial Volume, 1888–89.

From Lieut. Davidson.—Davidson (Lieut. F. A. L.). Anglicized Colloquial Burmese. Fcap. 8vo. London, 1889.

From Ramachandra Ghosha.—Ghosha (Ramachandra). History of Hindu Civilization. Sm. 8vo. Calcutta, 1889.

From Sir Thomas Wade.—Giles (Herbert A.). Chuang Tzŭ—Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer. Translated from the Chinese. 8vo. London, 1889.

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From N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.—Baillie (N. B. E.). A Digest of Moohummudan Law. Part II. Imameea Code.
New ed. 8vo. London, 1887.

From the Editor.—Lacouperie (Prof. T. de). Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. iii. No. 6. May, 1889.

From the Author—Lacouperie (Prof. T. de). Le Non-Monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique. 8vo. Paris, 1889.

From Dr. G. Bühler.—Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausg. von G. Bühler and others. Vols. i., ii., and iii. pt. 1. 8vo. Wien, 1887–88.

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II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Vol. xliii. part i.

1. M. Grünbaum. On 'Yussuf and Suleicha.'
2. Paul Horn. Text and Translation of Fargard the 17th (with the Glosses).
3. O. Böhtlingk. Philological Criticism of Books i.–iv. of the Rāmāyaṇa.
4. M. Th. Houtsma. On an Old Turkish Poem (of A.D. 1233).
5. Karl Vullers. Notes on the Viceregal Library at Kairo.
6. R. J. H. Gottheil. Addenda et Corrigenda to his 'List of Plants, etc.'
7. G. Bühler. On the Shāhbāzgarhi Version of the Aṣoka Edicts (with plate).

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2. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Vol. iii.

1. Vajeshankar, G. Ohza. The Somnāth-pattan Praṣasti of Bhāva Brihaspati.
2. F. Müller. Zarathustra's Temptation.
3. M. Th. Houtsma. On Bih'afrid.
4. J. Hanusz. On Armenian.
5. O. G. Menevischean. On the Faust of Byzantium, and Dr. Laner's German Version of it.
6. J. Kunos. Turkish Ballads.
7. J. Goldziher. The Arabic Original of Maimuni's 'Sēfer Hammisewōt.
8. J. Zubaty. Vedic Prosody.
9. J. F. Hewitt. The country called Kielonasupulana by Hiuan Thsang.
10. H. Jacobi. On Bhāravi and Māgha.
11. F. Müller. Notes on Cuneiforms.
12. J. Zubaty. Vedic Prosody.
13. S. Fraenkel. The Glosses of Bar Bahlūl.
14. A. Hillebrandt. Vedica.

III. Obituary Notice.

Dr. William Wright, Sir T. Adams's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, whose death on the 22nd of May last is the heaviest blow which Oriental studies have sustained since the decease of the veteran Fleischer, was born in India in 1830. His father was a Scottish officer in the East India Company's service, and his mother, whose maiden name was Overbeck, was the daughter of the last Dutch governor of Chinsurah. From her Wright seems to have inherited some of his linguistic talents, for she was no mean proficient in Persian, and watched with loving interest the development of scholarly tastes in her son. Captain Wright, having returned to Scotland, settled at St. Andrews; his son received his education there, first at the Madras College, and then at the ancient University, for which he retained to the

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last a warm love. He distinguished himself in classics, and after taking his degree at the early age which was then common in the Scottish Universities, proceeded to Germany to continue his philological studies at the University of Halle. Here the influence of the famous Orientalist Rödiger, in whose house he was received as an inmate, soon led him to turn from classical to Oriental letters, into the study of which he threw himself with great ardour. His chief love was for the Semitic languages, and especially for Arabic, but he also attained no mean proficiency in Sanskrit, Persian, Turkish, and other Eastern tongues. In later years, when he felt that life was short, and began to doubt whether he could finish all the tasks he had prescribed for himself in his favourite branch, Wright resolutely turned aside from these secondary pursuits, and few, even of his friends, had opportunity to know how wide and solid were his attainments beyond the limits of Semitic speech. But to the last he followed with interest other men's work in every field of Oriental research, and it is mainly to his initiative and advice that Cambridge owes its magnificent collection of Buddhist-Sanskrit MSS., of which a great part were brought from Nepaul by his brother Dr. D. Wright.

Rödiger was always wont to speak of Wright as his best scholar, and certainly the rapidity with which the young Scotsman conquered the difficulties of a whole series of languages was marvellous. From Halle he passed on to Leyden, then as now one of the most famous seats of Arabic learning, and here at the age of twenty-two he brought out his first work, an edition of the travels of Ibn Jubair. Already he showed the judgment which habitually guided him in the choice of work, the courage which never failed him in the face of difficulties, the fulness of resource, and solid precision in execution, which characterize all his editions. To edit a difficult text from a single MS. is a formidable undertaking even for an experienced scholar, but this *Erstlingsarbeit* shows no sign of immaturity, and few lines in it would call for correction at the present day. As an editor Wright was cautious and conservative; he was

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always slow to introduce conjectures, while his unfailing eye and hand rendered it almost impossible for him to err in transcribing the MS. before him: the best scholars of the continent have confessed that there was no appeal from Wright's transcripts to the original. Like all men who have the inborn gift that makes a palæographer, he took pleasure in the work of transcription, and would copy off pages of dim and puzzling Arabic in the clear hand which he had formed on one of the finest old Codices of the Warnerianum, as fast as a clerk would transcribe an ordinary letter. Wright's caution in the matter of textual emendation was characteristic of the solid habit of mind which never allowed him to mistake a conjecture for a fact; he spared no pains to bring together all that could throw light on the facts, but he was willing to leave the inferences to others. Perhaps, indeed, he carried this habit to excess; for those who knew him well were aware that he had excellent and original ideas on many vexed subjects of Eastern lore which he never cared to publish, because they could not be established by strict proof.

A great part of his life-work was given to the editing of texts, mainly Syriac and Arabic; and of this labour he was never weary. They were always important texts, put forth with the most perfect diplomatic accuracy, and with full command of all needful helps and side lights. But the texts he published himself give but an imperfect view of his services in bringing to light the buried stores of Oriental literature. His wide knowledge of MSS., exact verbal scholarship, and expert pen, were at the service of every scholar, and there are few editors of Arabic and Syriac works in the last thirty years who have not had to acknowledge his aid either in supplying transcripts and collations, or in reading and correcting proof-sheets. In this connection special mention should be made of his prolonged and arduous labours on the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of the Dean of Canterbury.

A second kind of work in which Wright was a past master was the palæographical description and cataloguing of MSS.

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From 1861 to 1870 he was employed in the Oriental Branch of the MS. Department of the British Museum, first as an assistant and then as assistant keeper. His catalogues of the Syriac and Æthiopic MSS.—both models of what a catalogue should be—are permanent memorials of his labours in this department; and to these will soon be added the work of his last months, the Catalogue of the "additional" Syriac MSS. at Cambridge, including the fine collection brought from Mesopotamia by Dr. Badger. On all questions of Syriac and Arabic palæography, Wright's judgment, matured as it was by constant familiarity with MSS., was probably worth more than that of any other scholar in Europe. In this connection should be named also the Oriental Series of the publications of the Palæographical Society, which was directed and edited by him. It may be interesting to mention that when the Shapira fragments were brought to London, Wright was in Scotland; but without further aid than the first imperfect notices that appeared in print, he told the writer of these lines that he had no doubt that they were forgeries written on scraps of leather cut from the margins of Yemenite MSS., as was afterwards proved to be the case. In epigraphy, as well as in palæography, Wright took a great interest, and many communications on this subject were read by him before the Society of Biblical Archæology.

His work as a teacher has still to be spoken of. From 1855 to 1861 he was Professor of Arabic, first in University College, London, and then at Dublin, and from 1870 till his death he was the head of the Semitic school at Cambridge, which owes him a great debt of gratitude, not only for his admirable and stimulating teaching in Arabic and Syriac, but perhaps most of all for the improvement in Hebrew study which has followed, indirectly, from the introduction, through his example and influence, of the comparative method. His lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages were a new thing in England; probably, indeed, nothing so complete and systematic has yet been attempted in any European University. These lectures have been left in such a form that they can be printed, and their

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publication has been undertaken by the Syndics of the University Press.

Of the books which Prof. Wright published to help learners in Arabic, the Reading Book, 1870, remains unfortunately incomplete, the glossary which he projected and in great part prepared having never found a publisher. This is the more to be regretted, because he designed it on such a scale as would have made it a substantial contribution to a scientific Arabic Lexicon. As it is, his lexicographical collections remain unpublished, with the exception of the notes he contributed to Dozy's *Supplement aux dictionnaire arabes.* His Arabic Grammar had a better fate, having passed through two editions, and been generally accepted on the Continent as well as in England as the best manual of this difficult language. With characteristic modesty, the author left the words "from the German of Caspari" on the title, even of the second edition (1874), though the book is substantially an independent work.

No notice of Prof. Wright would be complete without reference to his great influence over his pupils, and the strong feelings of personal attachment with which he inspired them. Indeed, his considerate kindness, his constant helpfulness, his placid enthusiasm for learning, and the strong *esprit de corps* which made him instinctively treat every student of Eastern languages as a comrade, gained for him the hearts of younger Orientalists, whether they were his pupils or not. In his later years he had an almost cosmopolitan position, as the man whom all Eastern scholars knew and loved, to whom every one turned for help and advice, and who was never found wanting. His long struggle with fatal disease was watched with sympathetic interest in every seat of learning, and his death was mourned as a personal loss in every University of Europe. The value which was attached to his work, and the esteem in which his character was held wherever Eastern studies are appreciated, were marked by a long series of distinctions conferred on him by foreign Universities and Academies. Of these perhaps the Honorary Doctorship of Leyden and the Prussian Order *pour le mérite,*

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were those which he most prized, coming as they did from the countries in which his first years of Oriental study were spent, and where his first personal relations with foreign scholars were formed.

It ought to be mentioned in conclusion that Dr. Wright was an active member of the Old Testament Revision Company, and did much good service in their important work.

IV. Notes and News.

The Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge, vacant by the lamented death of Professor Wright, has been filled up, in accordance with general expectation, by the appointment of Professor Robertson Smith. It is understood that a separate readership in Syriac will be created.

Professor Windisch, of Leipzig, who has been seriously ill, is now convalescent. His edition of the Iti-vuttaka, for the Pali Text Society, is now all in type.

The first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya, being edited by Professors Rhys Davids and Estlin Carpenter, for the Pali Text Society, is now all printed, except the indices, and will form part of the issue to the subscribers for this year.

Father Guesdon, of Kamboja, has prepared and will shortly publish a dictionary of the Khmer language.

Professor Lefmann, of Heidelberg, has been staying for a short time in London. His edition of the Lalita Vistara, on which he has been working for many years, is now all in print; but the various readings and indices have still to be completed. Prof. Lefmann is engaged also on a biography of Franz Bopp.

Professor Bühler has published at Vienna (Tempsky) a monograph, 'Ueber das leben des Jaina münches Hemachandra,' which goes carefully through all the authorities, and sets forth all that is known about this distinguished scholar and religious leader, the most important personage in Gujarāt in the twelfth century of our era. We hope in a future issue to give a complete account of the conclusions at which Professor Bühler arrives.

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Prof. Blumhardt.—Mr. Blumhardt, the author of the Catalogue of Bengali Books in the British Museum, has been appointed Professor of Hindustāni at University College, in place of Professor Keane, who has resigned.

The Rig Veda.—One volume of the new edition of the Rig-Veda, with the Commentary of Sāyaṇākārya, is finished, and will be laid before the International Congress of Orientalists at Stockholm by Prof. Max Müller. The new edition is printed at the expense of His Highness Sir Pasupati Ananda Gajapati Raz of Vizianagram. Several new MSS. have been collated, and considerable emendations have been made in the text. Prof. Max Müller has secured the assistance of Dr. Winternitz; and it is hoped that the four volumes, consisting of about 1000 pages quarto, will be ready in three years.

Sinhalese Literature.—Members of the Royal Asiatic and Pali Text Societies may be interested to know that, while English scholars have been "lingering shivering on the brink" of the "Ocean" of stories in the Jātaka-book, the Sinhalese translation has completed its third part and 520th page. Other publications of scholarly interest recently printed in Ceylon are editions of the Visuddhimagga, with two unpublished commentaries, and the Horābharaṇa, Sanskrit with Sinhalese translation; also new editions of the Abhidhammathasangaha, Vuttodaya, and Çabdabinduva.—C. BENDALL.

The American Oriental Society has sent out circulars to its members instructing them to gather all obtainable information concerning Oriental manuscripts in the public and private libraries of America, with a view of publishing a complete catalogue of such, as is done by the great libraries of Europe. The information to be gathered is intended to include all the ancient and modern languages and dialects of Asia, with those of Egypt and Ethiopia, without regard to the subject-matter, the character of the writing, material, state of preservation, and the length or size of them.

Antiquarian Treasures.—A resolution appears in the *Gazette of India* dealing with the preservation of anti-

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quarian treasures. Previous resolutions are quoted, which show that the Government has never claimed any indefeasible rights in archæological objects, and that no such right could be asserted without legislation. The present resolution, however, says:—This is true in regard to all objects of archæological interest of which the discovery could not be brought within the scope of the Treasure Trove Act. But it appears to the Governor-General in Council that a material portion of discovered antiquities will be ascertained on inquiry to have been found in circumstances which would bring them under the provisions of Act VI. of 1878. Such will be the case in respect to all ownerless antiquities of any value "hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto." Statuary and remains of buildings, as well as coins, would, if buried underground, usually satisfy the required conditions, and could be classed as treasure under the definition of the Act which, as indicated by the extracts quoted in the Appendix, was intended by its framers to apply to objects of antiquarian interest discovered below the surface of the soil. Indeed, the definition of treasure as framed in the original Bill was enlarged by the Select Committee for the express purpose of covering sculptures and similar antiquities as well as coins. The Treasure Trove Act permits the Government to claim the possession of treasure of which, as laid down in Section 4 of the Act, the amount of value is over ten rupees. Such "value" is not, as in Section 16, the price which the mere materials of the article found would fetch, but the market value or the price which the discovered object might, if offered for sale, reasonably be presumed to realize. The conditions under which the finder of treasure is to be compensated in cases where the claim of Government is asserted are described in Section 16 of the Act. The value at which the treasure is to be assessed is there defined as the value of the materials only, plus one-fifth of such value. The extra price which the discovered article might realize in virtue of its value as an object of archæological interest need not enter into account. It will not therefore be difficult to secure for

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preservation in national institutions the most important antiquities which may be discovered in any part of British India, without inordinate expenditure. The Governor-General in Council now desires that the conditions under which the Government can claim articles of antiquarian interest should be made generally known, as well to the officials upon whom the responsibility rests of giving effect to the provision of the Treasure Trove Act as to the general public. His Excellency in Council is convinced that the Local Governments and Administrations will, on every occasion on which it may be considered proper to exercise the rights conferred by the law upon the State, act with proper consideration for the natural claims and expectations of the finders of treasure, and will bear in mind that the object in view will be defeated if those who may discover objects of Archæological value are not induced by the prospect of a sufficient reward to make their discoveries known to the officials of Government. On the other hand, it must be enjoined on all servants of the State that it is their duty to protect national interests so far as to ascertain the particulars of any discovery which may be brought to their notice, and to report the circumstances to the proper authorities under such rules and instructions as may be laid down for their guidance by the Local Government or Administration.

V. Reviews.

Elementary Arabic. Part I. By F. D. Thornton. (Allen and Co.)

So well-intended, almost sympathetic, and, in some sense, ingeniously expressed an exposition of Elementary Arabic as that of Mr. Frederic Dupré Thornton, deserves every encouragement, but even the author himself would perhaps feel as much surprise as gratification to find his method of instruction approved in every respect by the majority of scholars and students whom it may concern. To facilitate the study of the language in question, with its mathematically precise

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yet essentially intricate grammar, difference of opinion must exist as to the better way, and this difference will at once become apparent in elementary as well as in advanced treatises by independent writers. Nothing, for example, can be simpler, shorter, or less pretentious in form than the present publication. Practically, it consists of ten pages only; for if out of the sixty-four which constitute the whole book we deduct the Preface and Appendix, there remain no more than this number. They set forth the native alphabet and corresponding English letters, and explain a system of transliteration which, however Indian in principle, we believe to be sufficiently sound for ordinary purposes, and more appropriate for ordinary learners than one of stricter science or minuter erudition. But the exposition is suggestive of objections, the nature of which will be made evident if exception be taken to the results of the author's experience in certain matters of detail.

In the first place it becomes a question whether Mr. Thornton does well in omitting to insert an English equivalent for his "alif," which the late Professor Palmer, like his predecessors, Lumsden, Richardson, De Sacy, Stewart, and others, found in a simple "a," defining, in an explanatory note, its value according to position at the commencement of a word or following a consonant. Be it also noted that when this same letter afterwards appears, as an equivalent to the vowel-point "fathah," not one of the three words (*aunt*, *wan*, and *thumb*), intended to illustrate its pronunciation, gives the sound contemplated by Palmer in his single word *fat*. Secondly, no good object is, it is conceived, gained by *underlining*, for distinction, single letters as those which are double: for such the dot seems preferable. Thus, while *th*, *kh*, *dh*, *sh*, *gh*, and *zh* would, where necessary to prevent confusion, retain the line, *ḥ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ* and *ẓ* would be under-dotted. But *kh*, *sh*, and *gh* are perhaps obvious enough as representing single letters to need no distinguishing mark at all, when brought down from the column of alphabetic equivalents into general use. Thirdly, the *ç*, with the sedilla, can hardly be requisite for the letter *çád* when the *ṣ* so readily takes its place; and why should not *ḳ*,

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instead of the meagre *q* for *qáf*, be also included among the under-dotted letters? We should then have, under a uniform system, six of the last-named, i.e. *ḥ*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, and *ḳ*. There could be no valid reason to prevent *ṣ* from having the power of *ç*, or *ḳ* the power of *q*, if these particular sounds were indeed indispensable; but the sedilla in French and the *q* in English do *not* convey the precise utterance required. Take the two words *savoir* and *façon*, and you cannot insist that—as Mr. Thornton expresses it for his *śin* and *çád* respectively—the *s* "is pronounced with the tongue's tip, in contrast to" the *ç*, "which is said further back with broad of tongue." De Sacy uses *s* and *ç* *both* to express the sound of *each* of the two Arabic letters, thus disavowing the particular distinction presumed by later Arabists to exist. He says, however, that the *sád* (sic in orig.) "doit être articulé un peu plus fortement . . . on avec une sorte d'emphase." Palmer writes *ṣád*, and explains that his equivalent *ṣ* is "a lisping *s*." As for *q*, that letter is so abnormal in its severance from *u*, that it is difficult to invest it with specific phonetic value, much more to accept the otherwise intelligible instruction contained in the brochure under notice, that it "may be said at first as *g* in *go*, and with practice the student will harden the sound in the direction of *k*."

Again, the student-reader is instructed, with reference to sounding the letter *r*, that "For *karm*, 'vine,' it is better to say *karam* than *kâm* (like calm)." But would Englishmen who have broken ground in the study of Arabic or other Oriental tongues pronounce *karm* as *kâm*? Taking *harm*, *farm* and *alarm*, as precedents, they would; but only in their acceptance as English words. The consequence, moreover, of giving a second syllable to the first of these would be the formation of a word long since adopted in the English language as *hāram* or *hārem*, pronounced by the million *hāyram*, a melancholy corruption of the true *harim*.

One more suggestion is, that the *'ain* might convey a clearer notion to the learner in the equivalent (*'a*), than as a mere aspirate (*'*). It was thus interpreted by De Sacy.

These few remarks apply wholly to Mr. Thornton's ten

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pages of original proposals for teaching Elementary Arabic. They are important, inasmuch as they relate to the foundation-stones of his system. Why this has been called Indian in principle, will be fairly evident from his quasi-rejection of the Turko-Persian letter *e*, "commonly used," as he shrewdly puts it, "when the writer is not sure of his grammar and doubts which vowel to employ." His Appendix, containing passages from the Ḳurán, and analysis, should be useful to the many, and the parsing has been done with apparent care and ability. It will, however, be observed at a glance, that the numerous references to Wright's Grammar render it imperative upon the serious reader of this particular section of "Elementary Arabic, Part I." that, to insure apprehension of the pages before him, he should be provided with means of ready access to the valuable work of the lamented Arabic Professor at Cambridge.—F.J.G.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. X.—*The Avars.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., M.P., M.R.A.S.

IN the following paper I propose to myself to write a monograph upon the Avars, from the time they are first mentioned by Western historians to their final disappearance from history. The detail, and I hope the completeness, with which I have ventured to treat the subject, which are alone of value in ethnographic studies now-a-days, are especially valuable in the case of the Avars, whose place in history was so marked and yet so enigmatic, and who caused such potent changes in the ethnographic map of Europe.

I do not propose to myself to treat of the origin of the race, and of its earlier history in Asia. That I must postpone to another occasion. I would merely say here that in regard to the Avars, properly so called, I consider De Guignes's conclusion to be unanswerable, and that they are to be identified with the Jeoujen or Yuan Yuan of the Chinese histories, a race which dominated nomadic Asia before the Thu kiu or Turks asserted their preponderance in the sixth century. The coincidences and the convergency of evidence make this identification very nearly a certainty. I also hold the Jeoujen or Yuan Yuan, and consequently the Avars *properly so called,* to have been Mongols by race, as I believe the true Huns to have been—Huns and Avars answering, in fact, to the two great sections of the Mongol race, the Mongols proper and the Kalmuks. The native

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name of the Kalmuks is Uirat, written Avirathei by Bar Hebræus. The *t* in these names is merely the Mongol plural; and when we discard it, we in fact get a mere form of the name Var or Avar.

I do not propose in the present paper to carry this analysis further, and will at once turn to the first notice of the Avars contained in a Western writer, which is more than a hundred years before the Avars invaded Europe.

The first time the Avars are mentioned is in the pages of Priscus, whose words are:

"About that time (*i.e.* 461–465) the Saraguri, the Urogi (probably a corruption of Ugori), and the Onoguri, sent envoys to the Eastern Romans. These tribes had been thrust out of their country after a struggle with the Sabiri, whom the Avars had driven out. The Avars themselves had been driven out by the peoples dwelling near the ocean, who had been forced to migrate by the great clouds and mists which rose from the sea, and by a great hostile multitude of griffons, creatures who, it was reported, were not in the habit of withdrawing until they had eaten human beings. Excited by these calamities, they (*i.e.* the Avars) had fallen upon their neighbours, and all who could not resist their attack succumbed. It was thus that the Saraguri, compelled to seek new quarters, approached the Hunni Akatiri, with whom they fought several battles and whom they defeated, and then repaired to the Romans, eager for their alliance. The Emperor received their envoys courteously and sent them back again, after giving them presents" (Priscus, Excerpta, Bonn ed., p. 158; Suidas, *s.v.* Abaris, who follows Priscus).

This passage, if it be trustworthy, and I see no reason to doubt it, is certainly one of the most important for the ethnographer to be found in ancient literature, for it is the sole record of one of those great race movements which have been such important factors in rearranging the ethnographic distribution of man. Whatever caused the movement of the Avars, whether some great natural phenomena, or, as is more probable, the growing power of the race, we read here how they first attacked and drove forward the

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Sabiri, whom I hope to treat of in another paper, and how this led to other displacements of nomads. The main fact to remember is that the Avars thus became masters apparently of the Asatic Steppes as far west as the Volga, while a number of tribes, such as the Sabiri, Saraguri, etc., crossed that river into Europe, where we next meet with them.

To revert to the Avars. We do not read of them again until the year 557, when the power of the Jeoujen, whom I have identified with them, came to an end in Asia. Hitherto, as Theophylactus says, the Avars had been deemed among the Scythians as supreme. Their power was shattered by an outbreak of their former subjects the Turks. The same author tells us that the Turks in their progress conquered the Ogor, i.e. the Uighurs, a powerful race living on the river Til (*i.e.* the Volga). The old chiefs of the Ogor had been styled Var and Khunni, whence several of their tribes were named Var and Khunni (*i.e.* Avar and Hun). That is to say, the Ogors were under the domination of the Avars. On the approach of the Turks, a portion of these tribes fled into Europe, gave themselves the name of Avares, and styled their leader Khagan. They were not true Avares, however, he says, but pseud-Avares (*op. cit.* vii. 8), *i.e.* Ogors or Uighurs led by Avar chiefs. On their approach, the Sarselt, Unuguri, Sabiri, and other Hunnic tribes, were greatly disturbed, fancying they were the real Avars, and offered them ample presents (*id.*).

The full meaning of this is that when the power of the Avars proper, that is, the Uirats, was broken in Eastern Asia, a portion of their subjects, namely the Ogors, whose chiefs were of Avar and Hunnic blood, adopted the name Avars and migrated. Those fugitives who went westwards were doubtless merely led by chiefs of Mongol descent, and in this sense the statement of the Byzantine writers is correct, that they derived their name from their leaders. The great bulk of the fugitives were doubtless of Turkish race, and not Mongols, whence Theophylactus styles them pseud-Abares, and refers to their appropriating to themselves the renown of the Avars proper, *i.e.* the Uirats. In-

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asmuch as they were horsemen, they, in all probability, belonged to the Altaic branch of the great race of Turan, and, as I believe, to the Uighur section of the Altaic race.

I cannot see any reason for doubting the precise statement of Theophylactus, and we may tentatively conclude that the Avars who invaded Europe were a race of Uighur Turks commanded and led by chiefs and leaders of Kalmuk blood. The Slaves called them *obri*, which Jiresek says in lapse of time has come to mean a giant, Bohemian *obr*, Lusatian *hobr*, Polish *olbrzym* (Jiresek, Gesch. der Bulg. p. 86). To continue, we read that in the 31st year of Justinian, *i.e.* in 557, the fugitives at length reached the country of the Alani, *i.e.* the country north of the Caucasus, probably as far as the Don, which was at this time dominated over by the Alans, the modern Ossetes. They asked Sarosius, or Sarodius (a name also read Saroas, Lebeau, vol. ix. p. 376, note 2), the chief of the Alans, to put them in friendly communication with the Romans. He accordingly informed Justin, the son of Germanus, who commanded the garrison of Lazica, and he in turn informed Justinian, who ordered their envoys to be sent on to him at Byzantium (Menander, ch. i. ed. Bonn, p. 282). They accordingly selected Kandikh as their ambassador, and he went with a considerable cortège. The aspect of the strangers aroused a good deal of curiosity, and we are told that the city was filled with people to see them. They wore their hair in long plaits tied with ribbons, and hanging down their backs; otherwise, their appearance was like that of the Huns (Theophanes, ed. Bonn, p. 359, note), whose hair was cut short and completely shaved off in front. These plaited locks of the Avars are referred to by more than one author. Corrippus, Laud. Just. Min. (preface, line 4), speaks of the Avarian race, with its hair twisted like snakes. Florilegius, the epigrammatist, talks of the long-haired Avarian army, and Calliades speaks of the dirty tresses of the Avars (Stritter, vol. i. p. 645, note). John of Ephesus also speaks of "those with long hair called Abaroi" (*op. cit.* ed. Schönfelder, lib. iii. ch. xxv.). He also says they were called Avares from their hair (*id.* lib. vi. ch. xxiv.).

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Kandikh put a bold face upon matters, and addressed Justinian in swaggering tones: he said, "The most valiant and numerous race, that is, the race of the Avars, unvanquished and unconquerable, was come to submit to him. It could repel and destroy all his enemies. It was his interest therefore to ally himself with them, and to enter into a pact with them, and thus to secure the best of help. They asked no other reward for their services than that he should give them precious gifts, annual pensions, and a fertile district in which to settle." Justinian was now old, and besides, was overwhelmed with the pestilence and the earthquakes that were then desolating the East, and with the concurrence of the senate, he presented the envoys with chains encrusted with gold, in shape like those which were used for manacling prisoners, couches, and silken robes. John of Ephesus (lib. vi. ch. xxiv.) also speaks of golden saddles and bridles. He then dismissed them, and also sent Valentinus as his envoy, with suitable presents, to make an alliance with them and secure their aid against their enemies, indifferent whether they were defeated or victorious, as in either case the pressure on the eastern frontier would be relieved. The Avars accordingly fell upon the Utiguri and the Sali (a Hunnic tribe), and overthrew the Sabiri (Menander, *op. cit.* 282–284), all living in the steppes north of the Caucasus.

The Avars by this conquest no doubt became masters of the many Hunnic tribes in the Russian steppes. We next read of their falling upon the Slavic tribe of the Antæ, whose land they wasted. The latter thereupon sent them an embassy; this was headed by Mezamir (perhaps, according to Schafarik, Nezamir), the son of Idarisias, the brother of Celagast, or Cyeligost (the termination of the name Idarisias Schafarik compares with the Russian patronymic form *ic* or *ič*), who was to ask to be allowed to redeem some prisoners the Avars had captured. Mezamir, who was a vain man, when he was admitted to an audience, broke out in the proud and arrogant language of menace. Kotragegos (a variant has Kotriguros, by which name a Kotrigur is doubtless meant;

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Hunfalvy suggests he was the chief of the Kotrigurs), who was a vassal of the Avars, advised them that Mezamir, being a very important man among the Antæ, he could persuade them to attack their enemies vigorously; it would therefore be well to kill him and then to make an attack boldly on the unfriendly state. The Avars took this counsel, and, in spite of Mezamir's character of ambassador, put him to death, and afterwards began to lay waste the land of the Antæ, carrying off plunder and prisoners (Menander, *op. cit.* pp. 284–5).

Nestor has preserved a vague tradition of these conquests. He tells us how, about the reign of Heraklius, the Obres attacked the Slaves, and won a victory over the Duliebians (who lived between the Bug and the Styr), and violated their women. He adds that when an Obre wished to drive out, he did not harness either horses or oxen to his carriage, but yoked three, four, or five women to it, who were obliged to draw it (Nestor, ed. Louis, Paris, vol. i. p. 10; Schafarik, vol. ii. pp. 58–59).

We now find the Avars sending envoys to Justinian to ask him to point out the district where he intended them to settle. The Emperor, persuaded by Justin, offered them the country formerly inhabited by the Heruli, known as the Second Pannonia, a very safe offer, since it was then occupied by warlike tribes who did not acknowledge any one's political supremacy over them; but they were not disposed to quit Scythia, by which no doubt the country of the Nogais west of the Volga and north of the Danube is meant, and not Little Scythia, or the Dobruja, as several writers have supposed, for the negociations were carried on through Justin, the governor of Lazica. Justin, although vexed at their decision, sent the envoys on to Constantinople. He had previously won over one of the envoys named Oeconimos, who, as Thierry says, was probably a Greek from one of the Pontic cities, who told him secretly that the Avars had one sentiment on their lips and another in their hearts; that they would speak fairly until they were allowed to cross the Ister, but had a sinister policy in view afterwards, and once over the river, they would not fail to employ all their forces

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vigorously. Justin duly informed his master, and advised him to detain the envoys as long as possible, for the Avars would not cross the Ister until their envoys returned. Steps were now taken to guard the river, and Bonus, a commander of the domestic guards, was appointed to command its garrisons. The envoys, finding they could not obtain what they wished, having received gifts from the Emperor, as was customary, bought such things as they needed, and also some arms, and returned again. The Emperor secretly ordered Justin that by some means or other he must take these arms from them. He accordingly did so; hence arose an ill-feeling between the Romans and the Avars. The chief of the latter, Bayan, had been further annoyed at the detention of his envoys, and sent to hasten their return, which only made Justinian more anxious to detain them (Menander, pp. 285–6). For an explanation of the unusually brave conduct of the Emperor we have to turn to another chronicler, namely, the chronographer Theophanes, who tells us how Askel, the ruler of the Hemikhiones, identified with the Turks by Theophanes, at this time sent an embassy to Justinian. This no doubt informed him of the state of things in the further east and of the real status of the pseud-Avars. These events took place probably in the year 558 (see Lebeau, vol. ix. p. 381, and note 1 by Saint-Martin). Up to this point I have small doubt that the Avars were living in the country comprised between the Volga and the Danube, and were limited on the south by the Caucasus. The Kutrigurs and Utigurs were probably tributary to them, as were the other Hunnic tribes as far as the Danube, and also the different Slavic tribes of Southern Russia.

The Avars by these conquests no doubt became complete masters of Little Russia and the Ukraine, and of the nomads who lived in the grassy steppes where the Nogai Tartars afterwards nomadized. Their stay here was, however, apparently short-lived. The Turks, who had broken their power in Asia, still threatened them, and they were too powerful and aggressive a foe to be parleyed with. We consequently find them migrating further west, dragging with them

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portions of the Hunnic races whom they had conquered. The Sabiri apparently joined them in large numbers, and from this time the power of that famous tribe apparently waned very much in the country they had once dominated north of the Caucasus. The rest doubtless remained tributary to the Avars, as did the Kutrigurs and Utigurs. West of the latter, on the plains of Moldavia and Bessarabia, and probably also in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary, as far the Theiss, there at this time dominated the Hunnugars or Bulgarians, who were the masters of the Slavini. They were apparently independent of the Avar Khan, who now moved with his own people into the country north of the Carpathians.

Before following them in their migration westwards, we must say a few words about a portion of the race which remained behind; for, like other nomadic hordes which have invaded Eastern Europe from Asia, they apparently dropped a portion of their people in the *cul-de-sac* formed by the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Caucasus.

At all events, we find in the mountains of Lesghistan tribes named Avar and Khunsag, and, according to Klaproth, many of the names which are borne by them are the same as those of Hunnic chiefs. The list of these names, as given by him, is as follows:

Hunnic Names.	Names in use among the Lesghian Avars.
Attila	Adilla, a very common man's name.
Uld, Uldin	Uldan, an Avar family.
Budak	Budakh Sultan.
Ellak	Ellak.
Dingitsik	Dingatsik, a family name.
Eskam, wife of Attila	Eska, a woman's name.
Balamir	Balamir.
Almus	Armaus.
Leel	Leel.
Tsolta	Solta.
Geysa	Gaissa.
Zarolta	Zarolta.
Beled	The Lesghian chiefs still use this title.

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In the dialect of the Lesghian Avars a river is called *or*, *hor*, or *wor*. Jornandes, chapter lii., tells us: "Pars hunnorum in fugam versa, eas partes Scythiæ petiit, quas Danubii amnis fluenta prætermeant, quæ lingua sua Hunni *var* appellant" (one MS. has *Danabii* instead of *Danubii*, Klaproth, Tableaux historiques, p. 246). This shows that among the Lesghian Avars the name for water is the same as that used by the ancient Huns. Again, *til* meant 'black' in Avarian. Amongst the Antsukh, Char, and Andi *dir*= 'black'; *vokolabras* amongst the ancient Avars meant 'grandparent'; among the Ingushes *voko*, and among the Lesghs of Antsukh, *vôkhula* means 'great.' Among the recorded Avar names, those of *Bayan*, *Samur*, *Solakh*, and *Kokh* occur among the Lesghs and Mitsdjegi. These resemblances are so remarkable that they point very strongly, as Klaproth urges, to these tribes of the Caucasus having been either Avars or mixed with the debris of that nation (Klaproth, Recherches, etc., p. 268).

In regard to these Avars of the Caucasus, they comprise about 14,700 households, which would make up about 80,000 souls. Their dialect is considerably different from the other Lesghian dialects. The chief of the nation styles himself Avar Khan, and he was the most powerful of the rulers of the Eastern Caucasus. They occupy the valleys intervening between the Chetsenses on the west, and the territory of the Shamkal of Tarku on the east, while the Terek bounds them on the north. St.-Martin suggests that the name given to the tribe by the Russians was really the title of their chief. The Armenians and Georgians call them Khunchagh. The Georgians always style the Avar Khan, Khundsagh batoni, *i.e.* the Lord of Khundsagh, while the natives themselves call him Khundsakh nuzahl. The name Avar Khan is in use among the other Lesghs and the Mussulmans. St.-Martin points out that the Armenian writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refer to these Avars of the Caucasus as Huns, while Michel, the Syrian, in his universal history, calls them both Huns and Turks. It is curious that the part of Hungary where the Turkish Comans settled was called

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Kunsag by the Magyars. In 1727 their chief was called Uma Khan. He then submitted to the Russians, and the travellers who then visited his country called him Usmei-Avar. His family was said to be very ancient, and one of his ancestors submitted to the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and was invested with his territory by Batu Khan. The chief of the Avars could put 2000 troops of his own in the field, and this force he could augment to 10,000 by means of the mercenaries in his service, and he was powerful enough to exact black mail from the Georgians in consideration of foregoing attacks upon them. This tribute was continued by the Russians after they had conquered Georgia (St.-Martin, Notes to Lebeau, vol. ix. pp. 404–406, notes). It is very probable that the amount of Avar or Hunnic blood among these mountaineers is not very large, and that the main body of the race is related to the other Lesghs, the Avar or Hunnic element being only a veneer, and of this it may well be, as St.-Martin suggests, that the greater part is rather descended from the Sabiri than from the Avars proper.

Klaproth says we must beware of identifying the Lesghs in general with the Hunnic race. Those of Khundzakh were probably conquered by some Khan of the ancient Avars, on the destruction of whose power a portion of his people probably withdrew into the mountains of the Caucasus, where they founded the community of Avar, and where they mingled with the Lesghian inhabitants, whose language they adopted, preserving only some words of their own language, and their own proper names (*op. cit.* p. 246 note).

Let us now turn to the history of the main body of the Avars. When driven or frightened by the Turks, they abandoned the Russian steppes, and migrated westwards, taking with them a following of various Hunnic and probably also Slavic tribes. They did not pass immediately into Hungary, but withdrew apparently through Gallicia into the flat lands between the Baltic and Carpathians, and there they apparently formed a considerable power and caused a considerable race movement. As I have argued in some papers

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on the spread of the Slaves, read before the Anthropological Institute, I believe the Sorabians or Serbians of Lusatia were so called from a Hunnic caste which ruled them, namely, the Sabiri, and these Sabiri doubtless entered Lusatia at this time. The Obodriti, whom I have also argued were also a Hunnic caste ruling over Slaves, invaded the valley of the Elbe at this time, and, as I believe, under the auspices of the Avars, occupying the lands which the migration of the Lombards, the Vandals, and the Angles, etc., had left vacant. I would also explain as due to this influence of the Avars the movement of the Chekhs into Bohemia, the former home of the Marcomanni, which apparently also took place at this time. Schafarik confesses the difficulty of fixing the date of this Chekh occupation, and puts it somewhere after 450 A.D., when the Marcomanni went westward at the heels of Attila. I hope to revert to this important race movement in a later paper on the Sabiri.

The importance of the Avarian domination under such an active chief as then ruled them has hardly been sufficiently appreciated. It led no doubt to raids in various directions, and to the settlement of many colonies of Slaves (so frequently called Huns in the old writings, doubtless because they had Hunnic leaders) in the country west of the Elbe. This I have pointed out in detail in the paper already cited on the Northern Serbs and the Obodriti.

The next time the Avars are mentioned in history, they are found in active conflict with the Franks. Gregory of Tours calls them Huns, while Paul the Deacon describes them as "Hunni qui et Avares" (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 10). In another place he says, "Alboin vero cum Avaribus qui primum Hunni, postia de regis propriâ nomine Avares appellati sunt" (Paul. Diac. i. 27). We read that after the death of Clothaire, *i.e.* in 562 A.D., Sigebert, who was his fourth son, and who succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, marched against and defeated the Huns who had invaded his borders. Paul the Deacon tells us the struggle took place near the river Elbe in Thuringia, a proof of the western extension of the Avarian domination at this time (see

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Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. vol. iv. p. 234; Paul. Diac. i. ii. c. 10; Thierry Hist. d'Attila, etc., vol. i. p. 390).

The Avars were at this time led by a chief whom, if we knew more of, we should probably compare with Attila and Chinghiz Khan. His name was Bayan, which, it will be remembered, was the name of a famous Mongol chief. We now find him having diplomatic intercourse with Justin, the nephew of Justinian, who succeeded his uncle as Emperor in the year 565. Justin was a very conceited person, and affected a haughty demeanour towards his neighbours, which was ridiculous, because unsupported by any real power. As Thierry says, he posed before the Avars like Marius did before the Teutons, and addressed the Persians in the language of Trajan; but unfortunately this Trajan had no genius, and this Marius no soldiers (*op. cit.* p. 391). On his accession Bayan sent envoys to Byzantium to receive the gifts which Justinian had been accustomed to give. Corippus, the panegyrist of Justin, has preserved an account of the reception of these envoys, of which he was a spectator. "As soon as the Emperor, dressed in his purple robes," he says, "had mounted the steps of the throne, the master of the ceremonies, having taken his orders, ushered the ambassadors into the palace. They traversed with astonishment the vestibules and long galleries which formed the threshold to the Imperial quarters. They halted at every step and admired the stature of the guards ranged in a double rank with their golden shields, their gold inlaid lances, and their golden helmets, from which hung down purple plumes. They started involuntarily at the serried lances and the battle-axes, and they asked if the Imperial palace was not another heaven; but, on the other hand, they were proud that they were themselves admired, and that the public gaze was upon them; and the poet compares their dignified walk to that of the Hyrcanian tigers when let out of their cages in the circus amidst the plaudits of the mob crowding the seats around. A veil being drawn aside disclosed ceilings thickly gilt, the throne and the sparkling diadem on the Imperial head. Thereupon Targites, or Targitius, the chief envoy,

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bent the knee three times, and saluted the Emperor by touching the ground three times with his head (surely a very Mongolian method of doing homage). The others followed his example, and the floor was inundated by the waves of their flowing hair." The envoys, according to Corippus, vaunted the renown of their race, whose sovereign, conqueror of the Imaus, the terror of the Persians, could, if united, drink up the waters of the Hebrus to the last drop (Corippus de Laudibus Justini, ed. Bonn, iii. 233, etc.; Thierry, vol. i. pp. 393–395).

Menander tells us the envoys adopted a bold front, either to overawe the Emperor or in the hope of obtaining larger gifts. They reminded him that it was his duty to continue the policy of his predecessor, Justinian, towards his allies, and even to enlarge that Emperor's beneficence, in order that he might secure their good will in an equal measure to what he did. If he had been good to them, they had in turn been good to him. In the first place, they had refrained from pillaging his frontiers when it was well within their power to have done so, and had prevented others from doing so. Those who formerly were in the habit of ravaging Thrace no longer did so, being afraid of the Avars, whom they knew to be friends of the Romans. They urged that he should be more generous than his father, in order that their services might be similarly increased, and that if their chief was to be his friend, it depended on himself. They pressed this home partially by threats and partially by arguments, and spoke as if the Emperor was their tributary. Justin, we are told, deeming their words mere boasting, replied accordingly. He affected to despise their threats as much as he did their blandishments. He promised to do more for them than his father had done, and would teach them a lesson more valuable than his, for it would be more beneficial to them to show them how to restrain their arrogance. It was greater kindness to stop an impetuous temper which was hastening to its own ruin than to allow it to become the victim of its own caprice. "Depart," he said, "with this counsel; we have no need of your aid, nor have we paid

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you anything except willingly, not as tribute but as a payment made to slaves" (Menander, p. 286–289). The language reported by Menander is virtually the same as that of Corippus. "You tell me, young man," the latter makes Justin say to the chief envoy, "things which we do not believe, and in which you have been yourself misled by false rumours, if in fact you believe them yourself at all. You are relating mere dreams and illusions. Cease to boast of the exploits of mere fugitives. Spare me the recital of the glories of an exiled crowd looking vainly for a home. What powerful realm has it subdued when it could not defend itself?" (Corippus, *op. cit.* iii. 310, etc., Thierry, i. 95). John of Ephesus says that, exasperated by their language, he called them dogs, and said he would cut their hair off and decapitate them (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. xxiv.). Justin's bold front seems to have imposed on the envoys, who were convinced that it would neither be possible for them to obtain a larger tribute, nor to successfully attack the Empire, and they accordingly returned home. John of Ephesus says Justin had them seized, put into boats, and conveyed to Chalcedon, to the number of 300 men, and that they were detained there for six months; they were then allowed to depart, with a threat that if any one of them was again found on Roman soil, he would be put to death (*id.*). At this time Bayan was engaged in a second campaign against the Franks, as Menander says (*op. cit.* 290). Gregory of Tours dates this campaign in the year 566. Sigebert marched against them with a large army; but at the moment when they were going to engage, the Avars (called Huns by Gregory), skilled in the art of magic, caused various phantoms to arise in front of the Franks, who were completely vanquished. Sigebert himself was made prisoner, but having an agreeable manner and address, "he vanquished those by presents whom he could not defeat in battle," and his liberality induced "the King of the Huns" to agree with him that during the remainder of their lives they should not again fight together. "The King of the Huns" also made presents to Sigebert. Gregory of Tours

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tells us he was called "Gagan (*i.e.* Khakan), a title which was borne by all the rulers of that nation" (*op. cit.* iv. 29). The use of the necromancy just named is a parallel to that employed by the *Mongol* chief Batu Khan in Hungary, while the title of *Khakan* was precisely the title used by the Mongol chiefs. The peace with the Franks is also mentioned by Menander. He tells us that after it was made, Bayan, the leader of the Avars, informed Sigebert that his army was suffering from a want of provisions, and promised that if he would supply them, his people would move their camp on the third day, nor would they any longer remain there. Thereupon Sigebert sent some flour, beans or pulse, sheep and oxen, to the Avars (Menander, *op. cit.* 303).

At this time a large part of Hungary was divided between the two rival races of the Lombards and the Gepidæ, the Danube forming their common frontier. The Lombards were planted to the west, and the Gepidæ to the east of that river, and as far as the Theiss, east of which I believe the country was then dominated by the Hunugars or Bulgarians.

Alboin, the king of the Lombards, who was Sigebert's brother-in-law, had determined upon the conquest of Italy, but feared to leave his dominions at the mercy of his eastern neighbours, the Gepidæ. He therefore sent envoys to Bayan, inviting him to form an alliance with him. They urged upon him that they had been ill-used, not only by the Gepidæ, but by the Romans, who were also enemies of the Avars. They wished accordingly not so much to attack the Gepidæ as to fight against Justin, who had proved himself most unfriendly to the Avars, had set at naught the treaty they had made with his uncle Justinian, and deprived the Avars of their wonted presents. They urged further that in alliance with the Lombards they would be invincible, and when they had exterminated the Gepidæ, they would divide their wealth and their lands between them. They would then be in a position to occupy Scythia (*i.e.* Little Scythia or the Dobruja) and Thrace, and carry their arms as far as Byzantium, adding, that if they meant to proceed, they had better do so

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at once, to prevent the Romans from forestalling them, and that they might depend on the implacable hatred of the latter in any event (Menander, pp. 303 and 304).

Bayan did not reciprocate these advances very warmly. He did not see what advantage it would be to his people. At one time he said he could not engage in such an enterprize, at another that he could, but was not willing to do so.

He kept them in suspense for some time, and at length consented on condition that the Lombards should make over to him at once a tithe of their cattle, and that, if they were successful in the war, one-half of the booty should belong to his people, while all the land of the Gepidæ should be ceded to them. Paul the Deacon merely tells us that Alboin made a perpetual pact with the Avars (i. 27). When Kunimund, the ruler of the Gepidæ, heard of this league, he sent envoys to ask assistance from Justin, and offered to surrender to him the city of Sirmium and the district within (*i.e.* south of the Drave), which had been lost to the Romans for some time. Justin did not see how it would be of advantage to the Empire to enter into such a treaty, and eventually would promise nothing more than that he would be neutral (Menander, *op. cit.* pp. 304–305). Having formed an alliance with the Lombards, Bayan proceeded to attack the Gepidæ. We have no means of knowing exactly what route he followed in invading Hungary, but it is not improbable that he marched by the same route as that followed by the main army of the Mongol leader Batu Khan at a later date. Schafarik urges that this is probable since it would appear that Transylvania was conquered by the Avars from Hungary, and he makes the Avars invade the latter country through the Dukla Pass in the Carpathians (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 59).

Menander does not describe what follows, and we are limited to the account of Paul the Deacon, whose statements are to be accepted largely as those of a panegyrist of the Lombards. He tells us that Kunimund, the king of the Gepidæ, being threatened on one side by the Avars and on the other by the Lombards, determined first to attack the

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latter. He was desperately beaten, and slain. Alboin, we are told, had a drinking cup made of his skull. This was doubtless a custom borrowed from his allies the Avars, since with the Mongol race it has been an ordinary incident of war (Paul. Diac. i. 27). This battle took place in the year 567 (see Waitz' note to his edition of Paul the Deacon). The Lombard chronicle tells us the Gepidæ were so crushed that they ceased to exist as a nation, and no longer had any king; but those who remained either became subject to the Lombards or to the Avars, who seized their country, and who still held them in severe bondage when Paul wrote (*op. cit.* lib. i. ch. 27). The Avars now settled down and occupied the country of the Gepidæ, which was apparently that part of Pannonia included between the Theiss and the Danube, having the Lombards as their western neighbours, and separated from the Roman Empire by the Danube. In my view there is no evidence that the Avars ever had any *settlements* east of the Theiss. The Romans, in attacking them at a later day under Priscus, had to cross the Theiss in order to reach their camps.

Bayan was not long in finding a subject of discord with the empire. Having defeated the Gepidæ, he claimed to be their heir. In addition to their possessions north and east of the Danube, the Gepidæ had also obtained a grant from Justinian of the district of Sirmium, including that city and the peninsula included between the Save and the Danube. When the power of the Gepidæ was crushed in the war above described, the people of this district, most of whom were probably Roman peasants, placed themselves once more under the Roman empire, and a garrison was apparently sent to protect them (Lebeau, *op. cit.* vol. x. p. 29). Bayan, after securing the main portion of the Gepidan territory, claimed this also. One of his officers, Yobulidas, received 800 pieces of money from the Governor of Illyrium, but this did not appease him, and Justin, having sent Vitalian and Comitas to treat with him, he threw them into prison. He then proceeded to try and surprise Sirmium, but presently withdrew, apparently finding the place too strong for him,

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and sent some people to treat for terms. Some of the citizens, who were on the look out as usual, seeing a party of men advancing in the distance, fancied it was Bayan's army, but Bonus, seeing how matters stood, sent out some people to hold a colloquy. Bonus had been wounded in the recent fighting, and his doctor deemed it imprudent he should go out, nor was it thought wise to let the enemy know that he was in this condition; but, inasmuch as he did not appear, they concluded he was dead, and it was eventually decided he should go out to treat with them after his wounds had been dressed. Their envoy urged that the Avars had been badly treated by the Romans, who had withheld from them what was rightly theirs, and what they had conquered with infinite pains (*i.e.* the country of the Gepidæ, including Sirmium). Usdibad (a Gepidan fugitive whom the Romans had sheltered) was similarly one of their subjects, and they had otherwise been badly used. Bonus replied that the Romans were far from desiring war, and that the Avars had been the aggressors, that the Emperor was not unwilling to treat them well, and had sent envoys to them, but they had behaved arrogantly and aggressively. In regard to their present demands, Bonus said it was not in his power to grant them without his master's approval, and they had better send envoys on to him. Bayan seems to have been reasonable in his reply; he urged that he would be ashamed of returning home again in the face of the various tribes whom he led, if he obtained nothing after so much effort, and asked at least for a small present. (Menander, pp. 306–307; Lebeau, vol. x. p. 308 and notes.)

Bonus and his companions, including the chief ecclesiastical dignitary in Sirmium, deemed Bayan's plea reasonable, and he only asked for a silver dish, some money, and a Scythian cloak. It was apparently deemed dangerous, however, to concede anything which might be treated as a tribute, and Bonus professed to be unable to do anything without the Emperor's leave, and urged further that being in camp, he had little money, and had nothing to give; the Romans there had merely their household furniture and the things

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they wore, nor had they anything worthy of his acceptance; all their valuables were elsewhere and at a considerable distance. Bayan was irritated at this reply, and threatened to march his forces to lay waste the Roman territory. He ordered 10,000 Kutrigurs to cross the Save and lay waste Dalmatia, while he himself, recrossing the Danube, planted himself in the territory of the Gepidæ.

Meanwhile, apparently following the hint given him by Bonus, he sent Targitius (whose name, as Hopf remarks, is most singularly like that of Targitaos mentioned by Herodotus as a primitive hero of the Scythians) with the interpreter Vitalian, whom he had imprisoned, to demand the surrender of Sirmium, the payment to him of the sums fomerly paid to the Kutrigurs and Utigurs, whose heir he claimed to be since he had conquered them, and lastly to demand the extradition of Usdibad, on the ground that, having conquered them, all the Gepidæ were now his subjects. Targitius, addressing the Emperor, said he had come from Bayan, whom he styled the Emperor's son, and that he trusted he would grant him what was due to a son, and he then went on to enumerate his demands, the surrender of Sirmium, etc., as above. The Emperor professed to treat these demands as ridiculous. The money paid to the Kutrigurs and Utigurs, he urged, was due to the liberality and policy of Justinian, and was not a discharge of any claim. As to Usdibad, he must deem the Romans to be fools if he thought they were prepared to grant benefits to those who had previously wronged them. It was true that during the reign of his predecessor Justinian the Gepidæ, who were wandering about, were permitted to settle in and occupy the region about Sirmium, and when a war broke out between them and the Lombards, the Romans, as was right, had helped their friends, and through their assistance the Gepidæ had defeated their foes; nevertheless the latter had proved ungrateful and treated their benefactors treacherously. If justice must be done, it was the Romans who might demand that the Gepidæ, who had formerly acknowledged their supremacy, should be made over to them and not that they,

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the Avars, should be suing for the return of Usdibad. "You say, O Targitius," continued the Emperor, "that the Khakan will cross the Ister and even the Hebrus, and will occupy the towns of Thrace, but the Romans would speedily punish such an attempt, nor would they desist until the arrogance of the barbarians was subdued. War was a much more useful occupation to the Romans than peace. Of what service were bows and horses and an infinite number of armed men if not for fighting?" With brave words like these the Emperor dismissed the Avarian envoys, at the same time he sent a message to Bonus, the Governor of Sirmium, scolding him for having permitted envoys with such demands to go to Byzantium, and ordered him to prepare everything in case of war. These events apparently took place in the year 568–569 (Menander, 385–389).

It was about this time that a famous race movement took place, which opened a still wider field to Avarian ambition, namely, the migration of the Lombards into Italy. This took place probably in the year 568 (see Waitz, note 5 to Paul the Deacon, lib. ii. ch. 7 and note 4 to ch. 10), and we are told they abandoned their own country, that is to say, Pannonia, to their friends the Huns, with this proviso, that if it should be necessary some time for them, *i.e.* the Lombards, to return, they were to have it again (Paul. Diac. lib. ii. ch. 7). We may perhaps read between the lines of Paul the Deacon that it was the pressure or dread of their friends the Avars that induced them to move. It is such pressure, and not mere sentiment, which has induced the great race changes of the world. On the departure of the Lombards, the Avars duly occupied their country. The occupation of the Lombard territory was only an episode with the Avars, whose dealings with the eastern empire meanwhile continued as before. Menander tells us that after several embassies had gone to try ineffectually to settle these disputes, the Emperor told Targitius that he would send Tiberius, who held the highest position in the army, with full power to treat and arrange matters. A colloquy it seems ensued between Tiberius on the Imperial side and Apsikh representing the Avars, and it was agreed

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that the Romans would make over to the Avars the district which they occupied, if their principal chiefs would give their sons as hostages. The Emperor consented to this, but Bayan insisted naturally, for he deemed he was treating with an equal, that if hostages were to be given on one side, they should be given on the other also. To this condition Tiberius would not consent. His scheme contemplated that if Bayan should desire to invade the Roman border, the parents of the hostages would restrain him. The Emperor seems to have concurred in this view, and to have urged that it would be well to let the barbarians see a specimen of Roman valour and warlike prowess. Tiberius accordingly instructed Bonus to see to the river being properly guarded (Menander, *op. cit.* pp. 311, 312).

The issue was now one of arms. The details of what followed, however, are largely wanting. We are told that it was the custom of the Avars to advance against their enemies amidst the clashing of cymbals and loud cries. Tiberius warned his men of this, and ordered them to countercheck it by beating their shields together, and raising their war-cry louder than usual. But at the first charge of the barbarians, the raw Roman levies fled, and, says Evagrius, "Tiberius himself would have been captured if providence had not preserved him to give this unfortunate century the example of a wise and virtuous Emperor." After their victory the Avars sent fresh envoys to Byzantium, with whom Tiberius sent Damian, to urge that the demands of the enemy should be granted. Peace was thereupon made, we are not told its terms; but Sirmiun, at all events, remained in Roman hands. As the Avar envoys were returning home, they were attacked by the Skamars, who were predatory robber-bands, made up of various nationalities, who infested the mountains of Noricum and probably also of Thrace. They stripped the envoys of their horses, money and other valuables. The latter complained of this to the Emperor, who sent after the robbers, recaptured the booty they had made, and restored a portion of it to the Avars (Menander, 312–13).

Justin the Emperor died in the year 578, and was suc-

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ceeded by Tiberius. In his second year the latter sent Valentinus as an envoy to the Turks. He had an interview with one of their chiefs, named Turxanth, and urged the object of his journey, namely, that the Turks should make common cause with the Romans against the Persians. The Turkish chief angrily replied that the Romans had ten tongues with which to proclaim their falsehoods. "A lie is unknown among us, but is habitual with him who reigns over you; for while he addresses us friendly words, he makes a treaty with our slaves, the Varkhonitæ (*i.e.* the Avars), who have fled from their lord, these Varkhonitæ, who at the sight of our whips would flee and try and hide themselves in the earth. If we wished to chastise them, it would not be with swords. We should trample them under the hoofs of our horses like ants. What mean you Romans by telling me my envoys must go by way of the Caucasus, and by saying there is no other route? You say this in order that the difficulties of the route may frighten me from invading the Roman frontier; but I know where the Dnieper, the Ister and the Hebrus flow, by which the Varkhonitæ, our slaves, went when entering your land. I know your forces, ours also spread as widely as the course of the sun. Miserable creatures, look at the Alans, look also at the Utigurs. They were powerful and famous for their valour and courage. They were confident in the numbers of their troops. They dared to attack the invincible nation of the Turks. They were misled in their hopes. They have been conquered, and are numbered among our slaves" (Menander, 400–1). These phrases are very interesting, since they prove to us most clearly that the Avars at this time had lost entire control of the eastern steppes of the Nogais. Nor had they retained much authority, apparently, west of the Dnieper, in the country occupied by the Slavini and the Bulgarians or Hunugars in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania; for we are expressly told by Menander that the ruler of the Avars sent envoys to Daurita or Daurentios, *i.e.* Dobreta, and the other chiefs of the Slavini, to demand tribute from the Slavini. They thus replied to his summons: "What man is there upon

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whom the sun's rays shine who can claim to exert authority over us? We are wont to acquire dominion over others, and not others over us; rather let us appeal to our swords." These haughty words were answered by phrases equally haughty, and a strife having arisen, it ended in the Avarian envoys being put to death (Menander, *op. cit.* p. 406; Jiresek, pp. 87–8). This no doubt greatly irritated Bayan, and when, about the year 578, the Slavini made an invasion on a great scale and overran Thrace and Greece itself, as Menander, and more especially John of Ephesus relate, he was ready to listen to the overtures of the Romans for an alliance. The Emperor in his distress sent John the prefect, who had authority in the islands and cities of Illyricum, to him. Bayan not only had a private wrong to avenge, but, according to Menander, he hoped to find great stores of gold in the land of the Slavini, the product of their frequent raids upon the Empire, more especially as they themselves had not been molested and robbed by others. The prefect John, having reached Paeonia, had Bayan and his people ferried across the Danube in long boats. Sixty thousand armed cavalry were thus transported across. They marched along the southern bank of the Danube as far as Scythia (*i.e.* the Dobruja), where they again crossed the river on ships having a poop at either end. They thus crossed into the very heart of the land of the Slavini, and proceeded to ravage their villages and settlements. Their army being away on the borders of Greece, the wretched people who stayed at home had to seek shelter in the woods and caverns, and the invaders captured what booty they pleased (Menander, pp. 404–407). From another passage in Menander we gather that the Avars on this occasion liberated several thousand Romans, who had been kept in servitude by the Slavini (*id.* p. 334). The date of these events is not quite clear. John of Ephesus, who was a contemporary and who wrote his work in 584, has the phrase: "In the third year after the death of the Emperor Justin (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. 25) and the accession of the valiant Tiberius." Menander also places the event in the reign of Tiberius. But

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the editor of that work, as well as Hopf and Jiresek, seem to read these phrases as if the events really happened in the reign of Justin, but three years after Tiberius had been appointed Cæsar and Regent (*i.e.* after 574). I confess I prefer the older interpretation virtually followed by Stritter, and to consider that the events really took place in the third year of Tiberius, *i.e.* about 580 A.D.

Shortly after this we read how Bayan sent Targitius for the accustomed tribute, which amounted to 80,000 pieces of money, and which was paid to him (Menander, p. 332). This tribute was doubtless the main condition of the peace we described above.

The ambitious ruler of the Avars had not forgotten his further claims upon Sirmium, which, as having belonged to the Gepidæ, he deemed as by right his own. John of Ephesus tells us that he applied to the Emperor for a number of workmen to build him a palace and some baths. Tiberius sent them, whereupon he disclosed his real intentions, and tried to make them build a bridge across the Danube, by which he might invade the empire (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. xxiv.). John of Ephesus here mistook the Danube for the Save. Menander tells us that Bayan moved his army to the Save, and encamped near its outfall into the Danube, and opposite Singidunum (*i.e.* the modern Belgrade), and began to build a bridge across the Save. As the Romans had a powerful fleet on the Danube, he saw the necessity of having the same, and accordingly laid his hands upon as many barges and other boats for carrying merchandize as he could on the Danube in Upper Pannonia, and rudely constructed a number of others useful for his purpose, which was merely to transport his armed troops across, and he also trained some of his men as rowers. This fleet he sent along the Danube, and meanwhile marched with his infantry to the island of Sirmium (so called by Menander, *i.e.* the peninsula between the Save and Drave). These movements naturally alarmed the Romans. Seth, the governor of Singidunum, sent to inquire what his purpose was, when they were at peace, to bring his armament

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there? If it was his intention to build a bridge over the river, it would not be permitted. Bayan replied that he had no ill designs against the Romans, but that in building a bridge across the river, it was to enable him to attack the Slavini. That having crossed the Save into the Roman territory, he would then beg the Romans to furnish him a sufficient number of boats in which to cross the Danube. The Romans, he said, were under obligations to him for having released so many of their prisoners, and he had a grievance of his own against the Slavini, who had refused to pay him tribute. He swore that he meant no harm to the Romans, nor yet to the town of Sirmium, which he called "that cauldron," so named perhaps from its being partially built on an island, which had somewhat the round resemblance to a cauldron. In this behalf it is interesting to remember that the Tartar town, which replaced Bolghari on the middle Volga, was given the name of Kazan or the cauldron. Seth and the garrison of Singidunum had small faith in these promises, but he had only few men with him, nor had he many swift boats, *i.e.* war-galleys, to oppose the powerful barbarian, who now began to threaten that he would march on Rome, and said that if a single weapon was fired at the workmen engaged on the bridge, the peace must be deemed at an end, and the Romans must bear the consequences. Seeing there was no help for it, Seth and his people asked that the pacific utterances of the Khakan should be ratified by a solemn oath on his part. He drew his sword, and, raising it aloft, swore that if any harm came to the Romans in consequence of the bridge being built across the Save, he hoped his people might be exterminated by the sword, that heaven would fall upon them, that God, who dwelt there, would cast fire down upon them, that the woods and mountains around might fall upon and crush them, and that the waters of the Save might overflow and overwhelm them. Having sworn thus in his national fashion, he said he was prepared to do so in the Roman fashion also, and asked how they swore when they meant the wrath of God to come down upon those who failed in their promise. The senior

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ecclesiastic in Singidunum was thereupon ordered to produce the Bible, and it was conveyed to the Khakan, who rose from his throne tremblingly, and respectfully took the book, and on his knees swore by the God who had written the holy words it contained, that he would not break the promises he had made. The governor thereupon received his envoys, and sent them on to the Emperor. Pending their return, the work on the bridge was duly continued, all the Avarian army being occupied upon it, so that they should be independent of the Imperial consent, should it be withheld (Menander, pp. 332–336). The envoys, being admitted, asked the Emperor that boats might be furnished to the Avars upon which their army might cross the Danube and attack the Slavini, and declared that the Khakan had already begun to build a bridge across the Save so that he might assail their common enemies. The Emperor saw clearly what was meant, and that the bridge was intended to intercept communications between Sirmium and the empire, so that when thus blockaded the place might be reduced by famine; but, having no means of opposing the enemy, since his troops were all in Armenia and Mesopotamia, engaged in the Persian war, he dissimulated. He said he also wished to punish the Slavini, who had assailed and ravaged several Roman provinces; but it was not then an opportune time for the Avars to be contemplating such an expedition, inasmuch as the Turks were at that moment attacking the Chersonese (*i.e.* the Tauric Chersonese), and if they, the Avars, crossed the Danube, they would at once hear of it. It would therefore be better if they postponed their expedition. What the Turks were about and whither they proposed advancing he would shortly learn, and would take care to inform the Khakan. The Avar envoy saw that Tiberius meant to intimidate them by the mention of the Turks, but he professed to share his views, and promised to urge them upon the Khakan. Menander says it was he who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the Khakan to attack the Romans. Having received very large gifts, which he seems to have asked for, he left the Imperial city. As he passed through

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Illyrium, having only a small escort, he was attacked by the Slavini, who were making attacks on that district, and was killed. A few days after his departure a fresh envoy, named Solakh, arrived at Byzantium, who spoke openly and without disguise:—"I deem it superfluous to report that both banks of the Save are united by a bridge. You know it as well as I, and it is superfluous to tell people what they already know. The Romans cannot save Sirmium by any means, and the river being closed, there is no means of supplying it with food, unless they can send an immense force to drive out the Avars and break the bridge." He therefore, he said, came to ask the Emperor if it was worth his while to engage in war with the Avars for the sake of an insignificant town or rather, "a cauldron." The Roman garrison and the citizens might leave the place with all their effects, and leave a vacant city for them. To be quite frank, the Romans, he said, were peaceably inclined at present, because their hands were full with the Persian war. When this was over, they would speedily attack the Avars, having this place as a base, and there being no wide river between them to protect them. It was very inconvenient to them, the Avars, to have this fortress close by. The Khakan enjoyed the gifts the Emperor sent him. Gold, silver and silks were good things in themselves, but life was dearer and more precious than all. The Romans had in these very districts distributed their gifts and largess to many peoples, whom they had afterwards attacked and destroyed. Consequently neither gifts, nor promises nor anything else would induce him to desist from his purpose, which was to possess himself of the peninsula of Sirmium, and he had a perfect right to do this, and to possess himself of it rather than the Romans, since, having conquered the Gepidæ, their towns and property belonged to him. The Emperor was much distressed at these words, and declared the Khakan had deluded him by his oath, but that he would not comply with his demand. He would rather surrender to him one of his two daughters than willingly give up Sirmium to him, nor would God fail to avenge the Romans if the Khakan broke his oath and pro-

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ceeded to attack the town. He thereupon dismissed the envoys, and ordered preparations to be made for defence. John of Ephesus says the Emperor sent Narses with an armament by sea to relieve the place, but on the way one of his ships with the chief part of the treasure sank in the Pontus, and on reaching the mouths of the Danube Narses died (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. xxxi.). He had few troops to depend upon, but sent orders to the various prefects and officers in Illyrium and Dalmatia to collect what forces they could and to march with them to the relief of the threatened town. When one of them named Theognis—John of Ephesus says Kallistros, the præfect of the Prætorians, had previously been sent to try and again treat with the Avars (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. xxxii.)—arrived at Casia and Carbonaria, two small islands on the Save, a colloquy was arranged. Bayan, we are told, descending from his horse, sat on a golden seat surmounted by a canopy ornamented with precious stones and like a tent. A shield was held in front of him so that he might not be struck by some Roman weapon. Theognis and his companions were some distance away. The Avarian intrepreters or heralds in a loud voice announced that there would be a truce during the interview. Then Bayan said it behoved that the Romans should surrender Sirmium without fighting, since there was no chance of their saving it, for not only was the town deficient in provisions, access to it being entirely cut off, but the Avars would never cease their exertions until they had captured it. He urged that he wished to have control of the place, so that deserters should not find shelter there. Theognis replied that he would not withdraw until the Avars did so, nor would Bayan easily compel the Romans to surrender what he demanded. These irritating words on either side ended by Theognis bidding the Khakan prepare for battle on the morrow (Menander, 332–342). This was only a piece of bravado on his part, for, as a matter of fact, he had not the force to support much boasting. For three days the Avars ranged themselves in battle array, and as their opponents did not appear, they lost such respect for them that the Avar

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division under Apsikh, which was in charge of a second bridge, cutting off the place from Dalmatia, did not deem it worth their while to remain there, but rejoined their countrymen at the other bridge. Meanwhile a dearth of provisions began to be felt in Sirmium. Solomon, who commanded in the town, was neither a vigorous administrator, nor had he any skill as a soldier, and the citizens, losing heart, laid all the blame of their calamities upon the Romans. When Tiberius learnt how matters stood, he sent orders that the town was to be surrendered on condition that all the inhabitants should be permitted to leave it safe and sound, but should take nothing with them except each man his life and one suit of clothes. These terms were accepted by the Avars. The Khakan also demanded the payment of the annual stipend of 80,000 pieces of money, which had been intermitted during the previous three years, and which the Romans were obliged to pay. In addition to this he insisted on a fugitive who had committed adultery with his wife being handed over to him. Theognis, in regard to this last demand, replied that the Roman Empire was so vast that it would be virtually impossible to track out such a runaway, who might in fact be dead. Bayan contented himself thereupon with exacting a promise from the Romans that they would try and find him, and if they found him, that they would give him up or inform him if they heard of his death (*id.* 424–5). John of Ephesus says a year after its capture by the Avars Sirmium was burnt to ashes by fire from heaven (*op. cit.* lib. vi. ch. xxxiii.).

The Emperor Tiberius died in the year 582, and with his death we lose the guidance of Menander and have to follow up the story in the pages of Theophylactus Simocatta, who wrote the history of his successor Maurice. Theophylactus tells us the Avars were Huns by nation, and that they were the most faithless of all races and led a nomadic life. Two years after they had taken Sirmium, they sent an embassy to Maurice, who had not then mounted the throne. We are told that they had heard of great and wonderful beasts at the Imperial court, and the Khakan asked to be allowed to

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see a specimen. The Emperor thereupon sent him one of his largest elephants, but directly he had seen it, he ordered it to be sent back. He also asked the Emperor to have a golden bed made for him, and the most famous artizans in the Empire were employed upon it; but when it was taken to him, he refused it with disdain, as unworthy of his acceptance. He also demanded an additional 20,000 gold pieces annually to his stipend, and when the Emperor refused, he at once prepared for war. In all this insolent behaviour we may recognize a not distant relative of the Mongolian chiefs who invaded Hungary in the thirteenth century. He speedily captured Singidunum, which was short of provisions and weakly garrisoned, the citizens being then engaged in their harvesting. The capture notwithstanding cost the lives of many Avars, and Theophylactus calls the victory a Cadmean one. The Khakan now proceeded to capture some other towns south of the Danube, *inter alia*, Augusta and Viminacium, two towns of Illyrium, situated on the right bank of the Danube. He then marched upon Ankhialus and devastated its environs. Thermæ, Theophylactus says, was spared on account of the entreaties of Bayan's concubines, who had gone thither on account of the baths. The waters there were reported to be medicinal. After the campaign had lasted three months, the Romans sent envoys to the Khakan. These were Elpidius, a senator and formerly governor of Sicily, and Comentiolus, who was an officer of the Scribonian Guards. These envoys found the Khakan at Ankhialus. He met their advances in a very haughty manner and threatened that he would destroy the famous long walls which protected the capital. Elpidius remained silent under this infliction, but his colleague, who was of a warmer temperament and had a more glib tongue, spoke out rashly and more befitting a Roman. According to Theophylactus he said: "O Khakan, the Romans believe that you have some respect for your gods and for the gods of other nations who superintend oaths, and that you will not break promises which you have so solemnly sworn. That you will not forget the benevolence of the Emperors and the

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good of the people towards you, and the kindly manner in which your ancestors were welcomed, and that you will not permit your subjects to do me the least injury since princes are more moderate than their subjects, and have greater wisdom and dignity. Our desire for peace has made us overlook your outrages and hostilities, and restrained us from attacking you. Instead of meeting you with force, we have been rather content to call your attention to the treaty you made with us; but as you seem untouched by the motives of honour and probity, and that the eye of justice is closed, and Providence, instead of punishing you, has been still while you have made a god of your passion; we shall fall back on our ancient courage, and we will make a terrible slaughter of your people; for much as we love peace, we shall take up arms if they are necessary to repress the insolence of our enemies. What other nation has more bravely fought for country, liberty and glory? If the feeble birds struggle with each other, what will be the ardour of a warlike race such as ours? Do not boast of your treachery. Brave as you are, remember that the Romans command a formidable power, that the vigilance of their princes is great, and that they will draw innumerable reinforcements from the nations subject to them. . . Having broken your oath, what assurance can you ever give of your truthfulness and probity? . . . Leave us in peace, and do not abuse your present prosperity to oppress people whose only crime is that of being your neighbours. Remember the way in which you were received when exiles and fugitives, and when you were separated from the main trunk of your monarchy of the East. Do not violate the law of hospitality, so that the world may admire your gentleness. If you want money, the Romans are ready to give it you, since they place more value on glory and liberality than on riches and treasures. For the rest, you are masters of a vast territory, where people live comfortably. Return then to the territory which you hold by the favour of the Romans, and do not allow your troops to cross our frontiers. The most violent winds cannot overthrow a tree whose trunk is solid, whose branches are spread out and charged with leaves, whose roots

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are alive and deeply set, and which is watered by a neighbouring stream or by the rain from heaven. Those who step beyond their due bounds become wise too late, and are punished by the shame which follows such temerity."

This oration was interpreted by the Khakan as an impertinence. He was accordingly furious and ordered Comentiolus to be thrust into prison with his feet manacled, and his tent to be destroyed, a command which was generally interpreted as a sentence of death. The following day, Bayan's anger being still unappeased, his grandees urged him not to violate the sanctity of an ambassador by putting him to death, and urging that the young man's imprudent language had already been sufficiently expiated by his imprisonment. The Khakan assented to this, and agreed to send the envoys back again to the Emperor.

The next year Elpidius once more returned to Bayan, to negociate peace, whereupon Targitius, previously mentioned, who was held in high esteem among the Avars, was sent back with him, and a peace was arranged on the onerous terms that the Romans were to pay the Avars an annual subsidy of 20,000 gold pieces, in addition to the 80,000 already paid. Maurice agreed to pay this rather than have on his hands two wars at once, namely, against the Avars and Persians (Theophylactus, *op. cit.* book 1, ch. v. and vi.).

The Khakan was outwardly loyal enough to the peace he had made, but this did not prevent his proteges and tributaries, the Slavini, with his secret connivance, making another invasion of the Empire and advancing as far as the Long Walls. The Emperor thereupon sent his guards, headed by Comentiolus, who advanced as far as the Erginas (a river falling into the Propontis, near the Chersonese), where he fell upon them suddenly and inflicted a defeat on them. He then advanced to Adrianople, where he came upon a chief of the Slavini named Andragast, who had with him a rich booty, and many prisoners, and a large division of troops, who was attacked at a fort named Ensinus, and he and his followers were driven out of Astica, *i.e.* that narrow strip of Thrace between the mountains and the sea, stretching from Constantinople to where Mount

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Hæmus abuts upon the Euxine (*i.d.* ch. 7; Stritter, ii. 51, 53; Le Beau, *op. cit.* ix. 246, note 5).

There was at this time, according to Theophylactus, a certain Scythian (probably a native of Little Scythia, or the Dobruja, see Klaproth, Tableaux, etc. 268) called Bokolabras, which word we are told meant in Greek a Magian priest. Having had an intrigue with one of the Khakan's wives, he persuaded seven Gepidæ, who were subject to him, to accompany him, and determined to escape to the land of his ancestors, who, Theophylactus says, were those Huns living in the East near the Persians who were frequently called Turks. Having crossed the Danube, he went to a place named Libidinum, whose site is unknown. However, he was captured by the Roman guards, to whom he told his story, and who sent him on to the Emperor. He seems to have informed the Roman authorities that the attack of the Slavini had been instigated by the Khakan. The latter's envoy, Targitius, was then at Constantinople, whither he had gone to receive the annual stipend due to his master. Annoyed at Bayan's treachery, the Emperor ordered the envoy to be arrested, and threatened to put him to death, but contented himself with sending him to the island of Khalkitis, one of the isles of the Princes, a little south of Constantinople, where he was detained for six months (Theophylactus, book 1, ch. 8; Stritter, i. 689).

This was furiously revenged by Bayan, who marched his men into Mœsia and the Lesser Scythia, *i.e.* the Dobruja, and many towns were captured by him. Theophylactus thus names them: Ratiaria, Bononia, Acys, Dorostylus, Saldapa, Pannasa, Marcianopolis, and Tropæum (*op. cit.* viii.). Comentiolus was again sent against the invaders, but he could only command the services of the raw militia levies from Thrace and Illyria. He went to Ankhialus, having sent 4000 of his poorest troops to garrison the camp with the baggage. He had 6000 men left, whom he divided into three bodies, of which he entrusted one to Martinus, another to Castus, and reserved the third for himself. He did this no doubt to meet the peculiar tactics of the Avars who used to

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overrun the country in various detachments. Castus set out for Zaldafa or Saldapa, a town (whose site is not known), and Mount Hæmus. He surprised and defeated a body of the invaders. He captured a large booty, but entrusted it to one of his officers, who speedily lost it again in a second encounter. Martinus, having learnt through his spies that the Khakan was at Nea or Noves, *i.e.* New Town, on the Danube, marched thither to try and surprise him. Having planted an ambush, he did surprise him, and the Khakan only escaped by flying for refuge to a small island in a lake. There he secreted himself, and Martinus failed to find him, although for five days he and his men were separated from the main body of the Avars, and were contemplating surrender. A strict soldier, the Roman commander returned to the rendezvous which had been fixed for the meeting-place of the three armies. There he met Castus. But Comentiolus, who had undertaken to plant himself where he might cut off the retreat of the Avars and then join them, did not move to the assistance of his lieutenants, but allowed himself to be persuaded by one of his centurions, called Rustibius, and remained at Marcianopolis. There he was joined by his two subordinates, and the three returned together to the camp whence they had originally marched, and posted themselves in a beautiful valley in Mount Hæmus. The Avar Khakan, having again brought his people together, prepared to cross the Panysus to enter Thrace. Comentiolus sent Martinus to the wooden bridge by which the river might be crossed, merely to watch the enemy's movements, and Castus was ordered to follow. Martinus carried out his instructions, and having learnt of the enemy's advance, retired to join Comentiolus. Castus, determined to distinguish himself, crossed the bridge, and hiding himself, allowed their advance guard to move on, and when it had passed, fell on the enemy and killed many of them. Overtaken by night before he could recross, he found in the morning that the Avars had seized the bridge, while the river was too deep and rapid to be forded, and seeing himself thus caught in a trap, he fled, and his men dispersed in the

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forests and were sharply pursued and forced by torments to disclose the hiding-places of their comrades. Castus himself, who we are told, hid away like a vine branch among the leaves, was at length captured and put in chains, while nearly all his men were captured. The Avars now overran Thrace, a body of 500 brave men who tried to stop them in a defile were all cut off. Ansimuth, the commander of the Thracian infantry, marched it to garrison the Long Walls, and thus to protect that suburb of Constantinople; but as he took his post behind his men, he was captured by the enemy's scouts. Meanwhile Comentiolus had remained buried in the forests of the Hæmus, while the enemy was overrunning the country. At length he called together his various commanders and harangued them, bidding them face their dangers firmly. Thereupon a Tribune rose, and made a speech, in which he urged that the prudent course for them was to retire. They had but 4000 fighting men with them and were burdened by the charge of 4000 unfit to fight. Their recent misfortunes had dispirited them, while the Emperor failed to send them succour. An old man now rose and demanded the right to reply to the Tribune; the soldiers assented. He delivered a stirring address, which is reported by Theophylactus. He bade them act like Romans and not be discouraged by one small defeat, and that the Khakan had only a few days before been himself a fugitive. It was not by following such pusillanimous counsel as that given by the Tribune that the Romans had conquered the world, and he pressed them, in stirring language, to attack the foe, offering himself to show them an example. This speech greatly excited the soldiery, who were collected in the theatre. It was determined to leave their retreat and to advance upon Calbomuntis and Libidurgus. At this time the army of the Avars was scattered thoroughout Thrace, and Bayan in fancied security was living in his tent but four miles away from the place whither the Roman army was now approaching. Comentiolus arranged the plan by which they were to surprise the Khakan. They at length arrived at a spot where they had to march in single file, when an

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accident entirely disconcerted their plans. A mule having fallen down, some one shouted to the muleteer to return and the words "*torna, torna fratre,*" or, as Theophylactus has it, "*retorna,*" were passed on from man to man, and were misunderstood for a signal to retire. The column turned round and began to retire hastily and confusedly. Meanwhile Bayan, having heard of the imminent danger he had been in, also hastily withdrew (Theophylactus, ii. ch. x.–xv.). The Romans eventually recovered somewhat, and succeeded in killing a number of the enemy. The words used by the soldiers on this occasion show that Vlakh or Rouman was at this time the prevailing language of Thrace and Illyria, whence the troops of Comentiolus were derived.

The Khakan having returned to the Danube proceeded to try and retrieve his position by laying siege to Apiaria, a strong fortress on that river. A citizen of the place named Busas, who had served well in the Imperial armies, and had retired to his native town, ventured to go out hunting while the enemy was at hand and was captured by them. When they were about to kill him, he offered them a rich ransom if they would spare him. They took him to the foot of the walls, and sent word to the citizens that if they would not redeem him for a considerable sum, he should be put to death before their eyes. Busas uplifted his hands and implored them not to allow a warrior who had done such honour to his country to perish thus. He cited the battles he had fought in and exposed the scars which he bore, and begged them to take his goods, and if this did not suffice, to supplement them in order to save him. The people would have consented, but a young man, who was carrying on an intrigue with Busas' wife, dissuaded them. Busas was now possessed with but one feeling, namely, that of revenge on his fellow-citizens. He promised to get the town into the hands of the Avars if they would spare his life, and taught them how to construct one of the battering engines called Helepolis, and presently Apiaria was captured and sacked. Several other places followed the same fate. Beroen offered a stout resistance, and Bayan, having failed to capture it after repeated efforts,

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was constrained to retire on receiving a sum of money. He also tried in vain to capture Diocletianopolis, Philippopolis, and Adrianople, whose citizens bravely defended their walls. The Emperor Maurice now began to suffer vicariously for the disasters of his troops, and became the object of lampoons and satires, the dangerous weapons of a discontented mob. He thereupon redeemed Castus, whose capture we have described. He summoned John Mystacones (*i.e.* the moustachioed), the commander in the Persian war, to the rescue, and gave him as a lieutenant a Lombard or Suevian called Drocto, or Droctulf. The latter compelled the invaders to withdraw from Adrianople, and afterwards inflicted a severe defeat upon them by adopting the Eastern tactics of a feigned retreat and then a rally (Theophylactus, ii. xvi.–xvii.; Stritter, i. 689–703; Lebeau, ix. 246–254).

This defeat was a serious one, and the Avar Khakan for several years was constrained to keep himself north of the Danube. He also abandoned Singidunum and the other Danubian fortresses which he had captured, and which were reoccupied by the Romans (Lebeau, ix. 254). This did not prevent the Slavini, his clients, who are given the alternative name of Getæ by Theophylactus, from devastating Thrace the following year, *i.e.* in 587 (*op. cit.* iii. 4).

At this time the Lombards and the Romans were engaged in a severe struggle in Italy. The Avars naturally looked upon the former as common friends against a common foe, and we read how, about the year 591, "Cacanus, the king of Huns," *i.e.* Bayan, sent envoys to Milan to make peace with Agilulf, the Lombard king, who sent him some men skilled in building ships, and with the ships thus made he captured an island off Thrace and even caused alarm at Constantinople (Paulus Diaconus, iv. ch. 12 and 20). Fresh envoys passed between the Avar and Lombard rulers, and a perpetual peace was agreed upon. The Khakan also sent to order the Franks to make a similar peace with the Lombards that they had made with themselves. At this time we also read of the Lombards making an alliance with a body of Avars and Slaves, invading and ravaging Istria (*id.* ch. 24).

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In the same year Maurice made peace with the Persians, and had his hands free to attack the Avars, and he transferred his seasoned soldiers accordingly to Thrace, and determined himself to march at their head, as became his reputation as a soldier; and did so, in spite of many omens, which his people deemed most unpropitious, an eclipse of the sun, an abnormal tide, etc., etc. He left some money to restore the church of Glyceria, which had been desolated by the Avars (*id.* vi. 1). Four days after reaching Herakleia, he encountered three strangers of gigantic size, wearing neither swords nor any other weapons, and carrying only harps (citharas). They were arrested by the Imperial troops in Thrace. On being taken before the Emperor, and questioned about their origin, and why they had visited the Roman world, they replied that they were *Slavi* who dwelt on the Western Ocean, and that the Avar Khakan had sent envoys to their princes with many gifts asking for succour. The princes accepted the gifts, but refused the aid asked for, on account of the long distance and bad roads which separated them. They said they had been sent by them to the Khakan with this answer. They had been fifteen months on the way. The Khakan, contrary to the law of nations which protects envoys, had forbidden their return. Having heard of the power and humanity of the Romans, they had seized the opportunity and crossed over into Thrace. They carried harps, since they did not know the use of arms, for their country produced no iron, whence, save tumults and seditions, they lived peaceably together. Ignorant of war, they were devoted to music. The Emperor was delighted with the visitors, their strength of limb, etc., and sent them to Heracleia (*id.* vi. 2). This Arcadian anecdote of Theophylactus is doubtless largely coloured by his facile pen, but it would be interesting to know whence these three scalds or bards, for such they doubtless were, came from. If really Slaves, they probably came from the Eastern Baltic, but Lebeau suggests that they were really Scandinavians (*op. cit.* ix. 353–354). The Emperor having superintended the partial concentration of the troops, and while at Ankhialus received envoys at

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this time from the king of the Franks, offering him an alliance against the Avars on condition of an annual stipend. Maurice gave the envoys presents, but replied that the Franks would find it glorious and useful to ally themselves with the Empire for honour only, and without other mercenary motives (Theophylactus, vi. 3). Theophylactus calls the envoys Bosus (Boson) and Bettus, and tells us their master was called Theodoric, which is a mistake, as it was really Childebert, King of Austrasia, who was then reigning. This is not the only proof he gives of the little knowledge there was at Byzantium at this time about the West. for he calls the Franks "Celtiberians, now called Phraggoi" (*id.*). The Emperor now returned to Constantinople. The Khakan had ordered the Slavini to prepare some boats on which to cross the river, whereupon the people of Singidunum, which was situated near the modern Belgrade, proceeded to attack them and burnt the materials they had accumulated for the purpose. The barbarians, annoyed at this, laid siege to the town, which, after seven days' attack, was on the point of surrendering, when the Khakan summoned them to join him. This they did after obtaining 2000 gold pieces (darics is the word used by Theophylactus), a table plated with gold, and a robe. They proceeded to Sirmium (wrongly called Mirsium by Theophylactus), where the Khakan ordered them to build boats with which to cross the Save. These were formed into a bridge of boats, and the Avars speedily crossed, and in five days reached Bononia (a town of Dacia Ripensis), and continued their journey towards the Euxine. Priscus, the Roman commander, sent Salvian with a thousand horse to defend the defiles of Mount Hæmus, where he entrenched himself at a place called Prokliana, and then went on to explore. On seeing the approach of the Avars, he regained his entrenchments. The invaders having tried to force them, a terrible struggle ensued, which cost them dear. A fresh body of Avars now came up to the rescue 8000 strong under a chief named Samur, who again tried to force the pass, but were again defeated. Thereupon the Khakan came up in person, and, overwhelmed by numbers, Salvian withdrew his men at

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nightfall and rejoined Priscus. The Avars did not discover the retreat of the Romans for three days, and having done so, they advanced through the pass, and in three days reached Sabulentus-Canalis, near Ankhialus. At the latter town they burnt the church of St. Alexander the Martyr, and presently caught some Roman spies, to whom they applied torture, but obtained only misleading intelligence from them. They advanced towards the Long Walls, and having reached Drizipera, 68 miles south-east of Adrianople, proceeded to attack it. The inhabitants showed a bold front and kept their gates open, as if preparing for a sortie, and the Khakan, having apparently had some vision in which he saw great bodies of troops coming out of the town in broad daylight and ranging themselves in order outside, retired and withdrew to Perinthus (*i.e.* Heracleia). Priscus deemed it a good opportunity to attack him, but was beaten in the struggle and withdrew with his infantry to Didymotica (still called Demotica, situated on the Hebrus, south of Adrianople). Thence he went to Zurulla, the modern Churlu. Here he was followed by the enemy, who speedily beleaguered the place. Meanwhile there was naturally great trepidation at the capital, for this was the last fortress before reaching the Long Walls. The Emperor thereupon devised a stratagem. He wrote a letter addressed to Priscus, telling him to hold out a few days longer, when a fleet would set sail for Pannonia, who should ravage the home land of the Avars and carry off their families, and the Khakan would accordingly be obliged to withdraw. This letter was confided to a soldier with orders that he was to allow himself to be captured. The ruse had its expected effect. The Khakan, having had the letter read to him, agreed with Priscus for a peace in consideration of a small sum of money, and returned. Priscus, having distributed his troops in various winter quarters in Thrace, returned to Constantinople (*id.* vi. 5; Lebeau, ix. 351–359). The Slavini, although tributaries of the Avars, did not deem themselves bound by the treaty of Zurulla, and in the spring of the year following, *i.e.* 593, Priscus was ordered to the Danube to guard that river.

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He assembled his men at Heracleia, whence he in four days reached Drizipera, and after halting there fifteen, arrived in twenty days at Dorostola on the Danube, the modern Silistria. While he was there an envoy arrived from Bayan to complain of these preparations. His name as given by Theophylactus was Kokh. He spoke in a truculent fashion: "What have we here Immortal Gods? Those who claim to be specially devoted to religion; it is they who act thus impiously. The Romans violate peace, the pact is broken, etc. Truly the Danube sees a fine spectacle. He who so ably arranged a peace between the Romans and the Avars is now seen sword in hand. Thou art wicked, O Cæsar, in spreading the ills of war thus nefariously. What thou art doing is not worthy of an Imperator, but of a brigand, and is execrable. Either lay aside the crown or do acts worthy of it. Thou it is who teachest the barbarians these crooked ways. We should not have known how to break treaties if thou hadst not taught us, who never entirely refrain from war nor esteem peace. In waging war thou art unjust: in making peace thou makest it uncertain and unstable." And thus he continued with a long string of aggressive and menacing phrases. It is no wonder the patience of the Roman soldiery was taxed to its limits, and they would have done the envoy some harm if Priscus had not restrained them and said this kind of insolence was natural to the barbarians. He merely replied that the Slavini were not included in the recent treaty, and that his preparations were made against them alone. Having prepared some boats he crossed the river, and having learnt that the chief of the Slavini, named Ardagast, had marched a portion of his men out and was on a foray, he advanced by night and overtook him. Surprised by this attack, Ardagast mounted while naked on a horse, having neither saddle nor bridle, and fled with no other weapon than his sword. Pursued by a body of men, he had to dismount and face them. Falling over a tree trunk, he would have been undone but for a friendly river, into which he plunged and swam over; but a great number of his people were killed or captured, and the district he ruled

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over was laid waste (*id.* vi. 6). The Ardagast here named was doubtless the same chief named as attacking Adrianople in 583 (vide supra), and then called Andragast. St. Martin compares the name with Radegast, the name of the Slave God (Lebeau, x. p. 360, note). Priscus determined to send the booty he had captured as a present to the Emperor, a generosity which was resented by the soldiers, who were inclined to be mutinous, until Priscus appeased them by bidding them value the call of honour rather than that of greed. He despatched an officer named Tatimer, whose name is Turkish, with 300 men to escort the booty. Six days after setting out Tatimer was attacked by a body of Slaves suddenly, while his people were unprepared. He rushed to meet them almost single-handed, and laid several of them low, but would have been overwhelmed if a number of his men had not come to the rescue, when he speedily defeated the enemy and made fifty of them prisoners. When he reached Constantinople, he was received with acclamations by the crowd, while the Emperor returned thanks at St. Sophia. Priscus now learnt from his spies that the enemy had retired, and he sent Alexander across a river called Helibacius by Theophylactus, and of which we merely know that it was north of the Danube. He encountered a body of Slaves, who fled to the neighbouring marshes and woods, where they were pursued by the Romans, who in vain tried to burn the woods, as the damp put out the fires, and they were only extricated from their perilous position by a lucky accident. Alexander would have abandoned the enterprize, when a Gæpes (*i.e.* one of the tribe Gepidæ), who had formerly been a Christian, and who, we are told, had taken refuge among the Romans, offered to show him a way through the wood. The Slaves were now surrounded and captured. He tortured them in vain to force from them some intelligence, but they despised pain and death. He was therefore obliged to trust to the Gepid who had already befriended him. He replied that these Slaves were the subjects of one Musoc, to whom they gave the style of king; that he lived thirty parasangs distant; that he had sent these

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people to explore on hearing of the defeat of Ardagast, and that if Priscus marched against him rapidly he would surprise him. Alexander now rejoined the latter, who put the Slave prisoners he had with him to the sword, and promised to reward the Gepid if he would secure Musoc's person. To reach him it was necessary to cross another river, which the natives called Paspirion, and which Jiresek identifies with the Buzeo. He went to Musoc and told him how the defeated followers of Ardagast were hastening to find refuge on his territory, and asking him to supply some vessels in which they might cross the river. He accordingly ordered 150 boats with their rowers to be taken over to receive these fugitives. The Gepid then returned to tell Priscus of his ruse, and Alexander was sent on with 200 men to seize the boats, while Priscus followed with 3000 more. The Romans, on arriving at the river, found the rowers already mentioned asleep or drunk, and while lulled to sleep by Avarian songs, they were attacked and killed and the boats seized. Priscus was now informed and speedily crossed the river with his 3000 men. He marched on and surprised the king while under the influence of the drink he had taken at his brother's funeral feast, and thus Musoc was captured, and the rest of the night was spent in slaughtering the barbarians. Jiresek, speaking of the suffix *uk* or *oc* in Musoc, says that it prevails largely in names in the Bukovina and Gallicia, as in the names Tomashek, Droujuk, etc. (*op. cit.* 89, note 25). The next day the Romans recrossed the river, and in turn gave themselves up to drinking and festivity, and in fancied security dispensed with the usual guards, when the Slaves, having rallied and pursued them, killed a great number of them, and would have annihilated them if they had not been dispersed by Genzon, whose name points to his having been of Vandal origin. Priscus duly hanged the officers who ought to have been on guard, while many of the soldiers were flogged (Theophylactus, vi. c. 6–9; Lebeau, x. 360–365).

The Emperor now sent Tatimer to order Priscus to put his men in winter quarters beyond the Danube. This led to another outbreak of discontent among the troops, who com-

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plained of having to pass the winter in such a rigorous climate, where they were surrounded by barbarous enemies who would destroy those spared by the weather. Their murmurs were again pacified by the influence of Priscus, whose many victories had given him great authority among them (Theophylactus, vi. 10). This planting of the winter quarters of the Romans north of the Danube seems to show that at this date there were as yet no permanent settlements of the Slaves south of the river. Presently Priscus, having learnt that the enemy were preparing to attack him, recrossed the river into safer quarters. Three days later he heard that the Khakan of the Avars, resenting the slaughter of the Slaves, his tributaries, was determined to attack him, and had already issued orders for the Slaves to cross the river. But the Romans had good friends in the Avarian camp, including Targitius, who had several times visited them as an envoy, as we have seen, and they tried to dissuade the Khakan from his intention. Priscus also sent an eloquent doctor, glib of tongue, called Theodorus, whom we have previously met with in connection with the attack on Sirmium, to mitigate the pride and ambition of Bayan. This orator, according to Theophylactus, spoke to his host of the pride and power of Sesostris, and used the occasion further to paint the moral of the vanity of conquests and the false glory of conquerors, a theme which is well suited for the display of the rhetorical rhodomontade of Theophylactus. Sesostris, he makes him say, having in his pride yoked some captive kings to his chariot with bits in their mouths and saddles on their backs, noticed that one of them frequently turned his head round, as if observing one of the wheels. "What are you looking at?" said Sesostris. "I was noticing," said the captive king, "how the top of the wheel sinks to the bottom while the bottom rises to the top." Thenceforward Sesostris became more modest, and recognized the inconstancy and fickleness of fortune. The Khakan was apparently impressed by this and professed to be well disposed towards Priscus, and was willing to agree to peace if the latter would cede to him half the booty he had captured,

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which he seems to have deemed himself entitled to because the Slaves were his tributaries, or perhaps rather his peculiar and special victims, and therefore the Romans had been poaching within his preserves (*id.* vi. 11; Thierry, ii. 33–37).

This proposal was resented by the soldiery, but Priscus pacified them by offering to return the captives to Bayan and retaining the booty for themselves. To this the Avar chief consented: 5000 prisoners were accordingly sent back, and the Romans were allowed to traverse the Avar dominions. Peace being thus restored, they returned to Drizipera for the winter, and Priscus himself went to Constantinople. When he arrived the Emperor reproved him for having returned the prisoners. He also deprived him of his command, which he made over to his own brother Peter, to whom he gave instructions about a new equipment and mode of payment of the troops and about their disposition. Peter fixed his quarters at Odessus, near the modern Varna (Theophylactus, vii. 1).

About the year 595 we read how the Bavarians, having attacked the Slavi with an army of 2000 men, the Khakan (*i.e.* the Khakan of the Avars) went to the rescue and the invaders were all destroyed (Paul Diac. lib. iv. ch. 10). The next year the Avars made an invasion of Thuringia from Pannonia, and pressed the Franks very hard. Thereupon Brunhilda and her nephews, Theudebert and Theuderic, paid them a sum of money and they withdrew again (*id.* 11).

Having read the Emperor's Edicts to the soldiers, the new commander, Peter, pacified their suspicions and in 596 he advanced to Marcianopolis also called Macrianopolis, twenty-four miles north-west of Odessus, and doubtless on the site of the modern Bulgarian town of Pereislavl. He sent an advance guard of a thousand men ahead under Alexander. This body encountered a troop of six hundred Slavini escorting some booty, the spoils of towns which they had pillaged, namely, Zaldapa, Acys and Scupis. The Slavini, in despair of resisting, put some of their prisoners to death. Then making a rampart of their waggons, they put the women and children inside, and prepared to defend themselves. The Romans were afraid to attack them, when

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Alexander addressed them an harangue in their own tongue (*i.e.* in the debased Latin then spoken in the Balkan Peninsula). Encouraged by this they broke into the rampart, the Slavini thereupon put their remaining prisoners to death and were themselves killed (Theophylactus, vii. ch. 2, 3). Peter had had his foot lamed, and would have been quiet, but his exacting brother, the Emperor, pressed upon him to further attack the enemy; and we are told that in four marches he reached the place where the Slavini were encamped, which was probably south of the river, perhaps in the Dobruja. Ten days later Maurice wrote again, bidding him not to leave Thrace, as he understood the Slavini meant to advance on Constantinople with all their forces. Peter thereupon seems to have made a perambulation of the towns of Pistes, Zaldapa, Iatrus, Latarcius, Noves, Theodoropolis, Securisca (probably the modern Rustchuk), and Asima, which were no doubt still occupied by Imperial garrisons. At the last of these towns he was so much pleased with the martial character of the soldiers that he wished to join them to his own party. To this the citizens strongly objected, as they would then have been exposed to the enemy. The soldiers themselves did not wish to go, and when he pressed them, they sought refuge in the principal church. Peter ordered the Bishop to have them evicted, and on his refusal had him arrested. The citizens now rose and drove him out. It was three days after entering the town, which was doubtless situated on the Danube near Sistova, that a body of a thousand of his men, who were sent out to explore, encountered 1000 Bulgarians. Counting on the peace which subsisted between the Khakan and the Romans, they were marching harmlessly, when the Romans poured a shower of weapons into them. They halted, entrenched themselves and sent to complain to the commander, who sent them on to Peter. He replied haughtily that he knew nothing of this treaty, and sent back an otherwise uncivil message. The Bulgarians thereupon charged the Romans, and put them to flight, and Peter wreaked his vengeance on the Roman commander, who was beheaded. The Bulgarians reported what had happened to Bayan, who

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sent to complain. Peter pacified him by laying the blame on his subordinate (Theophylactus, vii. 4). This is the first mention we have of the Bulgarians for fifty-seven years, the previous notice of them having been in 539, and the notice makes them subordinate to the Avars. It is an open question whether all this time they were still in the district north of the Danube, or had meanwhile withdrawn beyond the Dnieper and were again returning. It would certainly seem, from the Slavic names borne by the leaders of the Slavini at this time, that the latter, who occupied Wallachia, were governed by their own chiefs, who were only subordinate to the Avar Khakan.

Peter did not desist from his policy against the Slavini. He sent twenty soldiers across the Danube to explore, who were surprised by the enemy. It was the custom for such vedettes to travel by night and rest by day. As they were sleeping and hiding in a covert, they were surprised by the Slavini and put to torture, when in despair they disclosed the plans of the Romans. Piragast, the leader of the Slavini, apparently profiting by this information, put his men in ambush at the point where the Romans intended crossing, and succeeded in killing a thousand of them who crossed over first. On hearing of this, Peter ordered the Romans to go over in a large body, and the flotilla carried over such a number of men that the Slaves could not resist and *inter alios* their leader, Piragast, was killed. They could not pursue the enemy that night for want of horses, but returned to their intrenchments. The following day they advanced again, but were led astray by their guides, and for three days suffered terribly from want of water, having been led into a district that was very dry. They would have perished had not one of their captives found out that the river Helibacius (*vide ante*) was only four parasangs distant. To this the soldiers rushed heedlessly, and while quenching their thirst they were decimated by a shower of weapons poured into them by the Slavini, who were hidden in a wood on the other side. The Romans were thus in a trap. They constructed some rafts on which they crossed the river in disorder. They

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were vigorously opposed and obliged to retire. This defeat cost Peter his command and Priscus was once more reinstated (*id.* lib. vii. ch. 4 and 5).

At this time we read that the Emperor Maurice received an embassy from the Khakan of the Turks to inform him of his having put down a rebellion among his people, and we are told that about the same time two tribes named Tarniakh and Kotzagiri, who belonged to the same stock as the Var and Khunni, being driven out by the Turks, migrated and submitted to the Avar Khakan. It is said, adds Theophylactus, that the Zabender, who were also reported to belong to the Var and Khunni, who also joined the Khakan, brought him a reinforcement of 10,000 men. In regard to these tribes, Kotzagiri is probably another form of the name Kutrigur. Tarniakh is apparently a personal name, and that of a chief rather than of a tribe. Zabender may be a variant or corruption of Sabiri. It does not occur elsewhere (*id.* vii. 8).

Priscus, in the spring of the year 598, traversed Astica, and having recruited some men, made his way to the Danube, which he crossed and arrived at a town called the Upper Nova. This was deemed an intrusion into his country by the Khakan, who claimed the Danube as his frontier, and he sent to inquire the meaning of the invasion. Priscus replied that the district was a good one for hunting and riding and abounding in water. The Khakan objected to the Romans thus invading another's territory, and accused Priscus of thereby breaking the peace. Priscus said the land was Roman soil, that the Avars had come there as fugitives and refugees, and it was not for such to fix the limits of the Empire. The Khakan answered that the Romans had lost the land in fair fighting, and was naturally enraged, and sent a body of troops, which captured Singidunum, destroyed its walls and carried off its people. News of this reached Priscus ten days later; he marched towards it, and when within thirty miles of it, transported his men to an island on the Danube called Surgas, opposite a place called Constantiolus. The Khakan went in person from Singidunum

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opposite to the island and held a colloquy with Priscus, who was on a boat. The Khakan boasted that he had conquered what he held by the sword; he reproached Priscus with breaking the peace and furtively making war while still bound by a treaty, and he invoked Heaven to decide between him and Maurice. On the other hand, Priscus reproached the Khakan with the destruction of Singidunum, and taunted him with his avarice, ambition, and recklessness. Bayan finally threatened that he would destroy many towns and withdrew. Priscus ordered Gundius with a large force to advance upon Singidunum. He approached the town, which was watered by the Save and Drave, in a flotilla of boats. When the enemy saw the Romans approach, the walls of the town having been dismantled, they made a rampart with their waggons, but, attacked by the Romans, and afraid the peasants of the district might assail them from behind, they eventually withdrew. Priscus thereupon proceeded to rebuild the walls. The Khakan was much disturbed at this, renounced the pact he had made with the Romans, and marched with his men towards the Ionian Gulf, that is, the Adriatic. He captured a town in Dalmatia called Banges by Theophylactus, and Balbes by Theophanes, of which we know nothing further. He also laid waste forty other fortresses. Priscus sent Gundius with 2000 men to watch the enemy; the latter to avoid danger kept away from the main road and advanced by side paths and bye ways. Having approached them, he looked down upon them from a look-out on a height and sent thirty men to get a nearer view. They surprised a party of them when asleep, killed some of them, and carried three off as prisoners. They informed Gundius that theirs was a detachment of 2000 in charge of the booty. He accordingly planted his men in ambush, rushed upon them from behind, put them all to death, and secured the plunder they were carrying, with which he returned to Priscus. This loss was greatly felt by the Khakan, who now returned home again (*id.* vii. 11 and 12).

While the Avars were thus laying waste Dalmatia, the Slavini pillaged Istria, which was subject to the Empire,

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and also the Lombard frontier. As they were tributaries of the Khakan (who is called Cacanus Hunnorum by Paul the Deacon), the latter, who was at war with the Empire and afraid of entangling himself with fresh enemies, sent envoys to Agilulf, the Lombard King at Milan, to make amends and to secure peace with him. From him he obtained some men skilled in ship building, with which he secured a fleet, and thus conquered an island of Thrace. After receiving the Avar envoys, Agilulf in turn sent envoys to the Khakan, to arrange a perpetual pact with him. Bayan's envoys, who went back with them, passed through the land of the Franks and urged the Frank Kings to be at peace with the Lombards as they were with themselves. The Imperial general, Callinicus, in the year 601, captured the city of Parma from the Lombards and in it secured Godeskalk with his wife, Agilulf's daughter. Determined to avenge this we find that the Lombards, in alliance with the Avars and Slaves, entered Istria and laid it waste with fire and sword (Lebeau, vol. x. pp. 347–49, notes).

We have seen how the Khakan having invaded Dalmatia lost all his booty to the Romans. He only waited till the early spring to take his revenge, and in February, 599, traversed Moesia and appeared before Tomi in the Lesser Scythia, a place famous as that to which the poet Ovid was exiled. Priscus marched to the rescue. Theophanes says he went from Singidunum, and the two armies faced one another for some time without attacking. On the approach of Easter, provisions began to fail in the Roman camp, the country round having been devastated by the Avars. The Khakan now displayed a singular freak of generosity. He sent to tell Priscus that he was ready to furnish them with food. Priscus was taken aback by this unwonted generosity and suspected it; but the two chiefs having sworn mutual good faith, a truce of five days was agreed upon, when a large number of waggons, Theophanes says 400, with provisions were duly sent to the Roman camp. The Khakan had asked for nothing in return; but four days later he sent to ask for some Indian spices. Priscus

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thereupon sent him some pepper, spikenard, cassia, and castum. During the truce the soldiers of the two armies intermingled, and even lived in the same tents; when it was concluded, they again separated. Six days later news reached Bayan that Comentiolus was marching towards Nikopolis, having been sent by the Emperor with a relieving army. The Khakan at once set out to meet him. Priscus did not pursue, as he had not heard of his colleague's march, and thought the retreat a ruse of the Avars. Comentiolus hearing of the Khakan's march halted at Zicidiba, thence he went to Yatrus, which was situated on the Danube west of Nikopolis. The Avars being only twenty parasangs distant, he sent a secret letter to the Khakan. He then ordered his men under arms some time before daybreak; but the order was given so carelessly, that many of the soldiers, fancying it was merely a review, did not even put on their cuirasses. When the sun rose, to their surprise they found themselves in front of a well-appointed army but two miles off. They seized such arms as they could, and confusedly formed up their ranks; but Comentiolus increased their confusion by transferring troops from one wing to another, and he even secretly counselled the men in the right wing to escape with their baggage. They still held their ranks, and at nightfall sought their camp. Comentiolus thereupon chose out some picked soldiers, and, under pretence of sending them out to explore, counselled them to make their escape. He himself also fled under pretence of hunting. At noon, conscious of his treachery, the rest of the army withdrew across the Yatrus, and fled precipitately. As they neared the gorges in the mountains near Nikopolis, they found them occupied by a body of Avars, but joining their ranks they forced their way through with great loss.

Comentiolus, on reaching Drizipera, found the gates closed, and the citizens reproached and cast stones at him, whereupon he continued his flight to the capital, where he entered into the wretched intrigues that had full course there. Meanwhile the Avars approached Drizipera, captured the town and burnt the church of St. Alexander, destroyed his

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silver-decorated tomb, and dispersed his bones. A pestilence broke out in the Avar army, which was attributed to this sacrilege, and through which, we are told, no fewer than seven of Bayan's sons perished. This pestilence is described as a kind of fever with bubos (*i.e.* boils?).

The flight of Comentiolus filled the capital with alarm, and it was seriously debated to abandon it and escape to Chalcedon. The Emperor sent the garrison, his own guards, and the greater part of the citizens to man the Long Walls. The Senate urged him to send envoys to the Khakan. To this he acceded, and despatched Harmaton with many presents to Drizipera, where he found the Khakan in the greatest distress at the loss of his sons and the death of his men. For twelve days the envoys waited for an audience, and it was some time before he would accept the Imperial presents. He called upon God to judge between him and Maurice, between the Avars and the Romans, and accused the latter of breaking the treaty, in which he was assuredly not very far wrong, and of having caused the recent disasters. Theophylactus candidly traces the war and its consequences to the treachery of the Romans. A fresh treaty was entered into, by which the Danube was accepted as the boundary between the two nations, power being reserved to the Romans, however, to cross it in order to attack the Slavini. In addition to this 20,000 gold pieces were to be added to the annual tribute to be paid the Avars. This is the account given by the contemporary writer Theophylactus. Theophanes, Anastasius, Cedrenus, Zonaras, the Pascal Chronicle, and Constantine Manasses agree in a further statement, namely, that the Khakan demanded the ransom of a gold piece per head for each of the 12,000 captives he had made. Maurice, demurring to pay this, he reduced the amount to one-half, and even to four siliquas per head. The avaricious Emperor still refusing, the Khakan was greatly disgusted, and put his prisoners to death. These authors also say the tribute was augmented by 50,000 gold pieces. It is almost incredible the Emperor should have been so mean and wicked, but the concurrence of testimony is certainly curious, if it is not to

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be discounted as an after invention to excuse the murder of Maurice by Phocas (Theophylactus, vii. 13–15; Stritter, vol. i. pp. 724–732, Lebeau, vol. x. pp. 380–386). Lebeau suggests that the mutinous conduct of the soldiers on more than one occasion may have incited the Emperor's revenge, and the way in which Comentiolus was received at Constantinople after his dastardly conduct certainly points to some ignoble policy at headquarters.

These events caused great discontent in all directions. The army commanded by Priscus sympathized with the fate of the troops under Comentiolus, the discontent extended to the populace of Constantinople, and Phocas, who afterwards succeeded him, insulted Maurice to his face before the Senate. It was apparently to relieve himself from this humiliating position that the Emperor was anxious to break the peace he had made. In the summer of 601 Comentiolus was ordered to march with a fresh army towards the Danube and to join his troops to those of Priscus, who had passed the winter at Singidunum. Thence they passed to Viminacium, an island on the Danube, where Comentiolus appeared to be ill. The Khakan, on hearing of this, sent four of his sons with some troops to prevent the Romans from crossing, but they made some rafts, crossed over, and defeated them. Priscus had remained behind at Viminacium, awaiting the convalescence of his colleague, who was apparently more afraid than really ill, not wishing to risk a battle in the absence of Priscus, who had the confidence of the Court; but the troops who had crossed the river and entrenched themselves, sent him word that the enemy, emboldened by his absence, were assailing their camp; he accordingly joined them, and then sent back the rafts and rude boats, by which they kept up a communication with Viminacium, so that they could not withdraw. The enemy were eager for the fight, and he accordingly drew out his men in front of the camp, and to circumvent the tactics of the Avars, who were accustomed to rush in sections from various sides, he ranged them in three bodies in the form of squares. After a struggle lasting till nightfall, the Romans were victorious,

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with a loss of only 300 men, while the enemy lost 4000 (Theophylactus, viii. chh. i. and ii.). During the next two days the enemy was quiet, but having appeared again on the third day, he this time ranged his men in the shape of three half moons, so as to enclose them. On this occasion they lost 9000 men. The victorious Romans once more returned to their camp. On the tenth day the Avars again recovered themselves, when Priscus, encouraged by his previous victories, advanced himself to assail them. As before he marched in three divisions, but the enemy remained in one body. Planting himself on a height, he spread out his two wings and rushed upon them, driving them before him into a marsh or lake which lay there. 15,000 Avars perished in this struggle, among whom were four of the Khakan's sons. The Khakan himself deemed it prudent to escape to the Theiss. On the thirtieth day Priscus followed up this victory by another on the Theiss. He then sent 4000 men across that river. This body fell upon three towns, where some Gepidæ, unaware of the struggle of the previous day, were engaged in festivities and drinking. The Romans surprised them in this state, killed 30,000 of them, and carried off an immense booty. Twenty days later the Avars collected a large body of their troops on the Theiss, and Priscus again engaged them, and inflicted another serious defeat, in which 3000 Avars, 8000 Slavini, and 6200 other barbarians were captured and sent to Tomi. This succession of victories is a wonderful proof of the skill of Priscus, who assuredly revived in his person the ancient military renown of the Romans. The Khakan now gave a similar proof of his astuteness, for he at once despatched some messengers with orders to reach Constantinople before the tidings of the victory arrived there, and to threaten the Emperor that if he did not return the prisoners, he would lay waste Thrace and Moesia with fire and sword. Maurice, who was much depressed by the discontent of his subjects and other causes, and unaware of the real state of things, allowed himself to be intimidated, and ordered the prisoners to be liberated, much to the chagrin of

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Priscus and his men (Theophylactus, book viii. chapters 3 and 4).

These victories of Priscus aroused the jealousy of Comentiolus, who was also fired to do something heroic: He went to Noves, where he assembled the principal inhabitants, and asked them to furnish guides for the land beyond the Danube, along the famous road which Trajan made across Dacia, by which, as St.-Martin says, the road leading to Ulpia Trajana, the ancient Zarungithusa, is doubtless meant. Comentiolus boasted that he wished to lay in ashes all this wide territory, which belonged to the Khakan of the Avars. As they could find him no guides, he in a rage put two of them to death. They were much troubled at this, and protested that no one at Noves knew this road, but that four leagues away there was an old man 112 years old who was well informed in the archæology of the district, and who would duly instruct him. Comentiolus sent for him, and pressed him to become their guide. He declined, and declared the route to be impracticable; that broken down in a great number of places, this road traversed rugged mountains, deep valleys, and wide marshes; that it had been abandoned for more than ninety years, and that the year was so far advanced that the country would be found covered with snow and ice. Comentiolus was obstinate, and the result was that a large number of his men, together with nearly all his sumpter cattle, died from the exposure and privations they were exposed to. He was obliged to return to Philippopolis, where the army passed the winter (*id.* 4; Lebeau, vol. x. pp. 393, 394).

The successes of Priscus apparently drew upon him the jealousy of his master, who once more appointed his own brother Peter in his place. This was in the year 602. He encamped his army at Palastolus on the Danube, where he passed the favourable season for operations in inactivity. In September he withdrew to Dardania, the mountain district between Macedonia and Upper Moesia, probably to pass the winter in more genial quarters. There he learnt that an Avar general, named Apsikh, had assembled a large force at a

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place called Kataractes (by which, perhaps, some place near the Iron Gates of the Danube is meant). A colloquy followed, in which Apsikh wished to secure the surrender of Kataractes by the Romans. As this could not be, each party withdrew. Thereupon the Khakan went to Constantiola, an unknown place on the Danube, while the Romans retired to Thrace.

The next summer the Emperor, having learnt that the Khakan intended to take advantage of the scattered character and imprudent arrangements of the Roman armies to march suddenly upon the capital, determined to forestall him, and ordered the Romans to march from Adrianople and cross the Danube. Peter thereupon told Bonosus to prepare some pinnaces with which to cross the river, and entrusted the expedition to Gundius. The latter crossed the river, committed a great slaughter there, and secured much booty, but delayed recrossing, which the soldiers were anxious to do. Thereupon the Khakan sent Apsikh to destroy the Arti, who were allies of the Romans. Theophanes says to destroy the boatmen who assisted the latter, but *ναυτων* is perhaps a corruption of *Αντων*, as has been suggested, and this would identify the Arti with the Antæ, a very probable conclusion. However this be, it seems that their punishment was followed by a considerable desertion on the part of the Avars, which greatly distressed the Khakan, and he used strong measures to bring them back. Meanwhile the Emperor ordered Peter to winter beyond the Danube, an order which was very ungrateful to the soldiery, there being little further hope of plunder, while their horses were few in number, and the enemy was powerful. A revolt broke out, which Peter could not quell, and he indignantly left them and went some ten miles away. They accordingly moved their camp, and traversed a fortified place called Asema to go to Carisca, whence they had set out to attack the Slavini. Here they stayed awhile, preparing boats with which to recross.

The soldiers in vain urged Peter to let them winter among their families. The Emperor was equally urgent that they

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should winter north of the Danube, and by living on the people there save the treasury from being invaded. Peter summoned Gundius to a conference, and put before him in lachrymose language his embarrassments between the Emperor's orders and the determination of the soldiery, and denounced the avarice of Maurice (Theophylactus, bk. viii. ch. 6). The difficulty was speedily solved for him, however, for the soldiers put Phocas at their head, and marched upon Constantinople, where he was speedily crowned, and Maurice with his five sons were executed. This was on the 27th of November, 602. The usurpation of Phocas was followed by an attack on the empire, both on the east and west, by the Persians on the one hand and the Avars on the other. But two years later the Khakan was induced to make peace by an increased annual stipend (Theophanes, p. 451).

With the death of Maurice we lose the guidance of his graphic and interesting biographer, Theophylactus. There is a work extant, the "Tactics of the Emperor Maurice," which has only once been printed as an appendix to a seventeenth century edition of Aelian, which was published at Stockholm. In this work there are several references to the Avars, but they are so general and wanting in detail, that I have not found it possible to utilize them. Let us now revert to our narrative.

We do not read again of Bayan, and it would appear that he died about this time, perhaps from the pestilence already named. It is not impossible that it was that pestilence, and the loss of their great leader, which made it possible for Priscus to win his victories so easily. It was the same fact which doubtless led to the desertion of so many of the Avars, as mentioned by Theophylactus. The Avars never again recovered the vast power which they exercised under Bayan, who must be classed among the most successful of generals and the most powerful of rulers.

We have seen how peace was made between Phocas and the Avars in the year 604. This peace was no doubt a great gain to the Avars, who would probably have been driven out of Europe if the campaigns of Priscus had been followed up.

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The year before, we are told, the Avar Khakan sent some Slavini to help Agilulf, the Lombard king, with whose aid he conquered Cremona (Paul Diac. l. iv. ch. 28).

Lebeau mentions an attack made by the Avars upon Thrace and Illyria in the year 608, which is not mentioned by Theophanes, and I do not know on what authority he speaks.

In the year 610 we are told that the Khakan of the Avars went with an innumerable multitude, and invaded the borders of Venetia, *i.e.* of Friauli. Gisulf, Duke of Friauli, tried to oppose them, but being overwhelmed by numbers, was killed with nearly all his people. Those who escaped, including Gisulf's widow Romulda, took shelter in the seven fortresses of Friauli. The Avars proceeded to lay waste the country with fire and sword, and laid siege to the capital of Friauli, Forum-Julii. Here Romulda had taken refuge, and about it the Khakan marched his cavalry, to see where it was most weak. He was seen by the Lombard princess, who was anything but chaste, and noticing that the Khakan was a young man, she sent him word that if he would marry her she would surrender the place with all that was in it. He agreed. She opened one of the gates, through which the Avars rushed, and proceeded to devastate the city, which they set fire to, making captive all whom they found, promising to settle them in Pannonia. When, however, they had taken them out into the open space called Sacrum, they, after the fashion of Chinghiz Khan in later days, put all the grown-up Lombards to death, and divided the women and children among them by lot. But Cacco and Raduald, sons of Gisulf and Romulda, took to horse and escaped. They took a third brother, Grimoald, who was a mere boy, with them. One of them, fancying that he could not cling to his horse, and that it was better he should die than be carried off into slavery, was about to pierce him with his lance, when the boy bade him not to touch him, as he was sure he could cling on. He accordingly took him in his arms, and placed him on the bare back of the horse. The boy seized the horse's mane, and they galloped off together. The Avars pursued them,

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but only overtook Grimoald, who was captured. They would not kill him, but reserved him for slavery. The chronicler describes him as a beautiful boy, with flaxen hair and sparkling eyes. The boy drew his sword, struck the Avar on the head with it and dismounted him, and presently joined his brothers. The wretched Romulda, who was the cause of all the misfortune, had a dreadful fate. The Khakan, having satisfied his desires, passed her on to twelve of his companions, and after having been debauched by each in turn, she was impaled. Her daughters, to avoid a similar fate, according to the chronicler Paul, put some chicken's flesh upon their breasts, which became offensive with the heat, and the Avars, who fancied the odour was natural, refused to have anything to do with them. One of them afterwards married the King of the Alemanni, and the other the Prince of Bavaria (*op. cit.* iv. 37).

The war above described, in which the Avars were so effectually defeated, constrained them to keep the peace for many years, and it is not till about the year 619 (Thierry, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 69, dates it in the autumn of 1616) that we read of fresh intercourse between them and the empire. According to some authors this intercourse was initiated by Heraclius, who was contemplating a fresh war against the Persians, and wished to secure his flank from attack, and accordingly sent envoys with presents, suggesting a treaty of peace. Nicephorus says that it was the Khakan who sent to propose this, and that it was in reply to this advance the Emperor sent the patrician Athanasius and the questor Cosmas with presents. St.-Martin, judging from the general narrative of Nicephorus and Theophanes, when compared with those of Cedrenus and Zonaras, suggests that the Avars had at this time made an invasion of Thrace. He supports this view by the fact, which is remarkable, that Heracleia, which is situated very near Constantinople, was selected as the place of meeting (Lebeau, vol. xi. p. 22).

The Khakan told the envoys that the peace which had lasted so long proved his amicable feelings towards the Romans, and he suggested a meeting between himself and

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the Emperor. The latter, wishing to give his guest a lordly welcome, went to Heracleia accompanied by a large concourse of people, grandees, clerics, and workmen, and also sent there the furniture of a theatre and of a chariot course, with many rich robes for the Khakan and his grandees. Maurice delayed three days at Selymbria, where a crowd of people had gone out of curiosity. When the Khakan reached Heracleia, he planted his best men in ambush in the woods and valleys near the Great Wall, with orders to waylay the Emperor. They were noticed by some peasants, who gave information of what had happened. Heraclius thereupon put aside his diadem, which he slung over his arm, and his royal robes, adopted the costume of a peasant, and fled in all haste with his escort to Constantinople. The Avars pursued him sharply, and trod under the feet of their horses the men, women, and children; and we read that they slaughtered a large number of Romans. They covered the country from the Hebdomus to the bridge of Barcinissus, (*i.e.* of the stream now called the Sweet Waters) with their men. They ravaged the whole district, burning the houses, pillaging the churches, breaking the statues and altars. *Inter alia* the chapel of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, at Blakhernes, was sacked, while that of the Archangel at Promotus was entered, the holy table broken, and the *ciboria* carried off. The imperial baggage, the presents, the theatre, and the chariots were captured, and according to Nicephorus they carried off 290,000 prisoners. Theophanes says many Thracian towns were also sacked (Nicephorus, History of Heraclius, ch. iv.; Theophanes, Cedrenus).

Heraclius, having to make headway against the Persians, determined at all hazards to make peace with the Avars. He accordingly sent fresh envoys to the Khakan, who professed to apologize for what had occurred, and promised to restore what he had captured. By the treaty which was made, Heraclius agreed to pay the barbarians 200,000 pieces of gold, and also sent his natural son John, also called Atalaric, his nephew Stephen, son of his sister Maria Eutropius, and John, natural son of the Patrician Bonus as hostages.

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A few years later, namely, in the year 626, the Avars and the Romans had another and a final struggle, which is described for us in the anonymous narrative known as the Paschal Chronicle, which at this point, as St.-Martin says, is clearly contemporary and founded on an official report (Lebeau, vol. ii. p. 129). Shaharbaz, the Persian commander, sent envoys to the Khakan of the Avars to assist in an attack on Constantinople. George Pisides, who wrote a poem on the struggle, tells us how the Slave united himself with the Hun, the Scythian with the Bulgar, the Mede with the Scyth, etc. The Avars supplied some boats (scaphi) hewn out of single trunks (Theophanes, p. 487). The Persian army advanced as far as and was encamped about Chalcedonia. At length, on the 29th of June, there arrived before the great walls the head of the Avar army, comprising 30,000 men. The various Roman troops, whose duty it was to protect the capital, now withdrew within the walls. The next day the Avars advanced within four leagues of the place, and encamped near Mélantias, and burnt the villages around. Meanwhile, as they seemed to advance no further, a large number of soldiers and citizens marched out a distance of three leagues on a foraging expedition. They were set upon by a body of the enemy, which killed a portion of them and captured others. The Roman soldiers we are told fought bravely on this occasion, and enabled many of the citizens to escape. The same day a body of 1000 Avars turned the Gulf of Céras, and advanced beyond the suburb of Syques, and as far as the Church of the Saint Maccabees on the Bosphorus, in order to communicate with the Persians who were encamped on the other side of the water at Chrysopolis, where Scutari is now situated. They exchanged signals. When the Romans heard that an alliance was being negociated between the Persians and the Avars, they sent Athanasius as their envoy to the latter to try and prevent it. He was detained, and when their army reached Adrianople was summoned by the Khakan, and bidden to go and tell his compatriots that they might buy his retreat if they liked to pay. Athanasius was reproached on his return by Bonus

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and others for having degraded himself by becoming the bearer of such a message. He replied that he had merely fulfilled the mission he had been appointed to, and that he was ready to go back and take a more aggressive message, even at the risk of his life. He accordingly set out, and before doing so saw a review of the Roman troops, which comprised 12,000 horsemen and probably a much larger number of foot-soldiers. Of this he could give a report to the enemy. He was told to tell the Khakan, in conciliatory language, the determination of the Romans to defend themselves to the last rather than submit to any humiliating terms. The Khakan was angry at his message, drove him out, and bade him go back and say that unless there was an unconditional submission, he would entirely destroy the city. On the 29th of July the Khakan arrived before the walls, and his troops seemed innumerable. One portion of them, we are told, wore loricated armour. The following day a party of his men advanced to the Church of Our Lady of the Fountain, situated only twenty-five paces from the Golden Gate. They were attacked and cut in pieces by some troops which made a sortie. On the 31st the bombardment began, and from daybreak till six in the evening the walls were assailed along the length from the Gate of Polyandrius to that known as "the Fifth." The attack continued during the next two days. From twelve towers on wheels as high as the walls, covered with hides, was poured in a shower of stones, arrows, and javelins. This was replied to by the machines on the wall and the garrison, which fought desperately, while frequent sorties killed many of the assailants and also destroyed their war engines. The sailors also fought well, and one of them invented a machine consisting of a tower on wheels, from whose summit hung a boat containing armed men. This was pushed along the walls, while the men inside threw torches upon the battering engines. Bonus, while fighting bravely, continually urged the Avars to retire, offering if necessary to increase the accustomed tribute. He only received one answer however, namely, to surrender the city and leave his fortune in their hands. After three days' attack

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the Khakan demanded a parley. Five of the principal senators were sent out to him. These he confronted with three Persian officers, dressed in silken robes, who had been sent to him by Shaharbaz, and whom he seated beside him while he put the Roman envoys below them. He then said that the Persians had offered them their aid, but he should not accept it, if they would listen to his counsels. He demanded that the citizens should leave the city, taking nothing with them but their clothes, and should withdraw to the Persian camp, where they would be well treated. Shaharbaz had given his word to that effect, and he would guarantee it. This was their sole means of escape, since they were neither birds which could fly through the air, nor fish which could traverse the water. He intended to take the city next day, and would make a desert of it. He also bade them not rely upon their Emperor, who he was assured by the Persians had misled them, and had not invaded their country. One of the senators, irritated by this harangue, replied that the Persian envoys were really deceiving the Khakan with their statements, and were impostors, that a relieving army had already entered Byzantium, and that the Romans were devastating the Persian territory; and when one of them replied in an insulting way, the senator in turn answered that he had nothing to reply, and that he considered their language as an insult offered not by them but by the Khakan himself, and turning to the latter, he said, "With such an army you still have need of the Persians." "Not at all," was the reply, "they have simply offered me assistance as my friends." "Very well," said the Roman, "accept their offers; as far as we are concerned, we do not mean to abandon our city, and if you have nothing more to say, we had better return." They accordingly did so. The next night the three Persians were crossing the Bosphorus in a boat to return to Chrysopolis, when they were captured and carried off to Constantinople. The Romans cut off the head of one, and the hands of the second, and having tied them round the neck of the latter, set him loose to return to the Khakan's camp. The third was taken within sight of Chrysopolis, when his head

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was also decapitated, and then fired by a catapult into the Persian camp, with a note in these terms, "The Khakan has made peace with us. He has handed your envoys over to us, and we send you the head of one of them."

As they had no boats in which to cross the Bosphorus, the Persians could not revenge this irony. The Khakan wished to assist them in crossing. He had brought with him a large fleet of boats manned by Slavini with which to blockade the Gulf of Céras, while he attacked the city from the land side; but the Roman fleet had frustrated his plans, and forced his small boats to take shelter in the shallow Gulf of Barchyssus, where they could not be pursued by the larger vessels. Presently the Avars transported a portion of their fleet to a bay of the Bosphorus called Chelæ, two leagues distant from Constantinople, where they were concealed from view; but the Romans got notice of their plans, and duly laid in wait for them, and meanwhile, out of bravado, sent the Khakan a present of game and wine. Thereupon an Avar chieftain named Ermitzis approached one of the gates, and cried out: "You have done a shameful thing in killing two men who yesterday supped with the Khakan, and in sending one back with the head of another." The Romans replied that these things mattered little to them. The night following, the Persians were ready to embark, and the Avar boats set out to fetch them, when they were attacked and dispersed by the Roman fleet, and the Slave boatmen who manned them were killed. The Khakan now determined to make a last effort to capture the city. A general bombardment was ordered to commence at daybreak, during which an assault was to be made upon the walls, while the boats at the outflow of the Barchyssus were to discharge their men along another side, and thus form a diversion. Nicephorus tells us that the Slavini were ordered when they noticed the watch fires lighted on the fortress of Blakhernæ named Ala, to row speedily towards the city and cause such terror there that the Avars from the land side might be able to surprise and escalade the walls. Bonus, the Roman commander, was duly forewarned of this. According to the contemporary

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Paschal Chronicle he sent a body of Armenians, who lighted signal fires on the portico of the Church of St. Nicholas of Blakhernæ. On seeing these fires the Slavini, fancying they had been lighted as a signal for them, made for them, and fell into the hands of the Armenians, who slaughtered most of them. A few reached the Khakan's presence, who, probably from chagrin, ordered them to be put to death. The Romans carried off the Avar boats (Paschal Chronicle, passim). The attack from the land side was equally futile, and the Khakan, who watched the proceedings from an eminence with his cavalry, was beside himself with rage. The garrison made a sortie, and so terror-stricken were the Avars that even women and children, who accompanied the Romans, penetrated to their camp. These disappointments broke the courage of the Khakan, who dismantled his siege machinery, set fire to his moving towers, and overturned his entrenchments. He sent a herald to proclaim to the citizens of Constantinople that he was only retiring to make more complete preparations, and that he should presently return and do to them as they had done to the Persian envoys. He followed this message with an invitation to the Patrician Bonus to give him another interview. The latter replied that he had no longer the power to treat, but that the Emperor's brother was at hand with his victorious army, and would speedily march into the Khakan's own country, and there treat for peace. This was of course not true, but it still more frightened the Khakan, who, afraid that he should have to deal with Theodore, the victor of Sais, at once broke up his camp. His retreat was covered by his cavalry.

A portion of his army remained behind and devastated the environs of the city, including the churches of St. Cosmas and Damian, and that of St. Nicholas (Paschal Chronicle, passim). According to Theophanes they also destroyed the aqueduct which had been built by Valentinian. The famous church of St. Mary was the only one which remained intact in Blakhernæ. No wonder, therefore, that the renowned Panagia should have had much of the glory of the victory assigned to her, and that legends should also have attached

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themselves to her person. Thus we are told in the Paschal Chronicle that the Khakan of the Avars himself told his people how, during the attack on the city, he had seen a woman in beautiful costume perambulating the walls. Cedrenus, apparently reporting another version of this story, tells us the Avar soldiers saw an illustrious woman, in appearance somewhat like a eunuch, leave the gate of Blakhernæ at sunrise. The sentinels, thinking it was the sister of Heraclius going out to propose peace on behalf of her brother, opened the gates of the camp, but hardly had she crossed the ditch when she vanished from their sight, whereupon the Avars, as if seized by a frenzy, began to fight each other. The story is a curious replica of similar Greek legends of a much older day about Athene and other goddesses. It is, at all events, curious, as Thierry points out, that the church of the Virgin was alone spared while the other churches of Blakhernæ were sacked (*op. cit.* p. 101). Nicephorus, a few years later, recalls what was doubtless a result of this war. He tells us that in the year when the Roman general Theodorus was defeated by the Saracens, *i.e.* in the 25th year of Heraclius, A.D. 634, Maria, the sister of the Emperor, sent money to the Avars to redeem her son Stephen above named from captivity. Thereupon the Avar ruler urged upon Antonianus that he should similarly redeem the other hostages who were in Avarian hands, which was accordingly done. Notwithstanding the ravage they made, and the plunder they carried off, the retreat of the Avars from the capital was treated as a Roman success, and its glories were sung in verse by George the Deacon, surnamed Pisides. It would seem to have largely broken the prestige of the Avars, and it was at all events their last effort against the Empire.

The power of the Avars at the end of the sixth century has hardly been realized by many students. Their dominion was apparently bounded on the north by the Baltic, and they doubtless ruled over the Maritime Slaves. On the south they were nominally bounded by the Danube, but their many raids across that river, and the apparent hold they had upon portions of Illyria, makes this only a nominal

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boundary. On the west they were limited by the dominions of the Franks and Bavarians, and were masters apparently of Bohemia on the one hand and Carinthia on the other. While on the east their domination extended to the frontier of the Turks, which is uncertain, perhaps as far as the Dnieper. Within this vast area their power was more or less felt, although many of the subject tribes had their own chieftains.

We now reach a period when this vast dominion broke to pieces. Fredegar tells us how in the 40th year of Clothaire, a certain Samo of the nation of the Franks associated himself with some people of Soignies (Sennonagus pagus), who, like him, were merchants, and went among the Slaves called Winidi, who were on the point of revolting against their terrible taskmasters, the Avars and their Khakan (called Gagan by Fredegar). They were known as Winidi Cefuci, because the Avars put them in front of themselves in fighting, so that they were threatened both before and behind. If they were victorious, the Avars advanced to seize the booty they captured; while if they were beaten, the Avars went to their succour. The Avars passed their winters in the country of the Winidi, they took their wives and daughters to their beds, and made other exactions. The children who were born from the mixed race could no longer brook this treatment, and had begun to rebel, when Samo arrived and joined their forces. He exhibited so much bravery that they elected him as their king, and he ruled them for thirty-five years, during which time he won many victories over the Avars (Fredegar, ch. xlviii.). The Wends here referred to were doubtless the Wends of Bohemia, and this means that the Avars lost their control over the various Slavic tribes to the north of them, including the Bohemians, Slovaks, and the Maritime Slaves east of the Elbe. The revolt of the Wends was followed by a more serious outbreak nearer home.

In my view the river Theiss was at this time an important frontier. It separated Avaria, the country settled and inhabited by the Avars and their slaves, the Gepidæ, from Dacia and its borders, the country of the Hunnugundurs, Hunigurs, or Bulgarians, and their clients the Slavini, who

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were apparently tributary to the Avars, but had princes of their own.

Nicephorus, in his account of Heraclius, tells us that a certain Kubrat, the cousin of Organa, the ruler of the Hunnugundurs, rebelled against the Khakan of the Avars, drove out the people whom he had received from him, and afterwards sent an embassy to make peace with Heraclius, which lasted during their joint lives. Heraclius made him presents, and gave him the title of Patrician (Stritter, vol. ii. p. 501). We do not otherwise know who Organa or Urkhan was, but from the language of Nicephorus he would seem to have been a well-known personage at the time, and I would suggest that he was the lord of the Huns, who, according to the same author, in the very beginning of the reign of Heraclius went to Constantinople with his guards and a great number of his chief people to profess the Christian religion, when the grandees of the Empire became sponsors at the font for the chief personages of the Huns. Heraclius, we are told, then gave their king presents, and also the title of Patrician (*op. cit.* vol. i. ch. iii.). To revert, however, to the feud between the Avars and the Hunnugundurs. Fredegar apparently refers to these events in another way. He says that in the 9th year of Dagobert, there was a great commotion in Pannonia about the election of a king, as to whether he should be an Avar or a Bulgarian. The rival parties fought, and the Bulgarians were beaten, and 9000 of them, who had been expelled from Pannonia with their wives and children, went to Dagobert, the Frank king (Fredegar, ch. lxxii.; see Howorth, the Bulgarians, Journ. Anthr. Inst. vol. xi. p. 223).

The Kubrat above named is clearly the same person as Kuber, a Hun mentioned in the life of St. Demetrius, who was set over a part of his people by the Avar Khan in the district about Sirmium, and who afterwards rebelled against him, crossed the Danube and settled in the plain of Karamesios. See Acta Saint, the fourth volume for October, and Howorth, art. Bulgarians, above cited.

In a paper which I published some time ago in the Transactions of the Anthropological Institute, I endeavoured to

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show that the Croats were so called, not as has been supposed from their having lived in the mountains (Khrebeti in Slave), but from this Kubrat, Khrobat or Horvath, and that, like other southern Slaves, they were led by a caste of Hunnic origin. Traces of these Hunnic Croats are in my view still to be found in the title Ban in use among the Croats, and perhaps also in the peculiarities of the so-called Morlaks, a clan in Croatia which it has been urged is of Tartar or Kirghiz origin, and upon which I have written at greater length in a paper I published in the Memoirs of the Anthropological Institute on the Croats. Others deem them descended from the Avars.

I am disposed to think that these true Croats were not merely of Hunnic origin, but were true Huns, or, as they were at this time called, Bulgars. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in describing the settlement of the Croats in Croatia, tells us that Heraclius, being much distressed at the way in which the Avars were devastating Dalmatia, made overtures to some princes of the Khrobati, offering them, if they drove out the Avars from that district, to allow them to settle there. They accordingly marched under five brothers, one of whom, called *Kubrat*, conquered the Avars in Illyria, and occupied the country. Elsewhere he tells us the Khrobati came from White Krobatia, and having fought for several years with the Avars in Dalmatia, vanquished them and occupied the country, and he goes on to say, "There still remain some of the Abares in Krobatia" (Const. de ad Imp. xxx. p. 95).

The five brothers, of whom one was named Kubrat, I venture to identify with the five sons of Kubrat mentioned by Nicephorus. Nicephorus tells us that on the death of Kubrat, and during the reign of Constantine II. (642–669), one of his five sons led a body of Bulgars into the Avarian Pannonia, and submitted to the Avar Khakan. However we are to reconcile the various statements, what I would urge is, that the Croats of Croatia are a race of Slaves governed by a Bulgarian caste, and derive their name from the Bulgarian chief Kubrat, and that when we speak of the Croats settling in Croatia, we in effect mean a colony of

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Bulgars invading and dispossessing the Avars of Dalmatia, while the main body remained encamped between the Theiss and the Dnieper in eastern Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, etc.

The Croats were not the only Hunnic race which separated from the Avars and settled south of the Danube. According to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Heraclius also invited the Serbii to occupy the districts of Pagania, Zachlumia, Terbunia and the district of the Canalitæ which had been devastated by the incursions of the Avars, and was then lying waste. The Serbii of Constantine are the Seberenses of Theophanes, who tells us they formed seven tribes who were settled in the district between the country of the Avars, the Beregabian Pass, and the Eastern Marshes. As I have elsewhere argued, they were the Hunnic race of the Sabiri, who conquered and ruled over Slaves. East of them were settled the seven tribes of the Slavini, who had probably at the same time occupied the district round Varna, and who were even then perhaps ruled by a Bulgarian caste. Thus Mœsia, on the invitation of the Romans themselves, was occupied by warlike races who had a special interest in protecting the Empire from the attacks of the Avars, and we read of no more such attacks, and Avaria, or the land of the Avars, was now in fact limited to a comparatively small area, namely, Hungary west of the Theiss, and their subsequent dealings were almost confined to struggles with the Bavarians and Franks, and intercourse with the Lombards in Italy.

In the year 662 we find the Avars taking part in the affairs of Italy. Aripert, chief of the Lombards, died in the year 661, dividing his empire between his sons Pertharit and Gondebert, the one with his capital at Milan, the other at Pavia. Their quarrels invited the interference of Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, who marched on Pavia and treacherously assassinated Gondebert. Thereupon Pertharit abandoned his wife and son and sought refuge beyond the Alps with the Khakan of the Avars, with whom he remained two years (Paul. Diac. lib. iv. ch. 31). Meanwhile Grimoald informed

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the Avar chief that peace between them was impossible so long as he sheltered his enemy, and he offered him a basin full of gold if he would either kill or surrender him to be killed. According to Eddius, in his life of St. Wilfred, the Avar chief had sworn to his guest, in the presence of the idol his god, never to surrender him to his foes, and invoked his vengeance if he did so. He was not, however, in a position to wage war with the Lombards, and although he would not deliver him up to Grimoald's messengers, he ordered him to leave his country, and to go wherever he pleased, so long as he did not cause trouble between the Avars and the Lombards. This story was taken down from Pertharit's own narrative many years after (Eddius vita St. Wilf. Mabillon in app. tom. iv. Sncc. Benedicti, p. 69). Pertharit first returned to Italy, where he sought the clemency of Grimoald, and eventually fled to France (Paul. Diac. v. 2).

Eight years later, we find the Avars again having intercourse with the Lombards and on friendly terms with Grimoald. While the latter was absent in the South of Italy, Lupus, Duke of Friauli, to whom he had confided the government during his absence, revolted. Grimoald, not wishing to have a civil strife among the Lombards, sent to ask the Khakan to put down the rebel. He was doubtless pleased enough with the duty, and advanced with two armies, he himself leading one. He encountered Lupus at Fiume on the Adriatic. The Khakan at once attacked him with the division he had with him. The struggle, we are told, lasted for three days without much advantage to either side, when the second division of the Avars was seen advancing. The rebel army then decamped, leaving the dead and wounded, including Lupus himself. The Avars thereupon laid waste the open country, burning and destroying the trees and crops, and killing the people, desolating Friauli, the so-called pearl of Lombardy. Grimoald now returned, and having thanked the Avar chief for his help, implored him to return, ere he had utterly destroyed so fair a province. The Khakan replied that the province was his, since he had conquered it with his sword, nor would he surrender it.

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Grimoald, although most of his men were away, determined at once to attack the enemy, who sent two envoys or rather spies to his camp. The Lombard chief suspected their errand, and caused the same troops to defile past them several times in different costumes. They were deceived, and on reporting what they had seen to the Khakan, he at once raised his camp and withdrew (Paul. Diac. lib. v. chh. 19–21).

A few years later, namely, in the year 677, the Khakan of the Avars, with the rulers of the neighbouring provinces, and the generals castaldi and other grandees of the western nations, sent envoys to the Emperor of Byzantium with gifts to confirm peace. The Emperor gladly assented (Theophanes). This is the last time we read of any intercourse between the Avars and the Eastern Empire.

It was some time before this that the first efforts were made to convert the Avars. It was a native of Poitiers, named Emmeramius, who conceived the idea, and set out for the purpose, reaching Ratisbon in the year 649, but was stopped en route by the Bavarians, who probably for some reason of state policy were unwilling that the Avars should be converted by a Frank missionary, and become allies of the Franks again. After having been kept in confinement for some time, he was killed by a party of Bavarian robbers. He was treated by the Church as a martyr, and is known as St. Emmeramius. It was not till the year 696 that another effort was made to Christianize the Avars. This was at the instance of Rudbert, or Rupert, Bishop of Worms. He arrived at Regensburg. The Bavarians, who had suffered a good deal at the hands of Pepin of Heristal, were in a more conciliatory humour, and having spent some weeks at Regensburg strengthening the somewhat dubious Christianity of the Bavarians, he proceeded along the right bank of the Danube until he reached the outlet of the Save, which formed the boundary between the Avars and the Greek Empire. There he left his boat, and then advanced into Pannonia, where the Avars did not molest him; and eventually settled at Lorsch on the Danube, which he made the focus of his missionary efforts, which he extended into Carinthia and beyond the

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Hartberg (Mons Durus). He apparently built churches and founded monasteries, and having left them in the charge of responsible priests, he himself retired to Passau.

The early Christian missionary was too often the political agent. Whether it was that the priests began to interfere in the affairs of the Avars or not, we do find the latter taking sharp revenge upon them, and are told that in the year 736 they attacked and desolated the town of Lorsch, and the Bishop Vivilo and priests there would have been slaughtered, if they had not left the place, taking with them the ornaments and sacred vessels from the church (Germ. Sacra. vol. i. p. 121; Mon. Boic. i. p. 119). We are told the town of Lorsch was so completely destroyed that no vestige of it remained, save the Basilica of St. Laurence. This attack was followed by similar attacks on the part of the Bulgarians, the dispute being mainly as to the claims of the Avars upon the Enns, as the western limit of their dominion. After repeated struggles, the advantage remained with the Bavarians, and the Avars were driven back to the defile which now covers Vienna on the west, and to Mount Comagena, and the branch of the ancient Cettian Alps now called the Kalenberg, and Mount Comagena received the name of Khunberg, *i.e.* Mountain of the Huns (vide Germ. Sacra, vol. i. p. 5, vol. ii. p. 71; Thierry, vol. ii. p. 135). These frontier struggles, in which the Avars could not hold their own even against the Bavarians, are a good measure of the weakness which had overtaken them.

The mention of the Bulgarians so far west is enigmatical, unless we are to understand that either the ruler of the Bulgarians had sent a contingent to help the Avars, or that a Bulgarian community still subsisted alongside of the Avars in Pannonia, which is more probable.

We now approach the concluding chapter in the history of the Avars, when, shorn of their power and prestige, they became the victims of the ambition and warlike skill of Karl the Great. Their intercourse began in a friendly way. In the year 782, when Karl held his great May meeting at Lippspring, envoys went to him from the Khakan

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and from the Jugur (a Cagano et Jugurro), chiefs of the Avars. The Annals tells us he heard them and dismissed them (Ann. Laur. p. 162, Annales Einhardti, Pertz, vol. i. p. 163). Both annalists use the terms Caganus and Jugurrus as proper names, and Zeuss accepts the latter as unmistakably so (vide Die Deutsche, etc., p. 740, note). It has also been identified with the tribal name Uighur, which seems improbable, as the latter is a rare name. It is curious to read in the Annales St. Emmer. Ratis. Pertz, vol. i. p. 92, under the year 783, that the Huns advanced as far as the Enisa, *i.e.* the Enns, their frontier towards Bavaria, but did not proceed further. The date Abel suggests is a year too late, and he connects this demonstration against Bavaria with the embassy to Karl (Jahrb. des Frankischen Reiches, vol. i. p. 351, note 1).

Tassilo, the chief of Bavaria, who formerly had been much punished and dispossessed by Karl, naturally had small affection for him, and we now find him taking active steps against him. *Inter alia*, he made advances to the Avars for an alliance. This was probably in the year 786 (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 172). Karl now found himself with the double duty on his hands of facing the Greeks in Italy and Tassilo and his allies in Central Germany. We are told that the latter made a treaty with the Avars, by which they undertook during the year 788 to send one army to the March of Friauli to help the Greeks, and another to Bavaria; the latter was perhaps to put pressure on the unwilling Bavarians, Tassilo's own subjects, to attack the Franks (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 174; Ann. Einhardti, *id.* p. 173). In the spring of 788 Karl, having apparently his suspicions, and having also the sympathy of the Bavarian grandees, summoned Tassilo to meet him at Ingelheim. He had to go, and when there confessed his various intrigues, including his alliance with the Avars. Tassilo was duly deposed, and became a monk, and thus ended the independence of Bavaria.

The collapse of Tassilo did not prevent the Avars from carrying out the campaign which they had projected. They sent an army to Friauli to act in concert with the Greeks, which was, however, attacked by the Franks, and driven

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away. Another army invaded Bavaria. They were met and defeated by the Franks and Bavarians under the Counts Grahaman and Audaker or Odoaker, at a place called Ibose, doubtless situated on the Ips, in the eastern part of Bavaria. The Avars were annoyed to find enemies instead of allies in the Bavarians, and to revenge themselves, they made a third attack upon the latter, who were again assisted by the Imperial Legates, which was similarly repelled. A great multitude of Avars, we are told, were killed, and others were drowned in the Danube (Ann. Laur. Ann. Einh. Pertz, vol. i. pp. 174–5; Abel, *op. cit.* p. 528).

In the year 790 Karl held his Diet at Worms. There went there envoys from the Avars, and he duly sent envoys in return (Annales Einhardti, Pertz, vol. i. p. 177). The matters in dispute, which were discussed by these embassies, were the perpetually recurring question of the frontier, and also the attacks made by the Avars upon the Bavarian marches (Einhardti, Annales, *id.*; Ann. Laur. ad an. 791; Abel, vol. ii. p. 11 and note). Karl the Great had made up his mind to subdue these dangerous neighbours effectually. He accordingly made exceptional preparations, both of men and provisions, and the annalists specially refer to the vast armament he collected, including several thousand horses, and which assembled at Regensburg, or Ratisbon, in the spring of 791. The army was divided into three divisions; one of them comprising the Ripuarian Franks, and a large contingent of Saxons, Friesians, and Thuringians was commanded by Count Theodoric and the Chamberlain Meginfred. They marched along the northern bank of the Danube and through the southern part of Bohemia. The second army, under Karl himself, composed apparently of Franks and Alemanni, marched south of the Danube through Bavaria. The Bavarians themselves formed a third army, which marched along the river between the other two, and conveyed the provisions. These were carried in boats which were apparently manned by Friesian sailors (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 176; Ann. Einh. *id.* p. 177; Ann. Lauresham. Pertz, vol. i. p. 34). With the army there also went Engelram, Archbishop of

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Metz, and Bishops Sindpert of Ratisbon, Arno of Salzburg, and Otto of Freisingen. The first two apparently died during the campaign (Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 20).

Besides these three main armies, a fourth was sent from Italy to the Avar frontier. This was accompanied *inter alios* by John Duke of Istria, two counts, a bishop, etc. (Epist. Car. 6, 349–50).

The Italian army was the first to strike a blow. It advanced into Illyricum, and thence into Pannonia (Ann. Lauresham. Pertz, vol. i. p. 34), and on the 23rd of August it inflicted a severe defeat on the Avars; a large number of them were killed, and their camp, or so-called Ring, was stormed and plundered. After this the victors withdrew with their booty and with 150 prisoners, whom they detained until orders should arrive from Karl about their disposal (Epist. Karl. Mag. ad Fastradæ).

Karl himself advanced to the Enns, expressly called the frontier between the Bavarians and the Avars. There he received a messenger from Pepin telling him that things were going on well in Italy. There also he ordered a three days' religious ceremony to be performed, in which the blessings of heaven were invoked upon the approaching campaign. This lasted from the 5th to the 7th of September (Abel, p. 350; Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 176; Einhardt, Ann. p. 177). The ceremony is described in a letter still extant written by Karl to his wife Fastrada, whom he had left at Ratisbon. The bishops ordered abstinence from meat and wine during the three days above mentioned, except for the very old and young. The rich were allowed to buy exemption from the fast by paying a solidus a day, and the poorer folk by a corresponding sacrifice. The bishops were themselves to recite their masses, and the clerics to repeat 50 psalms, and during the processions of the litanies to go barefoot (Epist. Carl. 6, Jaffe, vol. iv. pp. 349–351).

Karl now advanced, the first part of his march being through the district so frequently devastated in the wars between the Bavarians and the Avars. He met with no resistance till he reached the Cumeoberg (or Chunberg as

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Regino calls it), near the town Comagena (close to the Tuln below Klosternenburg, Abel, vol. ii. p. 23), where the Avars had one of their Rings.

A similar Ring was situated north of the Danube on the route which Theodoric and Meginfred had to traverse. This was on the river Kamp, which rises in Bohemia, flows through the valley of Zwetl, and falls into the Danube below Krembs (Pertz, vol. i. p. 176, note).

The contemporary authorities are unanimous in the statement that when the Avars noticed the advance of the two armies they did not wait to be attacked, but fled and abandoned their fortresses (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 176; Einh. Ann. *id.* p. 177). The annals of Lorsch expressly say, "Ubicumque aut fossas aut aliquam firmitatem sive in montibus seu ad flumina aut in silvis factam habuerunt, statim, ut ipse aut exercitus ejus ibi advenit continuo aut se tradiderunt aut occisi sunt aut per fuga delapsi (Ann. Lauresh. Pertz, vol. i. p. 34).

Karl now advanced to the Raab, which he crossed, followed its right bank to its outfall into the Danube, and having stayed there some days, returned by way of Sabaria (*i.e.* Stein on the Anger near Sarvar). His march lasted 52 days, during which the country was terribly devastated with fire and sword. The same results no doubt attended the march of the army led by Theodoric and Meginfred which returned home through Bohemia. A vast booty and many prisoners, men, women and children, were captured. We also read that a pestilence broke out among the horses in Karl's own army, and hardly one in ten survived (Einhardt, Ann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 177; Ann. Laur. *id.* p. 178; Ann. Lauresh. *id.* p. 34). From these notices it would appear that the Avar campaign was prosecuted with little, if any actual fighting on the part of the Franks, nor do I know whence Thierry derived his rhetorical notice.

In order to be safe against attack, if the Avars should wish to avenge themselves, Karl passed the summer and winter at Regensburg in Bavaria. We do not read of any fresh strife, however, for a year or two, although in 792 the Saxons seem to have invited the Avars to join them in a

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campaign (Ann. Lauresh. Pertz, vol. i. p. 35). Karl himself was anxious to march into Pannonia. He built a bridge across the Danube to facilitate his operations, and was also persuaded to try and make a canal between the Rednitz and the Altmuhl to connect the Rhine and Danube. His plans against the Avars were disturbed, however, by an attack of the Saxons on one of his armies which was marching through Friesia and which was destroyed (Einh. Ann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 179). We next read of a chief of the Avars either entitled or named Tudun, who in the year 795, sent to offer to put his people and country under the Frank yoke, and proposed to become a Christian himself. He was clearly not the Khakan (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 180; Ann. Einh. *id.* p. 181). The next year we read of a civil feud among the Avars, caused probably by the negociations of Tudun. In it we are told the Khakan and Jugurrus were killed. Probably tempted by this strife, Karl, who was determined to put an end to the dangers which menaced him continually on the side of Pannonia, and who was doubtless also attracted by the prospects of a vast booty, seems to have ordered an invasion of the Avar country by the army of Friauli, under Count Eric, who was accompanied by a Slave chief named Woinimir. He marched straight upon one of the great Rings of the Avars, which he captured, and a large booty was sent to Aachen. This was apparently in the late autumn of 795 (Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 99).

Simson identifies this Ring with the traces found at Sartosar near Tatar (see Riezler, p. 182, note 1, in the Anzeiger f. kunde d. Deutschen Vorzeit, f. 6, 1859, sp. 39, Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 100). The Monk of St. Gallen grows very rhetorical in describing the vast treasures carried off, and of which we can form some idea when we remember that the Avars had drawn an annual tribute of 80,000 to 100,000 golden pieces from the Byzantines, and on one occasion had received as many as 200,000 from Heraclius.

Charlemagne distributed some of this plunder, in gifts and we read how he sent a present to Rome. This he commissioned Count Angelbert to take *ad limina Apostolorum* (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 182). Alcuin tells us how he

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sent to Offa, King of Mercia, a Hunnic sword and sword-belt and two silken cloaks. While the Northumbrian Annals tell us that fifteen great waggons, each drawn by four oxen, were laden with the gold, silver and silken treasures, etc., carried off (*op. cit.* ad ann. 795).

It was apparently in the latter part of 795 that Tudun, whose previous submission I have mentioned, went in person with a considerable following to Aachen, and duly submitted himself with his people. They were baptized, Karl treated him and his people with great honour, and distributed gifts among them (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 182; Einh. *id.* p. 183). Theodulf, who addressed a poem to Karl in the spring of 796, mentions the baptism, and refers to the plaited hair hanging down from their heads which the Avars wore (see Theodulf, Carmen, 37, etc.; Abel and Simson, p. 119). Later in the year Karl sent Pepin to prosecute the war in the more eastern parts of Pannonia. He crossed the Danube with an army of Lombards, Bavarians, and Alemanni. Meanwhile the new Khakan of the Avars, who had replaced the one killed the year before, as I have mentioned, and who is called Kaia or Kaiam in the Annales Mettenses, went with his Terkhans, and placed himself and his kingdom under the yoke of Karl (see Rhythmus de Peppini victoria Avarica, str. 10–12; Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 182; Einh. Ann. *id.* p. 183; Ann. Lauresham. *id.* p. 37; Ann. Mett, etc.). It is possible that Kaia is a corruption of Khakan. The embassy did not stay Pepin's march. He captured the great Royal Ring (apparently it was the same which Eric had taken the year before) which he destroyed, and then drove a number of fugitive Avars across the Theiss. He also carried off the rest of the treasure, which had been left behind by Eric, and took it to his father at Aachen.

The Monk of St. Gallen reports how his foster-father, the soldier Adalbert, had told him of a soldier from Dordogne, who if not a Gascon by blood, had evidently acquired the Gascon habit of boasting. He took part in these Avar campaigns, and said he had cut down the Huns with his sword as you cut down hay, and as to the Wends, these frogs

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he declared that he had spitted seven or eight of them on his spear, and carried them about in spite of their cries (Monachus, St. Gallen, ii. 20). He also captured many prisoners, among whom was Ayo of Friauli, who had fled in the troubles of recent years, and sought refuge there, and who took a prominent part in later history. Alcuin corresponded with Karl about the redemption of the Avar prisoners (see his letters). The power of the Avars was now crushed. Eginhardt, writing about ten years later, thus describes the Royal Ring: "locus in quo regia Kagani erat, ita desertus, ut ne vestigium quidem in eo humanæ habitationis appareat" (*op. cit.*). Pepin summoned a meeting of Bishops and others on the Danube, to discuss how the Avars were to be converted and taught the Christian faith. Alcuin's description of them does not seem very hopeful: "Hæc autem gens bruta et irrationabilis vel certe idiota et sine literis tardior atque laboriosa ad cognoscenda sacra mysteria invenitur." The adoption of Christianity with them, as with the Norsemen, was largely a political piece of diplomacy.

Next year, *i.e.* in 797, Eric Duke of Friauli, with an army of Franks and Lombards, made another invasion of the Avar land, and won a victory over the Avars, here called Vandals (Ann. Alemann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 48; Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 133). The same year envoys from the Avars went to Karl at Heristal, and took with them handsome gifts (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 182; Einh. Ann. *id.* p. 183).

Two years later, namely, in 799, the Avars, fell away from the allegiance they had promised (Ann. Laur. Pertz, vol. i. p. 186; Ann. Einh. *id.* p. 182). This apparently refers to Tudun and his companions, who is said in the Annals of Einhardt to have fallen away not long after his baptism, and to have paid the penalty of his fault. Leibnitz (Ann. Imp. i. 190), apparently quoting some authority unknown to us, tells us his eyes were removed and his fingers cut off (Abel and Simson, p. 119). To punish the defection, Gerold, the Governor of Bavaria, marched into Pannonia. He fell, with two companions who were riding by him, in a battle with the Avars (Einhardt, Vit. Car. p. 13; Pertz, vol. ii. p. 450;

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Ann. Laur. ad an.). Gerold was brother to Karl's wife, Hildegar. His body was removed to the Abbey of Rechenau, and on his tomb were inscribed *inter alia* the words,

Pannoniis vera Ecclesia pro pace peremptus
Oppetiit sævo septemtribus ensa calendis.

D. Bouq. vol. i. v. 400.

During the winter of 802–3 Karl sent an army into Pannonia (Ann. Mett. ad an.), and in the latter year we read in the same annals that Zodan, Prince of Pannonia, with many Slaves and Huns, placed their land once more under the yoke of the Franks. Zodan is treated by Abel and Simson as a form of the name Tudun, but they make him another person than the Tudun above named (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 297). I have no doubt he was the same person. Tudun is called Zotan in the Annales Guelferbytanorum, under the year 795, and in the Annals Juvavenses sub. ann. 796. Karl took this opportunity of rearranging the administration of Pannonia and the south-eastern marks, "Imperator autem in Baioariam profectus dispositis Pannoniarum causis" (Einh. Ann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 191). Thierry tells us that, according to the ancient acts, he nominated five Counts of the Pannonian frontier, namely, Gontram, Werenhar or Berengar, Albric, Gotefrid, and Gerold (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 188). I do not find this latter statement, however, in the very detailed account of Abel and Simson. He also placed a portion of Pannonia under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Salzburg, viz. that part of it bounded by the Raab, the Drave, and the Danube, and including the Platten See (Tract. de Convers. Bavariae, ch. viii. sec. 10; Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 299, note).

In the early spring of 805 there came to Aachen to interview the Emperor, the Khakan of the Avars, asking him to find him and his people new quarters between Sabaria and Carnuntum, *i.e.* between Stein on the Anger, and Petronell, near Heinburg, the frontier town of Austria, since they could not live in their old ones, inasmuch as they were so harassed there by the Slaves (Einhardt, Annales, Pertz, vol. i. p. 192). This is confirmed by the tract on the Conversion of Bavaria,

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where we read that at this time the Slaves and Bavarians began to occupy the country from which the Huns were driven out (Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 321, note). This proves how crushed the Avars now were. The Khakan was named Theodore, which was possibly the Christian name of the Avar ruler last mentioned. The Kaizar granted his request, and sent him away with presents. He died, however, soon after reaching home (Einhardt Annales, Pertz, vol. i. p. 192).

The new Khakan sent one of his chieftains to ask Karl to grant him the same position and status which had been possessed by other Avar Khakans. The Emperor granted the request, and the new Khakan was installed with the same ceremonies, and was allowed the title and honours of the old ones (Einhardt, Ann. Pertz, p. 192). He was baptized with the name Abraham at Fiskaha (*i.e.* on the river Fischa), on the 21st September, 805 (Ann. Juvav. Pertz, vol. i. p. 87; Ann. St. Emmer. Ratis. *id.* p. 93).

It would seem from such evidence as we possess that the whole of what remained of the Avar nation now migrated, and in order to understand the position we must remember what a terrible devastation and destruction was involved in campaigns like those of Karl the Great in Pannonia. His biographer, Eginhardt, writing some years after, thus enlarges upon the subject. After mentioning that the Avar war was the greatest, next to the Saxon, in which Karl took part: "He only took part in person in one campaign, the others were fought by his son Pepin and his generals." "The campaign," says Eginhardt, "was conducted with the greatest skill and vigour, and lasted eight years. Pannonia, *now divested of inhabitants, vacua omni habitatore,* Pannonia, with its royal residence so destroyed that not a vestige of it remains, witnesses the number of combats fought, and the quantity of blood shed. The whole noblesse of the Huns has been destroyed, their glory has perished, and their treasures, accumulated during many centuries, have been captured and dispersed. We cannot recall an expedition in which the Franks were so much enriched, for formerly they may be said to have been poor;

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but they found in the palace of the Khakans so much gold and silver, and so much spoil on the field of battle, that it may be justly said the Franks have very rightly recovered from the Huns that which the latter have so unjustly taken from the rest of the world" (Egin. Vit. Car. M. 13; Pertz, vol. ii. p. 450).

This narrative points to the campaigns of Karl the Great in Pannonia having had the same ultimate motive as the buccaneering expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, namely, plunder. In regard to their effects, it would almost seem as if they matched the recent campaigns of the Chinese in Sungaria.

Let us revert, however. As we have seen, the Avars were transported to the west of the Danube. The district to which they were moved had been devastated by Karl in the war of 796. It had been waste also in earlier times, for it would seem to be identical with the deserta Boiorum of Pliny (see Hunfalvy, Ethnographie von Ungarn, pp. 44, 104, and note 54).

The condition of things east of the Danube, including Eastern Hungary and Transylvania, from this time to the invasion of the Hungarians at the end of the century, is one of the darkest pages in European history, and the paucity of information has only increased the floods of conjecture, and the very natural polemics which conjecture generally induce. It is very probable that some portions of it remained waste and unoccupied, a considerable part doubtless fell to the Moravians, but another part, including Transylvania and Wallachia, became subject to the kings of Bulgaria. Our authorities are largely limited to the unsatisfactory pages of Suidas, who tells us that the Bulgarians were much attracted by the Avar costume. They accordingly adopted it, and discarded their own, and continued to use it when Suidas wrote. The same Bulgarians, he goes on to say, forcibly subdued the Avars, and Krum, the Bulgarian King, interrogated his Avar captives, and asked them how it came about that their ruler and people had been completely undone. They replied that it was by mutual

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strife, and they had thus lost their strongest and most prudent men, who had been replaced by the unjust and the robber. Drunkenness had also prevailed much among them; they had been corrupted by bribes, while many of them had devoted themselves to trade, and had taken to cheating each other. Krum duly applied these facts, and concluded his homily to his subjects with the ominous phrase, "All the Avars, therefore, have been overwhelmed by the Bulgarians" (Suidas, Eclogues, pp. 37–38; Stritter, vol. ii. p. 562–563). From this passage we learn that Krum, who was at this time a most powerful ruler, and who certainly controlled a considerable territory north of the Danube, known as Bulgaria beyond the Danube, also conquered the Avars.

Roesler has called in question the existence of a Bulgaria north of the Danube, and Nicephorus (Greg. Hist. Byz. c. ix. p. 391) speaks of *a* "Bulgaria on this side of the Danube," and an anonymous account of Leo, son of Barda (p. 345), speaks of a Bulgaria beyond the Danube. It was thither that Krum sent the prisoners he captured at Adrianople in the year 813 (see Pic, Dic. Abstanmum der Rumanen). That the Bulgarians were also masters of Transylvania appears from the Fulda Annals, Pertz, vol. i. p. 408, where we read how Arnulf, in his war with the Moravians, in the year 563, sent to ask Wladimir to stop the supply of salt to his enemies (Fulda Ann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 374). Pic has shown that the only salt works then in use were those of Marmarosch and Transylvania, which must therefore have been in the hands of the Bulgars (Pic, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 74). The references in the Fulda Annals in the years 863 and 886 also point to the Bulgarians and Moravians having then been neighbours. Another piece of evidence is the name Pesth, which is a Bulgarian gloss, and which, in the other Slavic dialects, takes the forms *piec*, *piéc*, *pec*, kopetar (see Roesler, Romanische Studien, p. 205). These various facts seem only consistent with the Bulgarians being masters at this time of the old Avar dominion east of the Danube.

According to the Byzantine chronicler, the army of Krum,

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the Bulgarian king, when he attacked Constantinople *circ.* 814, comprised also Avars and Slaves (Stritter, vol. ii. p. 561). These Avars were, however, mere fugitives, and we must take it as clear that what remained of the nation was now planted west of the Danube, and that Pannonia east of the Danube with Dacia became the prey of the Moravians on the one hand and the Bulgarians on the other.

The district from Comagena to the Enns now, according to Thierry, took the name of Hunnia, while that east of Mount Cettius was called Avaria (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 193).

The political power of the Avars having been broken, more active efforts were now made to deprive them also of their hostile spirit, by converting them to Christianity, and among the most active in the work, mention is made of a certain Ing or Ingo, Count of Lower Pannonia, who acquired such influence that his mere word or his seal on a scrap of paper was accepted as of equal authority with more formal documents. We are told that when he held meetings of his subordinates, he invited those who were Christians, even if they were low born and mere serfs, to dine at his own table, and drink out of golden cups, while their masters and other great people, who were still pagans, were left outside the door, and were treated as mendicants, to whom bread and meat, and a little wine in common vessels were distributed. Some Avar chiefs, having asked a reason for this strange conduct, he replied that impure people like them had no business to communicate with men who had been regenerated by baptism, their place was that of dogs outside the house. The old narrative goes on to say that the noble Huns were thus persuaded to be converted and baptized (Tract. de Convers. Bajor. Duchesne, ii., Thierry, vol. ii. pp. 189–190).

This same year Karl issued certain instructions to the Imperial commissaries, among which it is interesting to find some regulations about trade in the country of the Slaves and Avars. In these regulations it was provided that the merchants should not go beyond a certain line joining the Elbe and the outfall of the Enns into the Danube, and

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passing through Bardowick, Scheessel, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Halazstat (Hallstadt north of Bamberg), Forchheim, Pfreinst, Ratisbon, or Regensburg, and Lorch, which were doubtless treated as the markets (Abel and Simson, vol. ii. pp. 332). In the year 811 we read how Karl sent an army to Pannonia to try and settle the chronic disputes about their frontiers between the Slaves and Avars (Einhardt, Annales, Pertz, vol. i. p. 190), and in November of the same year there arrived at Aachen, to interview the Emperor on this question, and sent by the commander of the forces, Canizauci, the chief of the Avars, Tudun, and other grandees (primores is the word used, it probably answers to terkhans), and the leaders of the Slaves living near the Danube (Einhardt, Ann. *id.*). Dummler has suggested that the name Canizauci is a corruption of Khan, and some name of which we have only perhaps an echo in izauci or zauci. He was doubtless the Khan of the Avars at that time (see Abel and Simson, vol. ii. p. 472).

This is the last mention we find of the Avars during the reign of Karl the Great, who died in the year 814. When his successor, Louis made his famous division of his territories among his sons, we are told he left to his son Louis, otherwise known as the German, Bavaria and the country of the Karantani, Bohemians, *Avars and Slaves.*

In 819 there broke out the rebellion in Pannonia, which was headed by Liudewit, who is called Duke of Lower Pannonia. In this outbreak the Avars apparently took a part.

In 822 we are told the Avars sent envoys to Aachen to the Emperor Louis with presents (Einhardt, Ann. Pertz, vol. i. p. 209). This was probably to appease him after their recent compromising alliance with Liudewit. In the year 826 they occur in history for the last time as a separate community. They are named in a brief of Pope Eugenius II., addressed to the nations in the valley of the Danube, and to their chiefs, especially to the Khakan Tutundus, and to Moymar, Duke of Moravia. In this brief he pressed them to restore the ancient sees which existed in their country in the time of the Romans and the Gepidæ, and he further counselled them to devote a portion of their lands to endowing new sees, and

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to paying additional pastors, since some of their people were still pagans. He bade them help Archbishop Urolf, who was their supreme pastor, and who would complete the number of necessary sees, either by restoring the old ones or founding new ones. When bishops were thus duly appointed, they could restore the churches, if only means were found for building and endowing them (Epist. Eug. P. ad Chag. ann. 826; Thierry, *op. cit.* pp. 196–197).

Almost fifty years later we find them referred to in a passage of the author of the Tract on the Conversion of the Bavarians and Carinthians, already referred to, and written by an anonymous scribe of Salzburg, writing under Bishop Adalwin. He wrote about the year 870, shortly before the arrival of the Magyars, and says: "The Huns expelled the Romans, the Goths, and the Gepidæ from Lower Pannonia, and took possession of it, until the Franks, the Bavarians, and the Carantani subdued them in continuous wars. Those, however, who were baptized, and were obedient to the faith, became tributaries to the king, and retain their land as tributaries even to this day (*op. cit.* p. 7). This was a mere fragment of the race, however, and it was doubtless absorbed presently in the surrounding population, or joined the Magyars. When Nestor wrote of 1115 he could say all are swept away, not an Avar remains. "So that," he adds, "the Russians have a proverb: They have disappeared like the Avars, no relations, no descendants remain of them" (*op. cit.* ed. Paris, vol. ii. p. 113).

In the Fulda Annals they are confused with the Hungarians, and are referred to as *Avari qui dicuntur Hungari*, *vide* sub ann. 894, and Pertz, vol. i. pp. 410–413, but this is, of course, a mistake.

What remained was absorbed, and disappeared as a separate nationality. The Avars had never been a numerous race; they were rather the leaders of other races; and the reason we have treated their history in such detail is because it forms a very complete episode in European history, and because, although they came and passed away, without leaving behind them a definite community, they probably had more

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to do with the great race-movements in Eastern Europe, at a critical and very obscure period of its history, than any other invaders. It is certainly curious what very small direct traces of themselves they left behind.

Hunfalvy speaks with some surprise of the lack of monuments left by the Avars. We do not, for instance, know a single place-name which we can attribute to them, but this is surely most consistent with their origin and character. So far as we know, they were herdsmen and soldiers, and knew nothing of agriculture. Like the modern Kalmuks, they had summer and winter quarters, and, as we have seen, passed their winters among the Slaves. Their settlements were called Camps by the Lombards and Rings by the Franks, and they were so called apparently from their shape. These great raths, surrounded by earthen dykes, were precisely like the early camps of the Mongolian race, of which their so-called capital, Karakorum, or the Black Rampart, was a notable example. The nature of these Rings has been described for us by the Monk of St. Gallen, who claims to have derived his information from Adalbert, an old soldier who had taken part in the campaign of Gerold. His notice is as follows: "The land of the Huns was girdled with nine Rings, *novem circulis cingebatur*. When I replied that I knew of no such fences except those made of osiers, he replied that it (*i.e.* the land) was fortified with nine hays or banks (*novem hegin muniebatur*). When I replied I knew of no such banks, except those surrounding cornfields, he replied one such enclosure was as far across as the distance from Zurich to Constance. The banks were made with a double row of piles of oak, beech, or pine, which were twenty feet apart, the space being filled up with stones and loam. The fence thus constructed was twenty feet high. The surface of the bank was covered with sods; on this was planted a row of trees with their branches cut like chevaux de fris. Inside this mound (which was apparently similar to those encircling Irish raths) were scattered the dwellings and villages of the inhabitants, so placed that the voice could be heard from one to another.

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Opposite the dwellings were gateways, which pierced the rampart. At a distance of ten German, or forty Italian miles from the second of these Rings, which was very like the first, was planted a third such Ring, and so on to the ninth, although all were not of the same size. From one Ring to another it was possible to signal by means of trumpets. In these Rings were kept the treasures amassed by the Avars during two centuries of plundering (Pertz, vol. ii. p. 748).

If this notice is trustworthy, it shows that the Avars actually occupied only a small portion of Pannonia.

Hunfalvy suggests that the Rings were the boundaries of the several Avar tribes (*op. cit.* p. 97). We do not otherwise read, however, of the Avars being divided into tribes. He adds that remains of these Rings are still to be found in the county of Bäcska, and the south of that of Torontal. They are erroneously known as Roman earthworks. They are recorded plainly on Matthias Bel's map of Hungary (Atlas Hungaricus Belianus, 1750 and 1751; Hunfalvy, p. 398, note 187). I altogether question this attribution, since I know of no good evidence for planting any Avar settlements east of the Theiss, and these vast Hungarian earthworks belong, I believe, to a much earlier age. Of archæological remains which we can assign to the Avars we have a most scanty list. Hunfalvy tells us that in the National Museum at Pesth are three finds which may be assigned to the period of Avar domination from the coins found with them. There are the find of Kunágota, in the county of Csanad, comprising a gold coin of the time of Justinian the First (527–565); that of St. Andrew in the county of Pilsir, with two coins of Justin the First (518–527) and Phokas (602–610); and thirdly, that of Ozora, in the county of Stuhlweissenburg, with a gold coin of the time of Constantine Pogonatos (668).

In the first of these finds were some vessels and bracelets of base silver. Among the latter is one, funnel-shaped at both ends. Similar bracelets, with funnel terminations, were also among the objects in the find at St. Andrew. In the latter find were also two stirrups. Stirrups were not known

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to the Greeks and Romans, nor are they figured on Sassanian bas-reliefs. These are apparently the earliest known, dating as they do from the sixth century. The Ozora find comprised a number of ornaments, showing a peculiar technique. It included golden bracelets, rings, hair-pins, and buckles ornamented with garnets and dark-red pieces of glass in cloisonnée work. This kind of work was unknown at Byzantium, while it was common in the west of Europe during the second period of the migration of the barbarians (Hunfalvy, *op. cit.* p. 98). I very much doubt these objects having been other than plunder secured by the Avars, who in all probability, like the modern Kazak and Kalmuks, had no arts, save the very simple ones necessary to equip herdsmen, who were also soldiers. The stirrups are curious, but stirrups have occurred in Norse graves in Russia.

This exhausts what we have been able to discover of remains of the Avar period. They were herdsmen and freebooters, and doubtless were dependent on their neighbours and slaves for their handicrafts, except perhaps that of sword-making. "Hunnic swords" are referred to by the Frank chroniclers, by which perhaps Damascened blades are meant, such as those found in such large numbers in a boat at Nydam in Denmark, apparently dating from this period. It may be that even these Hunnic swords were rather derived from Hunnic sources than made by Hunnic hands.

This completes what I have to say of the Avars. In a subsequent paper I hope to bring together a similar account of the Sabiri, of whom we unfortunately know much less.

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Art. XI.—*The O'mánee Dialect of Arabic.* By Surgeon-Major A. S. G. Jayakar, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from page* 687.)

Part II.

In compiling the following vocabulary of 'Omanee words, the principal aim has been to give only such words as exhibit the dialectical peculiarities mentioned in the preceding Part, and not to furnish a complete list of words in common use in O'mán. Technical words, or words employed in agriculture, trade, arts, manufactures, etc., have been intentionally omitted, as they would be beyond the scope and extent of the present paper. Most of the words, it will be seen, are of Arabic origin, and the dialectical sense, wherever it differs from the original, is either metaphorical or an extension of the sense conveyed by the original root.

Some words, although purely Arabic, are given here on account of some difference in the plural or aorist, from the original, whilst others have been introduced on account of their being in common use in this dialect, although of rare occurrence in standard Arabic literature.

As far as practicable the O'mánee mode of spelling has been retained throughout, but in the case of verbs with a final ى, instead of adopting the O'mánee method which consists in substituting in the preterite a full ا for that letter, the usual Arabic rule, for an obvious reason, has been followed. The O'mánees are in the habit of pronouncing the final letter of a word when not connected, sharp, so as to drop its vowel altogether, and this practice has been adhered to here, both in the case of O'mánee words and their equivalents in standard Arabic, to enable the reader to mark it as a

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striking peculiarity of the dialect. Wherever the third person singular pronominal suffix occurs either at the end of a noun or a verb, the vowel *dammah* of this pronominal sign is invariably transferred to the penultimate letter, which then takes the vowel sound corresponding to the English *o* as in *bold*, whilst the suffix itself is expressed by a sharp quiescent *h*; this mode of spelling is adopted throughout the vocabulary in the sentences illustrative of the use of O'mánee words.

To enable the reader to comprehend the exact sense conveyed by each word, its equivalent in standard Arabic is given in the second column, whilst in the last column the origin of each word or of its dialectical sense is, as far as practicable, traced and explained. There are some words, however, whose origin is not satisfactorily traced, and therefore only a probable explanation has been suggested in their case; whilst in instances in which no conjecture whatever can be formed, the space under the head of origin is left blank.

Besides the usual grammatical abbreviations, which do not require any explanation, the following other abbreviations are employed in this paper:

A.	Arabic.	P.	Persian.
Guj.	Gujeráthee.	Port.	Portuguese.
H.	Hindoostanee.	S.	Sanscrit.
		Sind.	Sindhee.

To give a complete idea of the general features of this dialect a few of the words most commonly used by children are added at the end of the vocabulary.

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ENGLISH.	STANDARD ARABIC.	OMANEE.			ORIGIN, REMARKS, EXAMPLES, ETC.
Abandon, *v.t.*	تَرَكَ	وَدَّر	*aor.*	يَوَدَّر	A. Probably from ودع in the sense of abandoning, ر being substituted for ع. In دفر and دسر a similar substitution takes place. حَمُوه وَدَّرْت اَلشُّغْل = Why did you leave the business?
Able, To be	قَدَر	رَام	*aor.*	يَرُوم	A. رَام = He sought, desired, attempted, etc. اَنَامَا اَرُوم أَجِي = I am not able to come.
Ablution, *n.*	وَضُو	تَجَدُّد			A. تجدّد in the sense of becoming new.
Abuse, *v.t.* (to vilify)	شَتَم	زَنَّى	*aor.*	يُزَنِّي	A. زَنَّي = He called (him) an adulterer or imputed (to him) adultery. اِنْتَ زَنَّيْتُ = You abused him.
Abuse, *n.*	شَتْم	زِنًّا			Same as above.
Accede, *v.i.* (to be willing)	رَضَى	طَاع	*aor.*	يَطِيع	A. طَاع = He obeyed.
Accompany, *v.t.*	صَحَب	رَابَع	*aor.*	يَرَابَع	A. from رَابَعه = He took hold of his hand. خَلِّي الخَادِم يَرَا بَعُه = Let the slave accompany him.

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Accountable, *a.* (responsible)	مسْئول	مَسْئُوْد		Omanee A. نَشَد = He asked.
Accumulate, *v.t.*	جَمَع	ظَوَّل	*aor.* يَظَوَّل	فُلَان مُظَوَّل اَلْغَوَازِي مِن هَذَا اَلشُّغْل = So and so has accumulated a fortune from this business.
Accurate, *a.* (correct)	صَحِيْح	وَاكِد		A. from وَكَد in the sense of confirming. مُوه هَذَا الْخَبَر وَاكِد = What, is this news accurate?
Advance, *n.* (of money)	عَرْبُوْن	تَقْدُوم		A. from تَقَدَّم in the sense of preceding, advancing.
Afraid, *a.*	خَايِف	فِزْعَان		A. from فَزِع = He feared.
After, *prep.* and *ad.*	بَعْد	1 عُقْب	2 خِلَاف	1 A. عَقِب = after 2 A. خَلْف = after.
Ahead, *ad.*	قُدَّام	غَادِي		A. غَادِي = a goer out at morning, *i.e.* early.
Allowance, *n.* (pay, pension)	مُرَتَّبَة	فَرِيضَة	*pl.* فَرَايِض	A. فَرِيضَة = anything appointed or apportioned.
Also, *ad.*	اَيْضًا	نُوْبَة		A. نَوْبَة = a turn, time. نُوْبَة جَاء فُلَان = So and so also came.
Always, *ad.*	دَايِمًا	دُوْم دُوْم		A. دَوْم = Continuous, lasting.
Ammunition	زَوَادَة الحَرْب	مَيْتَة		

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Ankle	كعب	مَدَاوِر *pl.* مَدْوَرالرِّجل	A. from دَار in the sense of turning round.
Anus	مَقْعَد	طُيُوز *pl.* طِيز	P. تِيز = a fart.
Appearance	صُورَة	شِيَفَة	A. from شَاف = He saw. كَيْف شِيفَتُه = What is its appearance like?
Aqueduct	جَدْوَل	فِلَاجَا or أَفْلَاج *pl.* فَلَج	A. فَلَج = a brook. In the case of a فلج there is a natural outflow of water from a spring.
,, (small)		غُيُوز *pl.* غَيْز	A. probably from غَيْض = sinking into the ground (water). This word is also employed to express a small channel for conveying dirty water from houses.
,, (for artificial irrigation)		عُمِّد *pl.* عَامِد	A. عَامِد = That which pursues, makes for, or supports.
,, ,, (small)		سَوَاقِي *pl.* سَاقِيَة	A. سَاقِية = a canal. The سَوَاقِي are fed by an عَامِد.
Arbitrate, *v.* (adjudicate)	حَكَم	حَاز *aor.* يَحُوز	A. حاز in the sense of taking land and marking its boundaries. رَاعِي الحَوز حاز بَيْنَنَا the umpire arbitrated between us.

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Arbitration	حُكْم عُرْفِي	1 فَرَع	2 حُوْز	1 A. فَرْع = Derivative institute of the law. 2 A. See *Arbitrate*. بُولَكْ خُذمِنِّي بِالشَّرْع أَو بِالْفَرْع = Take from me your right either by (religious) law or by arbitration.
Arid, *a.* (dry)	يَابِس	حَافّ		A. حَافّ = Dry (cough), or from بلد اخيف = a district or the like upon which rain has not fallen.
Ashamed, to be	خَجِل	دَارَى	*aor.* يَدَارِي	A. دَارَى = in the sense of being fearful or cautious, the Omanee being evidently an extended sense. أَنَا أَعْطَيْتُه لَأَجل دَارَيْت مِنْه = I gave him because I felt ashamed to refuse him.
Ask, *v.t.*	سَأل	نَشَد	*aor.* يِنْشِد	A. نَشَد = He asked, inquired. نِشْدُه مُو اِسْمُه = Ask him what his name is.
Asleep	رَاقِد	غَافِي		A. from أَغْفَى = He slept.
Auction	هَرَاج	1 مُفَادَاة	2 حَرَاج	A. مُنَادَاة = a proclamation, convoking. 2 A. from هَرَاج. The Omanees make a distinction between حَرَاج and مُنَادَاة, the former word being restricted to the sale by auction of property belonging to deceased persons only.

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Augment, *v.t.*	كَثَّر	هَوَّر	*aor.*	يَهَوَّر	A. Probably from هَوْر = a flock, especially when numerous and tumbling one over another. لَاتَهَوَّر الكَلَام = Do not talk much.
Avaricious	بَخِيل	بَرْصِيص			Compare P. بَرْش = Desire.
Awake, *a.*	مُنْتَبَه	1 وَاعِي	2	دَارِي	1 A. وَاعِي = attentive, on one's guard. 2 A. دَارِي = knowing, defending. As these actions cannot be performed unless one is in a wakeful state, the Omanee sense is easily traced. فُلَان وَاعِي أَوغَافِي = Is so and so awake or asleep? هُودَارِي = He is awake.
Awaken, *v.t.*	يَقَّظ	وَرَّق	*aor*	يُوَرَّق	A. مُورَّق — وَرَّق = kept awake.
Axe	فأس	خَصِين	*pl.*	خَصِن	A. خَصِين = a small axe.
Bad, *a.*	رَدِي	شَيْن			A. شَيْن = Disgraceful, ugly.
Bag, *n.* (large)		صُرَّة	*pl.*	صَرَر	A. صُرَّة = a purse.
,, (small) as a purse		كِيسَة	*pl.*	كِيَس	A. كِيس = a purse.
Baggage, *n.*	أَسْبَاب	قَشَار			A. قَشْر = a garment, apparel.

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Ball (cannon)	كُلَّة	جُلُولَة	*pl.* جُلُول	P. كُلُولَه = a bullet.	
Ballast, *n.*	صَابُورَة	طَعَان			
Barber	حَلَّاق	مَحَسَّن	*pl.* مَحَاسِنَة	from Omanee A. حَسَّن = he shaved.	
Basket	زَنْبِيل	مِزْمَاة	*pl.* مَزَامِي	Probably from A. زمّ in the sense of filling.	These four words are here given in order of size, the largest being called a مِزْمَاة and the smallest a زَنْبِيل.
		قَفِير	*pl.* قُفْرَان	A. قَفِير = a basket.	
		مَبْدَع	*pl.* مَبَادِع	from A. بِدْع = a novelty or anything new.	
		زَنْبِيل	*pl.* زَنَابِيل	A. زَنْبِيل = a basket.	
,, (for carrying dates in)		مِيشَان	*pl.* مِيَاشِين		
Bastard	اِبْن زِنَاء	1 نَغَل	*pl.* نُغُول	A. نَغِل = a bastard.	
		2 غَبَن	*pl.* غُبُون	from A. غبن = weak or deficient, a bastard being weak or deficient in his pedigree.	
Bat, *n.* (animal)	خُفَّاش	حَدَل	*pl.* جِدَالَا		
Bathe, *v.i.*	اِغْتَسَل	تَسَبَّح	*aor.* يَتْسَبَّح	from A. سَبَح = he swam. هُوبَعْد مَا مُتَسَبَّح. He has not yet bathed.	

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Beam, *n.* (of a house)	عَارِضَة	جَرِيد *pl.* جُرُد		A. جَرِيد = a palm branch stripped of its leaves; a tree despoiled of its branches, leaves, and bark.
Beardless, *a.*	أَمْرَد	كَرَت or أَكْرَت		P. كَرْتَلَه = a beardless and perverse youth.
Beat, *v.t.*	ضَرَب	دَقّ *aor.* يَدُقّ		A. دَقّ = he beat (clothes in washing). أَنَامَا دَقَّيْتُكْ = I did not beat you.
Beautiful, *a.*	جَمِيل	1 غَاوِي	2 شَرِه	1 A. غَاوِي = that which leads astray or causes to err. 2 A. شَرِيّ = choice, excellent.
Beauty	جَمَال	غَوَى		A. See *beautiful.*
Beckon, *v.t.*	أَوْمَاء	مَوَا *aor.* يَمْوِي or يَنْوِي		from A. أَوْمَاء = he beckoned, by elision of initial ا and transposition of م and و. فُلان يَنْوِي لِي = so and so beckons me.
Become, *v.t.*	صَارَ	إِسْتَوَى *aor.* يَسْتَوِي		from Omanee A. سَوَّى = he made or did.
Bedstead	سَرِير، تَخْت	كَاتِلِي *pl.* كَوَاتِلِي		H. كهاٹ. Guj. كهاٹُو = a bedstead.
		شُبْرِيَّة *pl.* شُبَارِي		P. چارپائی = a bedstead.
		سَمَادَار *pl.* سَمَادَرِيَات		from A. سَمَاء = a canopy, and P. دَار = possessed.

In a كَاتِلِي the side pieces are fixed into the legs which are straight; in a شُبْرِيَّة the top pieces are separate and fixed over the legs which stand at an angle, whilst the third kind is a large كَاتِلِي with a curtain-frame and curtain.

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Bellows	مِنْفَخ	مِلْهَاب	*pl.* مِلَاهِيب	from A. لَهَب = he kindled.
Bet, *v.t.* (to wager)	شَارَط	خَاطَر	*aor.* يَخَاطَر	from A. خَاطَر = he laid a bet. هُويَبْغِي يَخَاطَرْنِي = he wants to lay a bet with me.
Bet, *n.*	مَرَاهَنة	مُخَاطِرة		
Better, *a.* (in health)	أَصَحّ مِزَاجًا	أَهْوَن		A. أَهْوَن = lighter, easier. مُوجِنْسَكْ أَلْيَوْم أَهْوَنِ = how are you to-day, better?
Bid, *v.t.* (to offer a higher price at an auction)		زَابَن	*aor.* يَزَابَن	from A. زَابَن = he contended in pushing, the Omanee sense being derived from the sense of pushing on the price. وِيَامِن الزَّبُون = whose is the last bid?
Bid, *n.*	إِعْرَاض سِعرٍ	زَبُون		
Bier, *n.*	حِنَازَة	طَارقة	*pl.* طَوَارِق	A. طَارِقة = (dialect of El-Yaman) a small couch just sufficient for one person. It is used to signify a bier, both with and without a corpse.
Big, *a.*	كَبِير	عُوْد		A. from عَوْد = advanced in age, old. أَنَاسِرْت بَاب العُوْد = I went to the big gate.
Bite, *v.t.*	عَضّ	كَدَع	*aor.* يِكْدَع	from A. كدم = he bit or seized with the fore-teeth.

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Blister, *v.t.*		فَرْصَخ	*aor.* يَفَرْصَخ	لَاتَسِيرفِى الشَّمْس تَفَرْسَخَكْ = do not go in the sun, it will blister or burn you.
Blister, *n.*	مَجْل	فَرْصَاخ		
Blot, *v.t.* (to stain)	رَسَّخ	لَهْوَز	*aor.* يَلَهْوَز	مَال مِن هَذَا الكِتَاب اَلْمُتَلَهْوَز = whose is this blotted book?
Boat	قَارِب	مَاشُوَّة	*pl.* مَوَاشِي	H. مَجْوَا = a boat.
Body, *n.* (of troops)	جُنْد	دُوْلَة	*pl.* دِوَل	Comp. P. دُهل = a drum. اَلسِّيدِ يَدَ وَّل عَرَب. The Sayyid is calling in men.
Boil, *v.t.*	فَوَّر	نَوَّر	*aor.* يَنَوَّر	A. نَوَّر = in the sense of rage boiling or more probably from فَوَّر by substitution of ث for ف.
Boiler, *n.*	قِدْر	مَرْجَل	*pl.* مَرَاجِل	A. مِرْجَل = a large cauldron.
Boon, *n.* (a gift)	عَطِيَّة	نَفْع		A. نَفع = profit.
Borrow, *v.t.*	إِسْتَعَار	إِسْتَغْرَق	*aor.* يَسْتَغْرَق	Probably from A. إِسْتَعَار, the final letter ق being an additional one, or see *lend*.
Bottle, *n.*	قِنِّينَة	غَرْشَة	*pl.* غَرَش	
Bottom, *n.*	قَعَر	قَاعَة	*pl.* قِعَان	A. قَعَر = bottom.
Bowel	أَمْعَآء	مَصْرَان or مَصْرُون *pl.* مَصَارِين		from A. مَصَارّ = intestines.

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Bowl, *n.* (large)		مَلَّة	*pl.* مِلَال	from A. مَلَاة in the sense of filling.
,, (small)		صَجْرَجَة	*pl.* صَجَارِج	from A. سَجَر = he filled. This word is also sometimes spelt with س.
Box, *n.* (large)	صَنْدُوق	سَحَّارَة	*pl.* سَحَاحِير	
,, (small)	صَنْدُوق	مَنْدُوس	*pl.* مَنَادِيس	from Omanee A. دَسّ = he hid or concealed.
,, (such as a snuff-box)	حُقَّة عُلْبَة	1 قُوْطِي 2 مُقَفَّل	*pl.* قَوَاطِي *pl.* مُقَافِيل	1 P. قُوتِي = a small box. 2 from A. قفل = he locked.
Brackish, *a.*	مَلِيح مَاج	مُلْغ		
Branch	فرع	عُود	*pl.* عِيدَان	A. عُود = a branch.
Brass (metal)	صُفْر	شَبَه		A. شِبْه = brass.
Brazier	گانُون	صَرَيْدَان *pl.* صَرَيْدَانِيَّات		from P. سِره = fire and دَان = a holder.
Breakfast	فُطُور	1 نَقُوض الرِّيق 2 إِسْتَفْتَاح		1 A. from نَقْض = breaking, undoing, and A. رِيق = fasting. 2 A إِسْتَفْتَاح = beginning, commencing.
Breast, *n.* (mamma)	نَهْد	نُون	*pl.* نَوَان	probably from its resemblance to the A. letter ن.
Broad, *n.* (wide)	عَرِيض	نَفِيس		from Omanee A. نَفَس = space, room.

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Brood, *v.i.* (to sit upon an egg)	حَضَن	كَرَك	*aor.* يِكْرِك	P. كرك = a domestic fowl. هذِى اَلدِّجاجَة گارِگَة or = هذِى الطَّيْرَة گارِگَة = This fowl is brooding.
Broom	مِكْنَسَة	1 مِخَمَّة 2 مِجْمَعَة	*pl.* مُخَام *pl.* مُجَامُع	1 A. مِخَمَّة = a broom. 2 from Omanee A. جَمَع = he swept.
Bud, *n.* (of a flower)		بَجَّام		A. from بَجَم = in the sense of being contracted.
Bug, *n.*	بَقّ	مَكُو		
Bugle, *n.*	بُوق نَفِير	بَرْغُوم	*pl.* بَرَاغِيم	
Bunch, *n.*	عَرْجُون	عِسْقَة *pl.* عِسَق	عِسْق or عِسَق	A. عسق = a cluster of bad dates. This word is employed to express a bunch of dates or plantains.
Butter	زُبْد	دَهَانَة		A. دُهن = oil.
Button	زِرّ	جَيْب	*pl.* جُيُوب	from A. جيب = an opening in the neck or bosom of a shirt.
Button-hole or loop	عُرْوَة	مِفَلْكَة	*pl.* مِفَالِك	either from A. فَلكه = whirl of spindle, or from Omanee A. فَلَّت = he opened.
Cabin, *n.* (of a ship)	طَارِمَة	دَبُوسَة		H. دَبُوسه = a cabin, stern of a ship.
Calf (of the leg)	حَمَاة	لُحْمَة	*pl.* لُحَم	A. لُحْمَة = a back sinew.

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Calico (chintz)	بَزّ	شِيت		H. چِهيٹ = chintz.
,, (thin)		خُوْصِي		
Call, *v.t.*	نَادَى	نَهَم *aor.*	يَنْهَم	from A. نَهَمَ in the sense of checking camels or making them go faster by calling out to them حَمُوه مَا نَهَمْتَنِي = why did you not call me?
Camel, *n.* (generic)	إبل	بُوْش		A. بَوْش = a crowd, a flock.
,, (male)	جَمَل	جَمَل		A. جَمَل = a camel of full growth.
,, (female)	نَاقَة	مَطِيَّة		A. مَطِيَّة = a horse or a beast of burden.
,, (young male)	قَعُوْد	قَعُوْد		A.
,, (young female)	بَكْرَة	بَكْرَة		A.
,, (riding dromedary)	رَحُول	رَكَاب		A. رِكَاب = a camel for the saddle.
Camp, *n.*	مَعْسَكَر مَنْزَل	1 مَنَاخ *pl.*	مَنَاخَات	1 A. مُنَاخ = a place where a camel lies down. 2 from مَعْقِل a place in which camels are bound with an عَقَال.
		2 مَعَقَّل *pl.*	مَعَاقِيل	
Canoe, *n.*		هُوْرِي *pl.*	هَوَارِي	H. هُوْرِي = a canoe.
Cap, *n.*		كُمَّة *pl.*	كِمِيم	A. كُمَّة = a round cap.

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Capitulation	تَسْلِيم	تَخْلِيص		A. تَخْلِيص in the sense of delivering, saving. This root is also used in the Omanee dialect in the sense of سَلَّم = *he paid*, thus خَلَّص لِفُلَان قُرْشَيْن = pay so and so two dollars, evidently extended from the sense of giving a خَلَاص or hire for work; in the word for capitulation, this sense is further extended.
Cargo, *n.*	وَسَق مَرْكَب	حَمَّال		from A. حُمُولَة = loads or burdens.
Carpet	بِسَاط	زُوْلِيَّة	*pl.* زَوَالِي	
Case, *n.* (of cloth for a book)	كِيس	بَخْشَة	*pl.* بَخَش	
,, (of cloth for a sword or a gun)	كِيس	جَفِير	*pl.* جُفْرَان	A. جَفِير = a quiver.
Cask	بَرْمِيل	فِيف	*pl.* أَفْيَاف	H. پِيپَا = from Port. *pipa* = a cask.
Cat	هِرّ	سَتُّور	*pl.* سَتَانِير	A. سِتُّور = a cat.
Cataract, *n.* (a disease of the eye)	ظَفَرَة	دَرَج المأ 2	نُزُول المأ	1 A. from دَرَج = he went step by step. 2 A. from نَزَل = he descended.

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Cavern, (large)	غَار	حَاكَة	*pl.* حِيَك	probably from A. هوكة = a ditch, a pit.
,, (small)	كَهْف	جَرْف	*pl.* جُرُوف	A. جُرْف = a bank of a valley, the lower part of which is excavated by water and hollowed by torrents.
Centipede	أُمّ أَرْبَع وأَرْبَعِين	مِسَيْفِيَاة		probably from A. سَيْف = a sword, from the resemblance of the animal to it.
Charcoal	فَحَم	صُخَّام		A. سُخَام = coal, black.
Check	خَدّ	غَنْز	*pl.* غُنُور	
Cheque, *n.* (for money)		بَرْوَة	*pl.* بَرْو	A. بَرْوَة = cuttings. This word has several shades of meaning from an ordinary note to a cheque for money. The بَرْو being generally written on small slips or cuttings of paper, the Omanee sense is easily traced.
Chicken	فَرْخ	سَقَيْو	*pl.* سَقَيْوَات	probably from A. سِقْي = 'a skin or membrane which cleaves asunder from over the head of a young one at the birth' (Lane).

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Child	وَلَد	1 جاهِل *pl.* جُهَّال 2 صَغَّيِّر *pl.* صَغَيِّرِين		1 A. جَاهِل = Ignorant. 2 A. صَغِيِّر = small, little.
Clean, *v.t.*	نَظَّف صَفّي	1 صَفَّد *aor.* يَصَفَّد 2 عابَل *aor.* يَعَابَل		1 A. from صَفَّى = he cleaned, the final letter د being an additional one. 2 A. from عَبَل he removed leaves from the tree, the latter word being generally restricted to cleaning ground, removing weeds, and arranging things generally.
Climax	بُنْك	حِلّ		A. حِلّ = a butt, a mark for archers. كُلّ شَي يَبَلَغ حِلّه = everything reaches or has its climax.
Cloak ,, (of a coarse kind)	مَشْلَح	بِشْت *pl.* بُشُوت مَشْسُول *pl.* مَشَاسِيل		P. بُشْت = back, a protector. بُشْتي = a waistcoat or a doublet. from A. نَشَل in the sense of slipping off the shoulders (a cloak).
Close *v.t.* (as a door)	زَدّ	سَدّ *aor.* يَسِدّ		A. سَدّ = he closed. The initial letter س is sometimes substituted by ش.

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Closet, *n.* (water)	مِسْتَرَاح	مِجَازَة *pl.* مِجَايِز		A. مَجَازَة = a privy.
Cloud	سَحَابَة	غَيْم *pl.* غِيَام		A. غَيْم = a cloud.
Club, *n.* (a heavy stick)	دَبُّوس	قَبّ *pl.* قُبُوب		A. قَبّ = head of a mast or a round head of any thing. In Oman, the word دَبُّوس is applied to the iron pin with a club-like head, which Darweshes carry.
Coffee-pot	اَبريق اَلْقَهْوَة	مِدَلَّة *pl.* مِدَالِي دَلَّة *pl.* دَلَل		A. دَلَّة = a small urn.
Collision	مُصَادِمَة	1 مُدَاغَمَة	2 مُدَافِشَة	1 comp. A. دَهِم in the sense of any thing coming suddenly or unexpectedly. 2 comp. A. دَفع = he pushed, etc.
Colour, *n.*	لَوْن	رَنْج *pl.* اَرْنَاج		H. and P. رَنْگ = colour, paint, etc.
Commander	قَايِد	عَقِيد *pl.* عُقَدا		A. عَقِيد = one who unites, etc.
Companion	رَفِيق	رَبِيع *pl.* رَبَاعَة		from Omanee A. رَابَعَهُ = he accompanied him.
Compress, *v.t.* (to press)	كَبَس	كَنَز *aor.* يِكْنِز		A. كنز = he pressed. سُح المَكْنُوز = pressed dates.
Confusion		خَرْبَطَة		A. خِرْبَاش = confusion.

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Congratulation (for safety)	تَهنِية السَلَامَة	اِسْتِهْلَال		A. اِسْتِهلال = being glad, cheerful. تَسْتَاهَل اَلسَّلَامَة = (my) congratulation to you for your safety.
Cooking-pot	قِدر	صُفْرِيَّة	*pl.* صَفَاري	from Omanee A. صَفَر = copper.
Copper (metal)	مُحَاس	صَفَر		A. صُفْر = brass.
Corner	زَاوِية	رَبْع	*pl.* رُبُوع	A. رُبْع = a fourth part.
Counterfeit, *a.*	زَغل	بَأير		from بأر = he hid or concealed.
Court, *n.* (a Durbar)	مَجْلَس	بَرْزَة		A. from بَرَز = he went forth or issued.
,, to appear in	جَلَس	بَرَز	*pl.* يَبْرِز	See above.
Court-yard	فِنَآء عَرْصَة	بَهْوَة	*pl.* بَهْوَات	from A. بُحْبُوحَة = the middle of a house; a court.
Coverlet (quilt)	لَحَاف	جُوْزِرِي	*pl.* جَوَازِرِي	H. گُودَرِّي.
Coward	جَبَّان	ذَلِيل		A. ذَلِيل = low, base, etc.
Crab	صَرْطَان	شَاجُوب	*pl.* شَنَاجِيب	Comp. S. شَنْكَه = a shell.
Cradle	مَهْد	مِنَزّ	*pl.* مِنَاز	A. مِنَزّ = a cradle.
Credit, *n.* on	بالنَّسيَة	بِالصَّبُر		A. from صبر = patience. اَنَا اِشْتَرَيْتُه بِالصَّبُر = I bought it on credit.

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Cross, *v.t.* and *i.* (to go across)	عَبَر	غَدَف *aor.* يُغْدُف	probably from A. قَدَف rowing (a boal), side of a valley, a side, a tract. I = أَنَا غَدَفْت اَلعَقَبَة crossed the pass.
Crowd, *n.*	زحم	1 ضُوَلَة 2 غَشْيَة	
Crimple, *v.t.*	تَكَمَّش	تَقَرْمَط *aor.* يَتَقَرْمَط	A. from إِقْرَنْمَط = or إِقْرَمَّط. It (skin) shrivelled, he became angry. See *Frown.*
Cultivator	زَرَّاع	بيدار *pl.* بَيَادِير	A. from بَذَر = he sowed seed.
Curb, *v.t.*	قَدَع	لَزَم على *aor.* يِلْزُم على	A. لَزَم = he stuck close.
Custom-house	مَحَطّ السُفن	فُرْضَة *pl.* فَرَض	A. فُرْضَة = a gap, a place where ships are unloaded.
Cuttlebone		قُرْن بَاح	
Cuttle-fish		ظَغَت	
Date, *n.* (fruit, fresh ripe)	رُطَب	رَطَب	A. رُطَب = fresh ripe dates.
,, (ripe and preserved)	تَمَر	سُح	A. سَح = dry dates not sprinkled with water, etc. (Lane's Lexicon).

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Date, *n.* (dry)	قَسْب	بِسْر	
Date-stone	نَوَاة	1 فَلْح *coll.* 2 طَعَام	1 A. from فَلْح = a fissure, cleft, etc., a date-stone being possessed of one. 2 A. طَعَام = food; in Oman, date-stones form a principal ingredient in the food of cattle.
Dawn, *n.* early (day-break)	سَحِر	غَبْشَة	from A. غَبَش = the latter part of the night.
Day after to-morrow	بَعْد بُكْرَة	وَرَآء بَاكِر	A. بُكْرَة = to-morrow.
Day after that	بَعْد بَعْد بُكْرَة	وَرَآء وَرَاء بَاكِر	See above.
Day before yesterday	أَوّل مِن أَمْس	أَوّل أَمْس	A. أَمْس = yesterday.
Day before that		أَوّل أَوّل أَمْس	See above.
Deep, *a.*	عَمِيق	غَرِيز	A. from غَزِير = copious as applied to water.
Delay, *v.i.*	تَاخَّر	تَكَاكَا *aor.* يَتَكَاكَا	A. from تَكَأْكَأَ = he was prevented or hindered. حَمُوه تَكَا كَيْت = why were you delayed?
Delivered, to be (of a child)	وضعت الحمل	1 رِبّت *aor.* تَرَبّي 2 تَخَرَّت *aor.* تَتَخَرَّت	1 A. from رَبَّى in the sense of rearing or feeding a child. 2 Probably from A. خَرَس in the sense of feeding a woman with خرسة at child-birth.

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Deny, *v.t.*	أَنْكَر	جَحَد *aor.* يَجْحَد	A. جَحَد = he denied or disacknowledged. أَنَا شُفْتُه لِكِنّ هُو قَام يَجْحَدْنِي = I saw him, but he commenced denying my statement.
Descend, *v.i.*	نَزَل	هَبَط *aor.* يُهَبْط	A. هَبَطَ = he descended. حَمُوه مَا تَهَبْط كُلّ يُوْم = why do you not come in (into the town) every day? بَعْد مَا هَبَط الوَادِي = the valley (river) has not yet began to flow.
Desert, *n.*	صَحْرَآء	1 وَطَا 2 سَيْح *pl.* سُيُوح	1 A. وَطَا = low ground. 2 comp. A. سيح = pasturing about.
Deserve, *v.t.*	إِسْتَحَقّ	إِسْتَاهَل *aor.* يَسْتَاهَل	from A. إِسْتَحَقّ = he deserved, by substitution of ه for ح and ل for ق.
Dig, *v.t.*	حَفَر	بَحَش *aor.* يَبْحَش	from A. بَحَث = in the sense of scraping earth or dust for examining it. مِن بَا حِشَنّ هَذِي اَلْأَرْض = who has dug up this ground?
Dip, *v.t.*	غَمَس	دَمَّس *aor.* يَدَمَّس	from A. دَمس in the sense of hiding, or from A. غَمَس = he dipped, by substitution of د for غ.

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Dirt, *n.*	وَسَخ	حَدَك		probably from A. هدك in the sense of ruining, destroying.
Disease, *n.*	مَرَض	عُوْق		from عَوْق = that which hinders from work. مُو بِن العُوْق فِيهِ = what disease is he suffering from?
Disobedient	عَاصِي	عَاتِي		from A. عَتَىٰ = he disobeyed.
Distracted (wearied, disgusted)	حَيْران, تَعْبَان	مُتْبَيْزَر		from P. بَيْزَار = wearied, disgusted.
Dock (for ships)	حُوْض لِلمَرَاكِب	جُوْدِي		H. گُوْدِي = a dock. Comp. A. Mount الجُودِي on which Noah's ark is supposed to have rested after the deluge.
Dollar, *n.* (coin)	رِيَال	قُرْش	*pl.* قُرُوش	from German Groschen, a silver coin.
Donkey, *n.*	حِمَار	مَصْرِي	*pl.* مَصَارَا	
Doze, *v.i.*	نَعَس	نَاد	*aor.* يُنُود	A. نَاد = he nodded from drowsiness.
Draw, *v.t.* (to drag)	جَرّ	صَلَب	*aor.* يَصْلَب	from A. صَلب in the sense of becoming stiff, the Omanee sense being derived from a thing such as a rope when drawn becoming stiff.

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Drive (away) *v.t.*	طَرَد	نَعَج	*aor.*	يَنْعَج	
Drunkard	سَكَّار	مُدْمِن			A. from دَمَن = it was or became of long continuance.
Dust	غُبَار	زَاخِي			
Dysentery	زَحِير	حِجَاف			A. حُجَاف = a flux, diarrhœa.
Eclipse, *v.i.* (as the sun or moon)	خَسَف إِنْكَسَف	تَعَافَى	*aor.*	يَتْعَافَى	A. from عَفَا = it was or became obliterated or effaced.
Eclipse, *n.*	خُسُوف كُسُوف	مَعَافَاة			Same as above. Applied to both the eclipse of the sun and moon.
Effects, *n.*	أَسْبَاب	حَوَايِج			A. حَوَايِج = affairs, necessary matters.
Elude, *v.t.*	رَاوَغ	غَازَر	*aor.*	يَغَازَر	A. from غازرهُ = he sought to obtain more from him than he gave. هُويَغَازَرْنِي فِي ٱلْكَلَام = he eludes (giving) me (an answer) in conversation.
Embrace, *v.t.*	عَانَق	صَادَر	*aor.*	يَصَادَر	A. from صدر = bosom.
Embrace, *n.*	مُعَانَقَة	مَصَادِرَة			Same as above.
Embroidery	طِرَاز	دَرْز	*pl.*	دُرُوز	P. from تِرْز = originally even measurement.
Embroil, *v.t.*	لَبَّك	بَلْش	*aor.*	يَبَلْش	A. from بَلَس = he became confounded.

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Empty, *v.t.*	فَرَّغ	فَيَّق	*aor.* يَفَيَّق	A. See *Leisure.* فَيَّق اَلْغَفِير = empty the basket.
Encamp, *v i.* (alight)	نَزَل	نَوَّخ	*aor.* يَنَوَّخ	from A. نَوَّخ = making a camel kneel down by saying أخ أخ. See *camp.* To cause a camel to kneel down.
Endurance	صَبْر	وَسَع		A. وسع = capability of holding, capacity. هُورَاعِي الْوَسَع = he is possessed of endurance.
Enough, to be	كَفَى	1 بَسّ *no aor.* 2 سَدّ *aor.* يَسِدّ		1 P. بَسَ = enough. 2 A. سَدّ = he closed, stopped. بَسَّنِي هَذَا = this is enough for me. هَذَا مَايَسِد نِي = this will not be enough for me.
Equal, *a.*	مُسَاوِي	بَرَابَر		P. بَرَابَر = equal, on a level, etc. سَوِّيه بَرَا بَر وِيَاهَذَا = make it equal to, or on a level with this.
Ewe, *n.*	نَعْجَة	جَاعِدَة	*pl.* جَعَد	A. from جعد = It (hair) became crisp or curly.
Exorbitant, *a.* (excessive)	فَوْق الحَدّ	فُوْق الحُوْز		from Omanee A. حُوْز = limit.
Expect, *v.t.*	اِنْتَظَر	تَرَجَّى	*aor.* يَتْرَجَّى	A. from رَجَى = he hoped. نَتْرَجَّاه اليُوْم = we expect him to-day.
Expedition (military)	سِيرة	شُوْمَة		from Omanee A. شَام = he went.

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Drive (away) *v.t.*	طَرَد	نَعَج	*aor.* يَنْعَج	
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Embrace, *n.*	مُعَانَقَة	مَصَادِرَة		Same as above.
Embroidery	طِرَاز	دَرْز	*pl.* دُرُوز	P. from تِرْز = originally even measurement.
Embroil, *v.t.*	لَبَّك	بَلْش	*aor.* يَبَلَّش	A. from بَلَس = he became confounded.

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Enough, to be	كَفَى	1 بَسّ *no aor.* 2 سَدّ	*aor.* يَسِدّ	1 P. بَسَ = enough. 2 A. سَدّ = he closed, stopped. هَذَا بَسَّنِي = this is enough for me. هَذَا مَايَسِد نِي = this will not be enough for me.
Equal, *a.*	مُسَاوِي	بَرَابَر		P. بَرَابَر = equal, on a level, etc. سَوِّيه بَرَا بَر وِيَاهَذَا = make it equal to, or on a level with this.
Ewe, *n.*	نَعْجَة	جَاعِدَة	*pl.* جَعَد	A. from جعد = It (hair) became crisp or curly.
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Expect, *v.t.*	اِنْتَظَر	تَرَجَّى	*aor.* يَتْرَجَّى	A. from رَجَى = he hoped. نَتْرَجَّاه اليُوْم = we expect him to-day.
Expedition (military)	سِيرة	شُوْمَة		from Omanee A. شَام = he went.

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Explode, *v.i.*	تَفَقَّع	نَقَع	*aor.* يَنْقَع	A. نَقع = it made a sound.
Export, *n.*	إِخْرَاجَة	طَالِع	*pl.* طَوَالِع	A. from طلع = he went out or embarked.
Extinguish, *v.t.* (as a light or fire)	أَطْفا	قَتَل	*aor.* يَقْتِل	A. قَتَل = he killed. قَتَل السِّرَاج قَتَل النَّار extinguish the fire; extinguish the light.
Eyebrow	حَاجِب	حَجَاج	*pl.* حَجَا جِين	A. حَجاج = eyebrow. Bone surrounding the eye.
Fade, *v.i.*	ذَبَل	غَلَج	يَغْلَج	A. either from أَغْلُوج = a delicate branch or from غَنِج in the sense of affecting languor.
Faded	ذَابِل	غَلْجَان		See above.
Fæces	خَرْ	زَقّ		A. from زَقّ = it (a bird) dunged.
Fair, *a.* (not bad)		مَالَاش		A. from مالا شي = not nothing. هُومَالَاش = it is of a fair quality (not to be considered as nothing).
Fall, *v.i.*	سَقَط	طَاح	*aor.* يَطِيح *causal* طَيَّح	A. طاح = he fell.
Famine, *n.*	قَحْط	غَلَاء		A. from غَلَا = it became dear.
Fan, *v.t.*	رَوَّح على	شَبّ على	*aor.* يَشُبّ على	A. شَبّ = he kindled (a fire).
Fan, *n.*	مِرْوَحَة	1 مِشَبَّة *pl.* مُشَاب 2 مَلَهَبَة *pl.* مَلَاهِب		1 See above. 2 A. from لَهَبّ = he made (the fire) to flame or blaze.

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Fare, *n.*	إجرة الطريق	كرا	*pl.* كريات	A. كِرَا = hire.
Fastness (a stronghold)		مَقْبَض	*pl.* مَقَابِض	A. from قبض = he held.
Fear, *v.t.*	خَاف	فَزَع	*aor.* يَفْزَع	A. فَزِع = he feared.
Feel, *v.t.*	حَسّ	هَجَس	*aor.* يَهْجَس	A. هَجَس = whatever passes in one's mind. يَدِي مَا تَهْجَس القَلَم = my hand does not feel the pen.
Feeling, *n.* (sense of)	حَسّ	هَجَس		See above.
Fence, *n.* (of a garden)		زَرِيبَة	*pl.* زَرَايِب	A. زَرِيبَة = a field or enclosure for cattle. It is constructed of the midribs of the leaves of the date palm.
Fertile, *a.*	خَصِيب	رَغِيب		A. رَغِيب = (land) that takes or absorbs much water.
Fetch, *v.t.* (to bring)	جآب	جَاب	*aor.* يِجِيب	A. جأب = he came with. مِن جَابِتْه = who has fetched it?
Field	مَزرع	وَقِيف	*pl.* وَقْفَان	A. probably from وَقَف = he stood, a field being a place in which grass stands or grows.
Fill, *v.t.*	مَلاء	تَرَس	*aor.* يِتْرِس	اَلطَّوِي مَتْرُوسَة اَلْمَا = the well is full of water.
Fish, *n.*	سَمَك	صَيْد		A. صَيْد = game, chase.

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Flag, *n.* (banner)	بَيْرَق	بَنْدِيرَة	*pl.* بَنَادِير	P. from بَنْد = a large banner, a standard.
Flay, *v.t.* (to skin)	سَلَخ	شَحَا	*aor.* يَشْحِي	A. from شَحَاة = skin or bark of anything.
Flea, *n.*	بُرْغُوث	كِتّ	or كِتْكِت	
Flee, *v.i.* (to run away)	فَرّ	شَرَد	*aor.* يِشْرِد	A. شَرَد = he fled or went aside.
Flint, *n.*	صَوّان	صَرْبُوخ	*pl.* صَرَابِيخ	
Flower, *n.* (open)	زَهْرَة	فُرّاخ	*pl.* فَرَارِيخ	A. from فَرخ = a young plant beginning to spread into branches.
Flower-pot (or any earthen vessel of that shape or kind)		حَلُول	*pl.* حَلَاوِيل	
Fluid, *a.*	مَايِع	رَقِيق		A. رَقِيق = thin, uncompact. هَذَا اَلْحَلّ بَعْد رَقِيق مَا جَمَد = this oil is still fluid, it is not yet frozen.
Fodder, *n.*	عَلَف	طَعَام		A. طَعَام = food.
Fold, *v.t.*	لَفّ	قَصَّف	*aor.* يَقَصَّف	
Fold, *n.* (a pen for sheep, etc.)	مَرْبَض	دَرْس	*pl.* دُرُوس	P. دَرْش = a stable, a stall.

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Forceps	كُلّاب	مَهْبَاش	*pl.* مَهَابِيش	from A. هَبْش = collecting. Omanee A. picking up. هَبَش هَذِي ٱلْجَمْرَة = pick up this live coal.
Forge, *v.t.*	إِفْتَعَل	تَقْيَوَل	*aor.* يَتْقَيْوَل	from A. تَقْوِيل = reporting what another has said, generally falsely. هَذِى ٱلْوَرْقَة مُتْقَيْوَلَة = this document is a forged one.
Forgery	إِفْتِرَآء	تَقْيِوِيل		Same as above.
Fort, *n.*	قَلْعَة	كُوْت	*pl.* كِيتَان	H. كُوْت = a fort.
Founder, *v.i.* (to sink as a ship)	غرق	طُبُع	*aor.* يُطْبَع	A. from طَبَع = he filled. قَدْ طُبُع ٱلْمَرْكَب. ٱلْمَرْكَب طَبْعَان = the ship has foundered.
Fox	ثَعْلَب	حُصَيْنِي		A. أَبُو الْحُصَيْن (*lit.* father of the little fortress) a fox.
Frog	ضُفْدَع	قُرَّة	*pl.* قَرِير	A. قُرَّة = a frog.
Frown, *v.i.*	عَبَس	تَقَرْمَط	*aor.* يَتْقَرْمَط	See *Crumple.* هُومُتْقَرْمَط الوَجه اليُوْم = he has a frowning look to-day.
Furniture (household)	أَثَاث	1 سَامَان	2 أَوَانِي	1 P. سَامَان = furniture. 2 A. أَوَانِي = vessels, vases.

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Further on, *ad.*	أَبْعَد	غَادِي		See *Ahead.* سِيرغَادِي = go further on.
Gag, *v.t.*	كَعَم	لَكَم *aor.*	يَلْكَم	from A. لَقَم in the sense of blocking up (a road) or gobbling.
Gag, *n.*	كِعَامَة	لَكِيمَة *pl.*	لَكَايِم	Same as above.
Gale, *n.* (of wind)	زَفْزَفَة	تَار *pl.*	تَارَات	A. تَار in the sense of flowing or running with vehemence or as a strong current.
Gate	باب	صَبَاح *pl.*	صَبَاحَات	A. from أَصبح = he lighted; the gate of a place is in Oman generally the principal entrance for light.
Gipsy	نَوَري	زُطِّي *pl.*	زُطُوط	from H. جاتّ = name of a tribe in India.
Girdle, *n.*	حِزَام	حِزَاق *pl.*	حِزَّقَان	A. حِزَاق = anything with which one ties or makes fast.
Glutton, *n.*	جُرَاف	جَرُوز *pl. regular*		A. جَرُوز = one who eats quickly or much.
Go, *v.i.* away	مَافرسَار	1 شَام *aor.* 2 فَلّ *aor.*	يُشُوم / يَفَلّ	1 A. from سَام = *inf. n.* سَوْم = going or going away. 2 A. فَلّ in the sense of departing, such as intellect.

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Goat, *n.* (generic name)	غَنَم	*coll.* هُوْش *sing.* هَايِشَة *pl.* هَوَايِش	A. هَوْش = a crowd, a flock.
,, (male young or castrated)	مَاعِز	جِدِي *pl.* جِدَايَا	A. جَدْي = a male kid. In Oman this word is applied to a male kid as well as to a grown-up castrated goat.
,, (ram)	تَيْس	تَيْس *pl.* تُيُوس	A.
,, (female)	عَنْز	شَاة *pl.* شَايَات *and* شَوْهَات	A.
Gorge, *v.t.*	فَقِم	بَشَم *aor.* يَبْشَم	A. بَشم in the sense of heaviness from food هوَبَشْمَان هُوبَشَم نَفْسُه = he has gorged himself.
Gradually, *ad.* (slowly, gently)	رُوَيْدًا	1 وَاحِي وَاحِي 2 شُوَيّ بِالّتِي 3 بُشَوِيّ	1 A. وَاحِد = One. 2 Omanee A. شُوَيّ = little. 3 A. from اِلّتِئا = slowness. خُد اشْيَاكَ مِنْه بِالّتِي = take your things from him gradually.
Grandfather	جَدّ	حَبَابُو *no pl.*	
Grandmother	جَدّة	حَبُّوْتَة *no pl.*	حَبُّوْتَكْ = your grandmother.

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Gratis, *ad.* (for nothing)	مَجَّانًا	1 بَلَاش	2 بَرْخ	1 A. بِلَاشْيْ = without anything. بَرْخ = a low price put on provisions, etc., by the edict of a magistrate. مَايَحصَل لَكْ بَرْخ = you will not get it for nothing.
Gripe, *v.i.*	لَوَى	حَاس *aor.* يَحِيس		from A. حَيْس = twisting a rope. فِيه حَيَس يَحِيس بَطَنْه = he is suffering from gripes.
Gripes, *n.*	مَغْص	حَيْسَة *pl.*	حَيَس	See above.
Ground nut	حَبّ اللذِيذ	قَرْن سَبَال *pl.*	قُرُون سَبَال	from Omanee A. قَرْن = a pod and سَبَال = a monkey.
Guard, *n.* (a watchman)	حَارِس	حَرَّاص *pl.*	حَرَارِيص	from A. حَارِس = a guard by substitution of ص for س.
Guava		زَيْتُون		A. زَيْتُون = an olive.
Guess, *v.t.*	خَمَّن	جَزَم *aor.*	يَجْزَم	from A. جَزَر = he conjectured.
Guess, *n.*	تَخْمِين	1 جَزْمَة	2 اَتْكَل	1 See above. 2 H. اَتْكَل = guess, conjecture.
Guest, *n.*	ضَيْف	خَاطِر *pl.*	خُطَّار	probably from A. خَطَر in the sense of becoming great in estimation.

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Gullet, *n.*	حَلْق	جُرْعَبَه *pl.* جَرَاعِيب	A. from جَرَع بِه = he swallowed with it, the gullet being the tube through which substances are swallowed and passed into the stomach.
Gum, *n.* (of the teeth)	لِثَة	عَجّ *pl.* عَجُوج	A. عَجّ in the sense of swelling or becoming protuberant.
Gun, *n.* (musket, percussion lock)	بُنْدُق	مَصَرْبَح *pl.* مَصَرْبَخَات	from Omanee A. صَرْبُوخ = flint. The Beduins generally substitute ل for ر in this word.
,, (match-lock)	مِكْحَلَة فَتِيلَة	تَفَق *pl.* تِفَاق	P. from تَفَك = a musket.
Gunner	طُوبَجِي	مِدَيْفَعِي *pl.* مِدَيْفَعِيَّة	A. from مِدْفَع = a cannon.
Gunpowder	بَارُود	بَارُوت	P. بَارُوت and بَارُود = gunpowder.
Gust, *n.* (of wind)	نَفْخَة	سَأْيِبَة *pl.* سَوَايِب	A. from سائب = flowing, current.
Hair, *n.*	شَعَر	كِشَّة *pl.* كِشِيش	A. كُشَّة = hair, comp S. گَيْش = hair.
,, (immediately under the lip)	عَنْفَقَة	ذِمَّة *pl.* ذِمَم	A. ذِمَّة = compact, protection. Probably from the hair under the lip and the beard generally, being touched with the hand when making or giving ذِمَّة.

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Half-caste	مُوَلَّد	بَيْسَر *pl.* بِيَاسِر	Comp. P. بَيْسُرَاك = a mule, a camel whose dam is Arabian and sire double-hunched. Also comp. in the Kamoos بَيْسَرِيّ *pl.* بَيَاسِرَة = a certain people living in Sind, etc., in Art. بسر.
Hard, *ad.* (firmly)	شَدِيدًا	هُودَار	Probably from هُودَارِي = he is attentive, on his guard; Omanee awake. Comp. P. هُشيَار. جَوْدَه هُودَار = hold it hard (firmly).
Hastily, *ad.* (in a hurry, soon)	بِسُرْعَةٍ	دَهْدَيْه	A. from دَهْدا = galloping with full speed, urging forward. هَيَّا دَهْ دَيْه make haste. هَيَّا تَعَال دَهْ دَيْه come hastily. هَيَّا سَوِّيه دَهْ دَيْه = make haste or do it soon.
Hide, *v t.*	خَفَى	1 دَسّ *aor.* يَدَسّ 2 ضَمّ *aor.* يَضُمّ	1 A. دَسّ in the sense of hiding. 2 A. ضَمّ = he grasped. وَيْن دَسَّيْتُه. وَيْن ضَمَّيْتُه = where did you hide it? هُو مُنْدَسّ مَعَه = it is hidden with him.
Highwayman	قَاطِع الطَّرِيق	كَسَّاب *pl.* كَسَاسِيب	A. كَسَّاب = a man who makes much gain.

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Hillock	تَلّ	1 قُرْن *pl.* قُرُون 2 جَنُوس *pl.* جَنُوس		1 A. قَرْن = top of a mountain. 2.
Hold, *v.t.* (seize)	قَبَض	جَوَّد *aor.* يَجَوَّد		A. from جَوْد in the sense of assailing and overcoming one (love).
Holiday, *n.*	يَوْم بَطَالَة	طَلْقَة		A. from طَلِق = free, unchained. اَلصَّغَيْرين لَهُم طَلْقَة اليُوْم = the children have a holiday to-day.
Hollow, *a.* (in a general sense)	مُجَوَّف	نَفْخ		A. نَفَخ = he blew.
,, (a fruit, etc, from age)		بُخ		A. from بُوُوخ = turning, stinking (as meat).
Hoarse, *a.*	أَبَح	فَحِيح		A. from فَحْفَح = he was affected with hoarseness.
Hut, *n.*	خُصّ	1 كَرْجِين *pl.* كَرَاجِين 2 خَيْمَة *pl.* خِيَام		1 P. كَرْجِن = a hut of boughs or reeds. 2 A. خَيْمَة = a tent, a hut made of trunk and branches of trees.
Ill, *a.*	مَرِيض	عَضِيل or مُعْتَضِل		A. from عُضَال = a severe or incurable disease.

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Imitate, *v.t.*	مَاثَل	شَاكَل *aor.* يَشَاكِل		A. شَاكَل = it was conformable. A. تَشَاكَلَا = they resembled each other. هُو يَشَاكِلَنِي فِي كُلّ شَيْ = he imitates me in everything.
Immediately, *ad.* (at once)	مَرّة	بِالفُوْر		A. فُوْر = celerity.
Import, *n.*	مَدْخُولَة	نَازِل *pl.*	نَوَازِل	A. from نَزَل = he descended or disembarked.
Imprison, *v.t.*	حَبَس	لَزَم *pl.*	يِلْزُم	A. لَزِم in the sense of adhering or remaining fixed.
Imprisonment	حَبْس	اِلْزَام		See above.
Incense	بخُور	غَبُور		Probably from غَبَار dust flying in the air. Omanee smoke.
Incise, *v.t.*	حَزّ	شَطَب *pl.*	يُشْطُب	A. شَطَب = he cut. In Maskat it has the secondary meaning to inoculate, to vaccinate. هُو بَعْد مَامَشْطُوب = he has not yet been vaccinated.
Incline, *v.i.* (to be favourably disposed to)	عَاصب	شَفّ *aor.*	يَشُفّ	A. شفّ — إِشْفَفْتُهم = I preferred them (see Lane). هُوشَافّ إِلَيْهِ فِي ٱلْأَمَر = he is inclined or favourably disposed towards him in this affair.

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Infant, *n.*	طَفْل	تُكُون *pl.* تَكُونِين	Compare Swahili Mtoto.
Inquire, *v i.*	فَتَّش	نَبَّش *aor.* يَنَبَّش	A. from نَبْش in the sense of discovering or digging up what has been buried.
Instalment	قِسْط	حِلَّة *pl.* حَلُول	A. from حَلّ in the sense of the payment of a debt becoming due.
Interest, *n.* (as on money)	رِبْح	سُود	P. سُود = interest, profit.
Invitation	إِسْتِدْعَا	نَهْمَة	See *Call.* مَاجَاتْنِي نَهْمَة = I have not received an invitation.
Jaw, *n.* (lower)	فَكّ	شِدَغ *pl.* شِدَاغ *dual* شِدْغَان	A. from شَدَق = a side of the mouth.
Jump, *v.i.*	قَحَص نَطّ	1 طَشّ *aor.* يَطِشّ 2 قَحَم *aor.* يَقْحَم 3 عَفَد *aor.* يَعْفِد	1 A. probably from طَاش in the sense of being light or unsteady. 2 A. either from قَحَص by substitution of م for ص or قَحَم in the sense of crossing, rushing, etc. عَفْد = leaping with the feet close. حَمُوه طَشَّيْت مِنَّا إِلَى هِنَاك = why did you jump from here to there?

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Kernel, *n.*	لُبّ	صَلُّوم *pl.*	صَلَالِيم	Probably from A. سَلَم = a stone.
Kettle, *n.*	غَلَّايَة	كَيْتَلِي *pl.*	كَيْتَلِيَات	H. كَيْتَلِي from English *kettle.*
Kick, *n.*	رَفْسَة	مُرْكَاض *pl.*	مَرَاكِيض	A. from رَكَض = he struck with his leg or foot. هُو ضَرَبْنِي مُرْكَاض = he gave me a kick.
Kiss, *v.t.*	باسَ	1 خَابَر *aor.*	يَخَابَر	1 Probably from A. خابر = he made a contract, etc. This word is restricted to kissing the hand of a senior on meeting him. 2 H from جُمْبَا = a kiss.
		2 شَمّ *aor.*	يَشُمّ	
Knuckle, *n.* (of the fingers)	بُرْجُمَة	فَرْكُون *pl.*	فَرَاكِين	A. from فرك in the sense of cracking or crackling.
Lancet, *n.*	مِشْرَطَ	مَشْتَر *pl.*	مَشَاتِر	Either from A. شَتَر = he cut, or from P. نَشْتَر = a lancet.
Languid, *a.* (from fever or other disease)	كَسْلَان		صَلْبَان	from A. صَلَب in the sense of becoming stiff.
Last night	الدَيْلَة	أَلْبَارِحَة		A. البَارِحَة = yesterday.
Last year	العَام الاوّل	أَلْعَام		A. العَام = this year.
Lazy, *a.*	كسِل	بَرْذُول *pl.*	بَرَاذِيل	A. from بَرْذون = a heavy or sluggish horse.

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Leak, *v.i.*	وَكَّفَ	قَطَر	يُقْطُر *aor.* قَطَر	A. قَطَر = it (water) dropped. أَلْبَيْت يُقْطُر = the house leaks.
Leisure, to be at	تَفَرَّغ	تَفَيَّق	يَتْفَيَّق *aor.* تَفَيَّق	A. see below.
Leisure, *n.*	فَرَاغَة	فَاقَة		A. from إِفَاقَة = a resting. هُو مَا مُتْفَيَّق مَاعِنْدُه فَاقَة = he is not at leisure.
Lemon, *n.* (sweet)	لَيْمُون حَلُوّ	سَفَرْجَل گتل (round var.) سَفَرْجَل بُورَ قَاب (oval var.)		A. سَفَرْجَل = a quince.
Lend, *v t.*	أَعَار	عَرَّق	يَعَرَّق *aor.*	A. from عَرَقَة = a thing given for friendship, a reward, etc., or see *borrow*. هُو عَرَّقْنِي أَلْكِتَاب = he lent me the book (not applied to money).
Letter, *n.* (an epistle)	خَسَّط	تَعْرِيف	تَعَارِيف *pl.*	A. تَعرِيف = giving information, etc.
Liberate, *v t.* (as a slave)	أَعْتَق	سَرَّح	يَسَرَّح *aor.*	A. سرح = he set free (the cattle) to pasture. هُو الخَادِم مُسَرَّح = he is a liberated slave.
Light, *v.t.*	أَشْعَل	لَبَّق	يُلَبَّق *aor.*	لَبَّق أَلسِّرَاج or أَلصِّرَاج = light the lamp. لَبَّق أَلنَّار = light the fire.

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Like, *a.*	مِثْل	شَرْوَى	A. شَرْوَى = alike, resembling. شَرْوَى هَذَا = like this.
Lime, *n.* (fruit)	لَيْمُون	لُوْمِي and لُومَا	P. لِيمُو = a lemon.
Limit, *n.*	حدّ	حُوْز	A. see *Arbitration.* اَلْحَرُّ اَلْيُوْم فُوْق اَلْحُوْز = the heat is beyond limit (endurance) to-day. هَذَا حُوْزَكَ = this is your limit.
Limp, *v.i.*	عَرَج	ضَلَع *aor.* يَضْلَع	A. ضَلَع = he became crooked or curved.
Lip, *n.*	شِفَه	مِزْبِل *pl.* مَزَابِل	A. from زُبْلَة = a morsel, a mouthful.
List, *n.*	قَائِمَة	عُرْضَة *pl.* عَرَض	A. from عَرَض = he presented.
Little, *n.* and *a.*	قَلِيل	شَوَيَّة	A. from شَيْ = any.
Little, *n.* and *a.* very	جُزَى	تِشَّة	
Lizard, *n.*	وَزَغ	لَغَّة	
Loan, *n.*	عَارَة	عَرْفَة	See *Lend.*
Lobster, *n.*	سَلْطَعُون بَحْرِي	1 خَارِش بَارِش 2 صَالِخ بَالِخ	1 A. from خَرَش = he scratched skin with a nail. 2 A. from صَالِخ = scabby.
Looking-glass, *n.*	مِرآة	مَنْظَرَة *pl.* مَنَاظِر	A. مَنْظَرَة = anything looked at.

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Low, *a.* (opposite of high)	نَازِل	1 وَاطِي	2 خَافِق	1 A. from وَاطِة = deep place (of water). 2 A. from خَافِض = low, depressed.
Lucern, *n.*	بَرْسِيم	قَتّ		A. قَتّ = a species of trefoil or clover.
Lurk, *v.i.*	تَكَمَّن	كَمَت *aor.* يكْمِت		A. from كَمتَ = he hid or concealed (in his bosom) rage, etc. or from كَمن = he remained in ambush.
Man	رَجْل	رَجَّال *pl.* رَجَاجِيل		A. from رَجُل = a man.
Mantle, *n.*	رِدَاء	1 شَاذَر *pl.* شَوَاذِر 2 شَيْلَة *pl.* شِيَل		1 P. چَادَر = a sheet, a mantle. 2 H. سَيْلا = a kind of mantle.
Many, *a.*	كَثِير	1 وَاجِد 2 هَسْت 3 بَهْيُوت		1 A. from وَجَد = he found. 2 P. هَسْت = is, exists. 3 H بَهُت = much, many.
Marrow, *n.* (as of bones)	مُخّ	مَغُو		from P. مَغَز = marrow.
Master, *n.* (as of a slave)	مَوْلَى	جَبَّاب *pl. reg.*		
Master, *n.* (possessor, endowed with, etc., cause, etc.)	صَاحِب	رَاعِي *pl.* رَعَاة		A. رَاعِى = a guardian, protector. هَيْن رَاعِي البَيْت = where is the owner of the house? هُو رَاعِي النَّظَر = he is possessed of judgment. هُو رَاعِي الفِتْنَة = he is the cause of mischief.

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Masticate, *v.t.*	مضغ	لَاج	*aor.* يَلُوج		A. لَاج = he turned (it) about in his mouth.
Mat, *n.*	بَارِيَة	1 حَصِير	*pl.* حَصْرَان		1 A. حَصِير = a mat. 2 A. بِسَاط = anything spread on the ground, a carpet.
		2 بِسَاط	*pl.* بُسْط		
,, (small)		تَقْصِيرة	*pl.* تَقَاصِير		A. from قَصَر = it became small or fell short.
,, (made of palm leaves)		سُمَّة	*pl.* سِمِيم		A. سُمَّة = a mat of palm-leaves.
,, for prayer	سُجَّادَة	مَنْظَف	*pl.* مَنَاظِف		A. from نَظَّف = he cleaned, purified.
Match, *n.* (lucifer)	كِبْرِيتَة	1 مَلْبَق	*pl.* مَلَابِق		1 from Omanee A. لَبَّق = he lighted.
		2 مَقْشَط	*pl.* مَقَاشُط		
Messenger	مُرْسَل	طَارِش	*pl.* طُرُوش		Omanee A. from طَرَش = he sent.
Milk	لَبَن	حَلِيب			A. حَلِيب = new milk.
Mirage, *n.*	سَرَاب	غَيّ السَّرَا			A. غَيّ = deceiving and سَرَاب = a mirage.
Mistake, *v.t.* and *i.*	غَلَط	غَوَى	*aor.* يَغْوَى		A. غَوَى = he erred.
Mistaken	غَالِط	غَوْيَان			See above.
Money, *n.*	دَرَاهِم	1 عَوَازِي		2 فُلُوس	from Omanee A. غَازِي = a pie, a twelfth of an anna, derived from غَازِي = a Persian coin. 2 from *obolus*.

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Monkey, *n.*	قِرْد	سَبَال *pl.* سِبْلَان *and* سَبَالَات	A. probably from سَبَلَة = a moustache, a whisker. Comp. سَبَل an Arab idol.
Mortar, *n.* (for pounding)	هَاوَن	مُوَقَّعَة *pl.* مَوَاقِع	A. from مَوَقَّع ـ وَقَع = bruised with a hammer.
Moss, *n.* water	طُحْلَب	شَبَه	A. from شَبَا = water moss.
Mouse-trap		1 لَفّ *pl.* لُفُوف 2 مَقَنْصَة *pl.* مَقَانِص	
Mouth	فَم	1 فَم *pl.* ثُومَا 2 خِشْم *pl.* خِشُوم	1 A. from فَم = the mouth by substitution of ث for ف. 2 A. from خَشْم = the nose.
Move, *v.i.* aside (to move out of the way)	تَجَنَّب	1 زحف *aor.* يَزْحَف 2 خَاز *aor.* يَخُوز	1 A. زَحف in the sense of proceeding, advancing gradually. 2 زَحَف مِن اَلدَّرْب = move out of the way. خَوَّز الكُرْسِي = move (take) the chair out of the way.
Much, *a.*	كَثِير	Same as *many*, which see	
Mud, *n.*	وَحَل	1 حُمْدَة 2 غِيطَة	2 A. from غَاط = he sank into mud.
Musquito, *n.*	بَعُوض	1 قَارِص 2 لَدْغ	1 A. قَارِص = a bug. 2 from لَدْغ = stinging; it is a generic term applied to other stinging insects also.

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Naked	عَرْيَان	صَالِخ	A. from صَلَخ = it (a serpent) cast off its slough.
Narrow, *a.*	ضَيِّق	قَبِيب	A. from قَبّ = he was or became slender in the waist, lank in the belly.
Nausea, *n.*	غَثْيَان	لَوْعَان	A. from لَوْعَة ـ لَاع = indisposition from disease or fear عَلَيْهِ لَوْعَان = he is suffering from nausea.
Neutral, *a.*	حَايد عن الخصمين	رَافِع الشَّقّ	from Omanee A. شَقّ = he inclined favourably هُورَافِع اَلشَّقّ فِي هَذِى المَادَّة = he is neutral in this matter.
Night before last	البَارِحة الأولى	بَارِحَة اَمْس	A.
Nitre	نَطْرُون	شُوْرَا	H. and P. شُوْرَا = nitre.
Noise, *n.*	لَغْط	1 طَحْنَان 2 زَاوِيَة 3 هُوْرَة	1 A. from طَحَن = he ground.
Nonsense, *n.*	هَذْيَان	خَرِيط	Probably from A. خرص = he forged a lie. This word often takes the imitative sequent مَرِيط. وَدَّر هَذَا خرِيط مَرِيط = leave off (talking) this nonsense.

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Nose	أَنْف	1 نَعْفَة *pl.* نَعَاف 2 مُوْخَرَة *and* مُأْخَرَة *pl.* مَوَاخِر *and* مَعَاخِر	1 A. from نَعَف = the fore and narrow part of a sand-hill. 2 from A. مأخر a nostril.
Nostril	مَأْخِر	ثُقُب *pl.* ثُقَاب *and* ثُقُوب	A. ثَقْب = a hole, a perforation.
Nothing	لَاشِي	1 مَامِيش 2 شِي شِي	A. from شِي = any. وَيْش فِيه = what is the matter with him? مَامِيش nothing.
Oil, *n.*	زَيْت	حَلّ *pl.* حَلُولَات	A. حَلّ = oil of sesame; originally from حَلّ = it was dissolved or melted.
Open, *v.t.*	فَتَح	فَلَّت *aor.* يَفَلَّت	A. from فَلَتَهُ = he made him escape or get away. فَلَّت الدَّرِيشَة = open the window.
Opinion, *n.*	رَّاى	نَظَر	A. نَظَر = sight.
Opposite, *a.*	مُقَابل	1 قَدَّام 2 عَدَّال	1 A. قَدَّام = before, front, prior. 2 A. from عَدَل ـ عَدِيل = he who rides in the *opposite* litter to counterbalance weight. هَاكُوه قَدَّامَك = there it is right opposite to you. بَيْتُه عَدَّال بَيْتِي = his house is opposite to mine.

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Originally, *ad.* (from the beginning)	مِن أَوَّل	مِن بُون	Probably from A. بُون = pillars, tent-poles, etc. the support of a thing being its root or origin.
Outskirt, *n.*	ضَاحِية	شَرِيعَة *pl.* شَرَايِع	A. شريع = a place of descent or a highway to a place.
Overflow, *v.i.*	فَاض	غَدَف *aor.* يُغَدُف	Omanee A. from غَدَف = he crossed over.
Owl, *n.*	بُوم	دُمِّيَّة	
Oyster, *n.*	مَحَار	دُوك	
Paddle, *n.*	مِقْدَاف	مِجْدَاف *pl.* مِجَادِيف	A. from مِجْذَاف = an oar.
Paddle (steering)		غَادُوف *pl.* غَوَادِيف	See *Cross.*
Pain, *v.t.*	وَجِع	1 عَوَّر *aor.* يَعَوَّر 2 صَال *and* يَصُول	A. from عَوَر = weakness, defect. 2 A from صَوْل = assaulting, attacking. رَاسُه يَعَوَّرُه = his head pains (aches). وَيْن يَعَوَّرَك = where does it pain you ?
Pain, *n.*	وَجَع	صُوْلَان	See above 2. يَدِي قَامَت تَصُول طُول اللَيْل = my hand pained the whole night. مَافِيه صُوْلَان = there is no pain in it.
Paint, *n.*	دِهان	زَنْج *pl.* أَزْنَاج	See *Colour.*

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Pass, *v.i.* (to go)	مَرّ	خَطَف *aor.* يَخْطُف *and* يُخْطُف	A. from خَطِف = he went along quickly. مِن خَطَف مِنّا = who went this way?
Pay, *n.* (monthly)		مُشَاهِرة	A. from شهر = a month.
Pea, *n.*	جُلُبَّان	غُرْغُر	A. probably from جِرْجُر or جَرْجَار = a bean or beans.
Pebbles, *n.*	رَضْرَاض	جَرْجَارَة	A. جَرْجَارَة = a mill or millstone. This is probably an Onomatopoeic word.
,, (from a valley)		بَطَح	A. بَطَح = low-lying, gravelly grounds.
Penis	ذَكَر	1 زبّ *pl.* زَبَبَا 2 سَنْبُول *pl.* سَنَابِيل	1 A. زُبّ = Penis in the dialect of al Yaman. 2 A. metaphorical.
Pestle, *n.*	يَد الهَاوَن	سَفَن *pl.* سُفَانَا	A. سَفَن = He reduced to fine powder.
Pick, *v.t.* (as with forceps)	لَقَط	هَبَش *aor.* يَهْبَش	See *Forceps*.
Picnic	ضِيَافَة رَيْفِيَّة	1 جَشْت 2 فَرَاجَة	1 P. گشْت = recreation, amusement. 2 A. from تَفَرَّج = he diverted or amused himself.
Pipe, *n.* (smoking)		1 مَشْرَب *pl.* مَشَارِب 2 مَدْوَخ *pl.* مَدَاوِخ	1 A. from شَرَب = he drank. 2 A. دَاخ = he smoked.

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Pit, *n.*	حُفْرَة	جُفْرَة *pl.*	جُفَر	1 A. from حُفْرَة = a pit. تَجِيد مِن بَحَش هَذِي الجُفْرَة = do you remember or know who dug this pit?
Plaster, *n.* (as of a wall)	شِيد	صَلْح		A. from صَلَح = it became good or sound.
Plaster (medicinal)	لَزَقَة	هُبُر *and*	هِبَار	A. probably from حَبَر in the sense of a wound healing.
Plough, *n.*	فَدَّان	هَيْس *pl.*	هُيُوس	A. هَيْس = treading down; a plough.
Pluck, *v.t.* (as dates)		خَرَف *aor.*	يُخْرُف	A. خَرَف = he gathered or plucked fruit.
Pluck, *v.t.* (as flowers)	قَطَف	فَتَك *aor.*	يِفْتِك	A. فَتَك in the sense of separating and plucking asunder, as applied to cotton.
Pocket, *n.*	جَيْب	مُخْبَا *pl.*	مَخَابِي	A. مَخبأ = a place for hiding anything.
Pod, *n.*	خَرِيطَة	قَرْن *pl.*	قُرُون	A. قَرْن = a horn; evidently a metaphorical term.
Port, *n.* (a harbour)	مَرْسَى	بَنْدَر *pl.*	بَنَادَر	P. بَنْدر = a fort.
Potter, *n.*	خَزَّاف	بَرَّام *pl.*	بَرَارِيم	A. from بُرْمَة a stone cooking pot. Omanee, a cooking pot made of clay.
Pour, *v.i.*	صَبّ	كَبّ *aor.*	يَكُبّ	A. كَبّ in the sense of inverting a pot.
Prawn		شِبَاع *pl.*	شَبَابِيص	A. شِبَاع = name of a flying fish.

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Prepare, *v.i.* (for a journey)		قَوَّض *aor.*	يَقَوَّض	A. from قاض = he pulled down or took to pieces a tent (prior to a journey).
Present, *n.*	هَدِيَة	صُوْغَة *pl.*	صُوْغَات	P. سوغات = a magnificent present made to kings, or by friends to friends; a curiosity.
Prickly heat	حَرَارَة	هَرَض		A. هَرْض = the scab corroding the body from intense heat.
Prompt payment	نَقْد	بِالحَاضِر		A. حَاضِر = present. هَذَا يَبْتَاع بِالحَاضِر = this is sold for prompt payment.
Proper, *a.* (suitable)	مناسب	بَرأَبَر		See *Equal.*
Pull, *v.t.* down (to demolish)	هَدّ	قَشَع *aor.*	يَقْشَع	A. from قَشَع in the sense of scattering, shaking off; loose earth thrown about.
Pull, *v.t.* off (as clothes)	خَلَع	فَسَخ *aor.*	يَفْسَخ	A. فَسَخ in the sense of casting off a garment. فَسَخ الدِشْدَاشَة = take the shirt off. فسخ اللُوْز = peel the almond. سُخ مُفَسَّخ = dates with their stones taken out.
Pupil, *n.* (of the eye)	إنسان العَيْن	بَصِير		A. بَصِير = seeing.

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Purgative, *n.*	مُسْهَل	حُلُول		A. حُلُول in the sense of loosening.
Purposely, *ad.*	عَمْدًا	عَانِي	مُتَعَنِّي	A. from عَنَى = he meant or intended.
Push, *v.t.*	دَفَع	دَفَر *aor.*	يُدْفُر	A. from دَفَع = he pushed, by substitution of ر for ع.
Quarter, *n.* (as of a town)	مَحَلَّة	حَارَة *pl.*	حَوَايِر	A. حَارَة = a street where houses adjoin each other.
,, (walled)		حِجْرَة *pl.* حِجَر	حَجِير *and*	A. حُجْرَة = a stable, a fold, an apartment.
Radish, *n.*	فُجْل	1 رُوَيْد	2 فِجِل	1 P. رويدي = whatever grows, vegetables. 2 A. from فُجْل = a radish. كِل من رِوَيْد لوعِو يْد = eat of a radish even if you get a small leaflet (Prov.)
Rag, *n.* (old clothes)	حَشِيف	قَصِيبَة *pl.*	قَصْبَان	A. from قصب = he cut.
Rain, *n.*	مَطَر	سَيْل *pl.*	سُيُول	A. سَيْل = flowing (water), a torrent.
Rainbow, *n.*	قَوْس قُزَح	1 قِزْح وِزْح	2 بُو مُقَمَّح	1 A. from قزح = the angel presiding over clouds. 2 probably from A. قَمَح = yellow; this word is generally used by the Beduins.
Raw, *a.* (as a fruit)	فِجّ	غَضّ		A. غَضّ = fresh.
Ready, to make	جَهَّز	زَهَّب *aor.*	يَزَهَّب	
Ready, *a.*	حَاضِر	زَاهِب		

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Refuse, *v.t.*	أَبَى	مَا طَاع *aor.* مَا يَطِيع		A. from طَاع = he obeyed. هُو مَا طَاع يَعْطِينِي شَيْ = he refused to give me anything.
Refuse, *n.*	نُفَايَة	1 خُمَام	2 هُوْل	1 Omanee خُمَامَة sweepings of a house. 2 from Omanee A. هُوْل = *weeds*, which see.
Relatives, *n.*	أَقَارِب	حَيَّان		1 A. probably from حَيّ = a tribe, a family.
Relax, *v.t.*	أَرْخَى	نَسَّم *aor.*	يِنَسَّم	لا تَشْحَط الحِبَال نَسَّمُه = do not tighten the rope, relax it.
Remain, *v.i.* (to stay)	أَقَامَ	تَمّ *aor.*	يَتَمّ	A. تَمّ in the sense of persevering. إِلَى مِتَى تَتَمّ هِنَا = how long will you remain here?
Remember, *v.i.* (also to know)	تَذَكَّر	حَاد *aor.*	يَحِيد	A. probably from حَيْد = a prominent part of a thing, the secondary sense being derived from the fact of a thing remembered being prominent in one's mind. هُو مَايَحِيد اَلكَلَام = he does not remember the words. أَنَامَاأَحِيد الدَّرْب I do not remember the road. مَاتَعْرِفنِي مَاتَحِيد = do you not know me, do you not remember. هُو رُوْحُه حَاد البَيْت = he himself knew the house.

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Remove, *v.i.* (to change a place)	إِنْتَقَل	تَحَوَّل *aor.*	يَتَحَوَّل	A. from تَحَلْحَل. = يُوْم تَحَوَّلْنَا اِلَى بَيْت الجَدِيد when we removed to the new house.
Retail, *n.*	البِيَع بالمُفَرَّق	1 رَيْزًا رَيْزًا 2 وَاحِد وَاحِد		1 P. رَيْزه رَيْزه = in bits, in pieces. 2 A. وَاحِد = one.
Return, *v.i.*	رَجَع	نَثَّى *aor.*	يُثَنِّي	A. from نَثَى = he turned (him) back or aside. تَوّ اَنَا نَثَّيْت مِن مَسْكَد = I have just returned from Muscat.
Rice, *n.*	رُزّ	1 عَيْش	2 رُنْز	1 A. عَيْش = wheat or other food. 2 A. رُنْز = rice.
Ripe, *n.* (of fruit)	نَاضِج	عَاقِد		A. عَاقِد = that out of which the water is gone, and which is thoroughly cooked.
Rock, *n.*	صَخْر	ظَيْت *pl.*	ظُيُوت	
Rock, *n.* (boulders in a valley)	بُهْمَة	صَفَاة *pl.*	صَفَا	A. صفاة = a large smooth stone or rock on which nothing grows.
Room, *n.* (an upper apartment)	حُجْرَة مَقَام	غُرْفَة *pl.*	غُرَف	A. غُرفة = an upper room.
Room, *n.* (a ground floor apartment)		قَاعِد *pl.*	قَوَاعِد	A. from قَاعِدَة = base, ground-work, foundation.

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Room, *n.* (space)	سَعَة	نَفَس	A. نَفَس = amplitude. مَافِيه نَفَس = there is no room in it.
Rot, *v.i.*	فَسَد	1 خَاس *aor.* يَخِيس 2 خَرِس *aor.* يَخْرَس	1 is applied in a general sense.
Rotten	فَاسِد	1 خَايِس 2 خَرْسَان	مِن وَيْن هَذِي رَايْحَة الخَايِسَة = whence is this rotten smell? 2 is applied to rotting in the presence of water. هَذِى الحَطْبَة خَرْسَانَة = this piece of wood is rotten.
Rough, *n.* (of the sea)	مُتْمَوِّج	1 لَغْلَاغ في 2 لَاغِش في	Both probably Onomatopoeic words. شي لَغْلَاغ فى البَحْر اَلْبَحْر فِيهِ لَاغِش = the sea is rough.
Round, *a.*	مُدَوَّر	كَتَل	A. from كَتْلَة = a round ball.
Row, *n.* (disturbance)	هَوْشَة شَغَب	1 رَبْشَة 2 ثَغْبَرَة	1 A. from رَبْش in the sense of striking with the hand, a calamity, or from بَرْشَا = a crowd. 2 from A. شَغَب = a disturbance and P. شَغَر = a noise, a tumult, by substitution of ث for ش and a combination of the letters of the two words, as in the Omanee word شَرْبَاك (trellis). مَال مُوالرَّبْشَة = what is the row about?

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Sack, *n.*	زَكِيبَة	جُونِيَّة *pl.*	جَوَانِي	from H. گُونِي = a sack.
Saddle, *n.* (of a horse without wooden frame)	سَرْج	مَغْرَقَة *pl.*	مَغَارِق	A. from مَغْرَق = an innermost garment for imbibing sweat.
Sailor, *n.* (crew)	مَلَّاح	بَحَّار *pl.*	بَحْرِيَّة	A. from بَحر = a sea.
Saw, *n.*	مِنْشَار	مِيشَار *pl.*	مِيَاشِير	A. مِيشَار = a saw.
,, (small)		مُخَطَّة *pl.*	مُخَاط	A. from خَطّ = he cut or clave, as from مِخَطّ = a ruler, the back edge of a small saw being often employed for drawing straight lines.
Scabbard, *n.*	غِمْد	قَطَاعَة *pl.*	قَطَايِع	
Scaffolding	صِقَالَة	جَخْوَار *pl.*	جَخَاوِير	from Sind. چَكو = a scaffold.
See, *v.t.*	رَأَى	شَاف *aor.*	يَشُوف	A. شَاف = he saw (post classical).
Select, *v.t.*	إِنْتَخَب	نَقَّى *aor.*	يَنَقِّي	A. نَقَّى = he chose. حَمُوه نَقَّيْت هَذَا = why did you select this. هُو مُنَقَّاي = it has been selected (picked out by selection).
Self, *n.*	نَفْس	1 رُوح *pl.* رَوَاح *pl.* same as *sing.*	2 وَحَد	1 A. رُوح = soul, spirit, etc. 2 A. وحد = sole, alone. أَنَا رُوحِي = I myself. رَوَاحَهُم = themselves. وَحْدُه قَال كِذَا he himself said so. هَذَا إِنْكَسَر وَحْدُه = this broke of itself. هُم وَحَدْ هُم جَايِين = they themselves have come.

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Send, *v.t.*	أَرْسَل	1 طَرَّش *aor.* يُطَرَّش 2 دَبَّر *aor.* يُدَبَّر	1 A. from طرش = compare the expression. تَطَرَّش بِالبَهْم he went to and fro with the young lambs, etc. (Lane). 2 A. from دَبَر in the sense of following. هُوطَرَّشْنِي مَعْك = he sent me to you. اَنَا دَبَّرْت لُه = I sent for him.
Servant, *n.*	خَادِم	1 بِشْكَار *pl.* بَشَاكِير 2 عَزَب *pl.* عَزَّابَة *and* عَزَازِيب	1 P. پَيْشْكَار = an assistant, a domestic. 2 A. comp. مِعْزَبَة = a handmaid, a female slave.
Settle, *v.t.* (as an account)	خَلَّص الحِسَاب	خَارَج *aor.* يَخَارَج	A. probably from خرج = he took out. The Omanee sense may be derived from one having to take out and pay money when he settles an account. خَارَج فُلان = settle so and so's account (by payment of money).
Shallow, *a.*	ضَحْل	1 وَضَاح *and* وَاضِح 2 ضَحْضَاح	1 A. وَاضِح = manifest. 2 A. ضَحْضَاح = little, shallow (water).
Shampoo, *v.t.*	كَبَّس	1 هَمَّز *aor.* يَهَمَّز 2 دِكَى *aor.* يَدْكِى	

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Shark, *n.*	كَلْب البَحْر	1 جَرْجور *pl.* جَرَاجِير	1 جُرْجُور = large or bulky (camels).
Shark-flesh (salted and dried)		عَوَال	Probably from أَوَال = a whale (al-Mas'oudee).
Sharp, *a.* (energetic)	مُتَبَذَّل	هَابّ رِيح *pl.* هَابِين رِيح	A. from هَبّ = active and رِيح = wind. هُوَ هَابّ رِيح = he is a sharp fellow.
Shave, *v.t.*	حَلَّق	حَسَّن *aor.* يَحسَّن	A. حَسَّن = he beautified.
Shed, *n.*	عَرْش مُظَلَّل	1 سَبْلَة *pl.* سِبَل 2 عَرِيش *pl.* عُرْشَان	A. from سَبَل = a thing let loose or hanging down, spreading. 2 from A. عَرْش = an awning, a shade, arbour. The first word is employed to mean a general receiving place.
Shin-bone	عَظَم السَّاق	صِيم *pl.* صِيمَا	A. from صَام in the sense of becoming or standing still, the Omanee being an extended sense.
Shirt, *n.*	قَمِيص	دِشْدَاشَة *pl* دِشَادِيش	
Shoe, *n.*	نَعْل	وَطْيَة *pl.* وَطَايَا	A. from وَطِي trodden under foot, or from وَطَأ = putting the foot on the ground and making an impression with it.
Shoe, *n.* (female)		كُوْش *pl.* كِيشَان	P. كُوْش = a shoe.
Shoemaker	إِسْكَاف	شَمَّار *pl.* شَمَامِير	H. from چَمَار = a worker in leather, a shoemaker.

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Shot, *n.* (small)	خُرْدة	*coll.* رِيز	P. from رَيْز = anything small or reduced to powder, a grain, etc.
Shoulder, *n.*	كِتْف	كِدْف *pl.* كُدُوف *and* سِدْف *pl.* سُدُوف	A. from كتف = shoulder.
Show, *v.t.*	أَرْأَى	1 رَاوَى *aor.* يَرَاوِي 2 شوَّف *aor.* يَشَوَّف	1 A. from رأى = he saw. 2 A. from شَاف = he saw. إِنْت رَاوَيْتَنِي اَلدَّرْب = you showed me the road.
Sickle, *n.*	مِنْجَل	مِجَزّ *pl.* مِجَاز	A مِجَز = a sickle.
Sieve, *n.*	مُنْخَل	مُوْخَل *pl.* مَوَاخِل	A. from مُنْخَل = a sieve.
Skull, *n.*	جُمْجُمَة	جَمْجَمَة *pl.* جَمَاجِم	A. from جُمْجُمَة = a skull.
Slave, *n.* (male)	عَبْد	خَادِم *pl.* خَدَّام	A. خَادِم = a servant, a slave.
Slave, *n.* (female)	جَارِيَة	خَادِمة *pl* خَادِمَات	
Sleep, *v.i.*	رَقَد	غَفَى *aor.* يَغْفي	A. أَغْفَى = he slept.
Sleep, *n.*	نَوْم	غَفَايْ	See above. مَا تَشْبَع مِن الغَفَايْ are you not satisfied with sleep?
Sleeve, *n.*	كُمّ	رِدِن *pl.* رُدُون	A. رُدْن = a sleeve.

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Slip, *n.* (as of a tree or young plant)		قُوْرة *pl.*	قُوَر	Comp. A. قَوْر = a cotton plant of the present year's sowing.
Smooth, *a.* (as a sea)	غَلْن	قَوَاهِر في		اَلْبَحْر فِيه قَوَاهِر = the sea is smooth.
Snake, *n.*	حَيَّة	غُول *pl.*	غِيلَان	A. غُول = a snake.
Soak, *v.t.*	مَرَث	خرَّس 1 *aor.*	يَخَرَّس	خلقة مَخْلُولَة = a soaked rag.
		خَلّ 2 *aor.*	يَخِلّ	
Solid, *a.*	اَبْهَم	صَمَّت 1	صَبّ 2	1 A. from صَمَد = solid.
Soot, *n.*	سُخَام	حَلَق 1	حَلَط 2	1 A. from حَلَكْ = being very black. 2 A. probably from 1 حَلَكْ.
Spacious, *a.*	وَاسِع	نَفِيس		See *Room* (space).
Sparrow, *n.*	عُصْفُور	صَنْصُور *pl.*	صَنَاصِير *and* صَنَاصِرا	
Specimen, *n.*	نَمُودَج	رَوَازَة *pl.*	رَوَازَات	
Spectacles	نَظَّارَة	مَنْظَرَة 1 *pl.*	مَنَاظِر	1 A. from نَظَر in the sense of looking. 2 P. from
		كِشْمَة 2 *pl.*	كَشَم	جَشْمَة = spectacles.
Spittle, *n.*	تُفْل	بِزَّاق		A. from بُزاق = spittle.

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Spleen, *n.* (enlarged)	طُحَال	غَاشِيَة	A. غَاشِية = a certain disease that attacks in the belly.
Spoon, *n.*	مِلْعَقَة	1 مِقَمْشَة *pl.* مَقَامِش 2 خَاشُوقَة *pl.* خَوَاشِيق	1 H. from چَمْچَا = a spoon.
Sprout, *v.i.* (as a plant)	نَبَت	نَظَر *aor.* يَنْظَر	A.
Stable	إِسْطَبْل	فَاجَة	P. from پَاگَاه = a stable.
Stare, *v i.*	رَمَق	حَرعَيُون *aor.* يَدْحَرعَيُون	هُم يَدْحَرُو عُبُونْهُم عَلَيّ = they stare at me.
Start, *v.i.* (on a journey)	سَفَر	إِشْتَلّ *aor.* يَشْتَلّ	A. from شَلّ he lifted. هُم بَعْد مَا مُشْتَلِين = they have not yet started.
Steel, *n.*	بُولاذ	1 فُوْلَاذ 2 فُوْرَا	1 and 2 P. فُولاد = steel.
Steep, *a.*	مُنْصَبّ	شُقُف	A. probably from شقب = a cleft between mountains.
Sterile, *a.* (land)	جَرِد	حَافّ	See *Arid.*
Stick, *n.* (walking)	عَصَا	1 بَاكُوْرَة *pl.* بَوَاكِير 2 عَجْفَا *pl.* عَجَافِي	1 Comp. Swahili *bakora*, applied to one with a bent top as a handle. 2 A. from عَجْفَا = thin, lean.
Stiff, *a.*	صُلْب	عُصّ	A. عَصّ = hard.
Stifle, *v.t.*	إِخْتَنَق	إِسْتَكْرَب *aor.* يَسْتَكْرَب	A. from كَرَب = it oppressed.
Stir, *v.t.* (as fire)	حَشّ	دَحَش *aor.* يَدْحَش	A. from حَشّ in the sense of lighting a fire.

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Stoop, *v.i.*	إِنْحَنَى	كَبَّس *aor.*	يَكَبَّس	A. from كَبَّس in the sense of alighting at the foot of a mountain.
Stooping	مُنْحَنِي	1 مُنْتَكِس	2 مُكَبَّس	A. مُنْتَكِس = inverted, head downwards; this word is applied only to things naturally stooping or inclined. 2 see above.
Stopper, *n.*	سِدَاد ـ صِبَار	1 غَطَا *pl.*	غُطَيَات	1 A. from غطا = a covering. 2 and 3 A. from رَقَم and رَشَم in the sense of closing, derived from sealing.
		2 رَقَامَة *pl.*	رَقَايِم	
		3 *pl.*		
Stout, *a.*	جَسِيم	نَشِيط		A. نَشِيط = brisk, cheerful.
Strand, *v.i.* (as a ship)	تَشَطَّط	لَحَم *aor.*	يُلْحَم	A. from لَحَم in the sense of sticking. اَلْمَرْكَب لَحَمَان = the ship has stranded.
Strength	قُوَّة	نَامُوس *pl.*	نَوَامِيس	A. نَامُوس = reputation, fame. مَافِيكُم نَوَامِيس مَافِيكُم نَامُوس = there is no strength in you.
Strong	قَوِي	هُودَار		See *Hard.* هُورَجَّال هُودَار = he is a strong man. كَيْف حَالَكْ هُودَار = how are you, quite well? (strong).

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Stubborn, *a.*	مُتَمَرَّد	مُتَمَرَّح		A. either from مُتَمَرَّد or from مرح = he behaved insolently and unthankfully.
Stumble, *v i.*	عَثِر	تَكْفُر *aor.*	يَتْكَفَّر	
Stumble, *n.*	عَثْرَة	تكْفُورَة *pl.*	تَكَافِير	See above.
Sugar-cane	قصب سَكَّر	سَكَّر *pl.*	سَكَاكِير	A. سُكَّر = sugar.
Sugar-candy	قَنْد	سَكَّر اَقْلَام		A. سُكَّر and قَلَم = a reed.
Sunrise, *n.*	طُلُوع الشَّمْس	بُزُوغ الشَّمْس		A. بُزُغ = breaking (day). Rising (the sun).
Sunset, *n.*	غُرُوب الشَّمْس	سُلُوم الشَّمْس		A.
Sweat, *n.*	عرق	حَمُو		A. from حَمُو = heat.
Sweep, *v.t.*	كَنَّس	1 خَمّ *aor.*	يَخُمّ	1 A. خَمّ = cleaning out a house. 2 A. جَمَع = he collected. جَمَع البَيْت = خُمّ البَيْت sweep the house.
		2 جَمَع *aor.*	يَجْمَع	
Sweepings, *n.*	قُمَامَة	1 خُمَامَة	2 جُمَّاعَة	See above.
Swing, *n.*	مَرجوحة	مَرَاجُوحَة *pl.*	مَرَاجِيح	A. from مُرْجَحِنّ = heavy, vacillating, inclined.
Take, *v.t.* (to convey)	وَصّل	وَدَّى *aor.*	يَوَدِّي	A. from وَدَى in the sense of causing to approach, promoting or advancing. اَنَا وَدَّيْتُه مَعَه = I took it to him.

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Take, *v.t.*	أَخَذ	Only *Imp. sing. masc.* دُوْك, *fem.* دُوْش *pl. masc.* دُوْكُم *fem.* دُوْكُن		Probably from دُونَك and دُونَش = near you, with you. دُوْك هَذَا = take this.
Tamarisk, *n.*	سَرُو	جز		P. گز = Tamarisk.
Tame, *n.*	مأنَس	أَهْلِي		A. أَهْلِي = tame, domestic.
Tank	حَوْض	1 لَجل *pl.*	لَجَالَا	1 A. from لجل = water bursting from the earth and stagnating. 2 A. جَابِيَة = a stone reservoir.
		2 جَابِيَة *pl.*	جَوَابِي	
Target, *n.*	هَدَف	شَبَح *pl.*	شِبَاح	A. شَبَح = bodily form or figure.
Tassel	شُرَّابَة	فَرَّاخَة *pl.*	فَرَارِيخ	Omanee A. فُرّاخ = a full-blown flower.
Tear, *v.t.*	مَزَق	شَرَخ *aor.*	يَشْرَخ	A. شرخ = it (a tusk) clave the flesh and came forth.
Temple, *n.* (of forehead)	صُدْغ	خَدّ *pl.*	خُدُود	A. خَدّ = a cheek.
Tendril, *n.* (of a plant)	جَفْنَة	عَيَّاص *pl.*	عَيَايِص	
Tepid, *a.*	فَاتِر	دَافِي		A. from دَفِيّ = warm.
Thick, *a.* (as a cloth, etc.)	غَلِيظ	رَكِين		A. رَكِين = firm, strong.
,, *a.* (solid substance)	مَتِين	وَشُب		See *Broad.*
Thin, *a.* (as a cloth and liquids)	رَقِيق	1 رَهِيف	2 سَخِيف	1 A. رَهِيف = thin edged (sword). 2 A. from سَخِيف = thin, flimsy.

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Thin, *a.* (solid substance)		وَسِيم		A. from وَسِيم = beautiful, elegant.
Thorn, *n.*	شَوْكَة	سِلَّة *pl.*	سِلا	A. from سُلَّة = a prickle on a palm tree.
Throw, *v.t.*	رَمَى	عَقّ *aor.*	يَعُقّ	A. عَقّ = he shot with an arrow. لَاتَعُقُّه بَرًّا = do not throw it outside.
Tighten, *v.t.*	شَدّ	شَحَط *aor.*	يَشْحَط	A. شَحَط in the sense of going to a distance.
Time, *n.* (occasion)	مَرَّة	خَطْرَة *pl.*	خَطْرَات	A. خطْرَة = some time. سَامِحْه هَذِى الخَطْرَة = forgive him this time.
Time, to be in	لَحَق	وَاحَى *aor.*	يَوَاحِي	تَعَارِيْفَنَا مَا تَوَاحِي عَلَى المَيْل = our letters will not be in time for the mail steamer.
Tin, *v.t.* (as pots)	بَيَّض	صَفَّر *aor.*	يَصَفَّر	A. صَفَّر = he dyed (a garment) yellow, or from صُفْر = brass.
Tin, *n.* (metal)	أَسْرَب	تَنَك		H. تَنَك from English tin.
Tin-man (one who tins pots, etc.)		صَفَّار *pl.*	صَفَافِير	See *Tin* (as pots).
Tobacco	تُتُن	1 غَلْيُون	2 تَمْبَاك	1 P. قَلْيُون = a smoking pipe. 2 P. and H. تَمْبَاكُو from American-Indian *tabaco.*

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To-morrow	بُكْرَة	بَاكِر		A. from بُكْرَة = to-morrow.
Tongs, *n.*	مِلْقَط	مَاشِج *pl.*	مَوَاشِج	A. probably from مَاسِك = holding, holder.
Tool, *n* (an instrument)	آلَة	زَانَة *pl.*	زُوَن	
Tow, *v.t.*	جرّ	قَلَص *aor.*	يُقْلُص	A. either from قَلَص = it contracted or shrank, or from قَلُص = a thick rope made of the fibres of the palm tree, a cable.
Trade communication		مُسَاعِرَة *pl.*	أَسْعَار	A. from سَعَر = he journeyed. This word includes both imports and exports. السَّيِّد قَطَع الأَسْعَار عَن وَادِي سَمَايِل = the Sayyid cut off all trade communication with the Wadi Somail.
Tray, *n.* (wooden)	طَبَق	مَنْسَف *pl.*	مَنَاسِف	
Trellis, *n.* (vine)	عَرِيش	مُخْشَا *pl.*	مَخَاشِي	
Trellis-work	مُشَبَّكَة	شُرْبَاك *pl.*	شَرَابِيك	From A. شَرَك = a net. شَبَكَة = a net, by a combination of the radical letters of the two words.
Troublesome person		شَبِيكَة *pl.*	شَبَايِك	
Truce	مُهَادَنَة	سَالْفَة *pl.*	سَوَالِف	Probably from سَلْف = smoothing or سَلَف = being past.

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Turbid, *a.*	كَدِر	خرْبَاش		A. خِرْبَاش = confusion.
Turtle, *n.*	ظُهْرَة	1 غَيْلَمَة 2 حَمْسَة		A. غَيْلَم = a tortoise. 2 A from أَحْمَس = hard.
Umbrella, *n.*	شَمْسِيَة	مُظَلَّة *pl.* مُظَلَّلِيَّة	مُظَلَّلِيَات	A مِظَلَّة = a parasol.
Understand, *v.t.*	فَهِم	فَطَن *aor.*	يَفْطِن	A. فَطِن = he became knowing or understanding.
Unfold, *v.t.*	حَلّ	بَطَّل *aor.*	يَبَطَّل	A أَبْطَل = he nullified.
Unwell	مَرِيض	مَارَايِم		Omanee A. رَايِم he is able.
Veil, *n.*	نِقَاب	غَشَا		A. غِشَا = a cover, covering.
Vessel, *n.* (a ship, *generic*)	سَفِينَة	خَشْبَة *pl.*	خَشَب	A. خَشَب = timber (the material of which vessels are built).
Virgin, *n.*	بِنْت بِكْر	بِنْت البَيْت *pl.* بَنَات البَيْت		A. بِنْت = a daughter, a girl, and A. بَيْت = a house.
Wait, *v.i.* (to look out for)	رَقَّب	1 حَرَص *aor.* 2 هَيَّد *aor.*	يُحْرُص يَهَيَّد	1 A. حَرَص in the sense of guarding, watching. 2 حَرُص ساعَة وَاحِدة = wait a while. وَيْن تُحْرُصْنِي = where will you wait for me? أَحْرُصَكْ فِي الدَّرْوَازَة = I shall wait for you at the town gate. هَيَّدنِي = wait for me.
Wall, *n.*	حَايِط	جِدَار *pl.*	جِدْرَان	A. جِدَار = a wall.

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Want, *v.t.*	أَرَادَ	بَغَى *aor.* يَبْغِي *and* يَبْغَى	A. بَغَى = he sought, desired. هُو مُو يَبْغَى = what does he want? أَنَا مَا بَغَيْت شَئِى I did not want anything.
Want, *n.* (also business)	غرض	1 حَاجَة *pl.* حَوَايِج 2 عَازَة *pl.* عَوَايِز	1 A. حَاجَة = necessity, need. 2 A. from عَوَز = a want, need. حَاجَة أَمَارَة or عَازَة = *lit.* any want or order = anything that I can do for you; is a common expression in the mouths of the Omanees when taking leave. لِي حَاجَة فِيك = I have some business with you. أَبْغَى حَاجَة مِن مَعْك = I want something from you. مَالِي حَاجَة وِيَاه = I have no business with it. نَبْغَى عَوَايِز مِن مَعْك = we want something from you.
Wanting	قَاصِر	*aor. only* يَعْجَز	A. from عَجَز = he lacked. قُرْشَيْن يَعْجَز رُبْع = a dollar and three-quarters; *lit.* two dollars wanting a quarter. عَشْرَة يَعْجَز رُبْع = a quarter (wanting) to ten (o'clock).

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Warehouse	مَخْزَن	1 بَخَّار جُنُوز *pl.* جَنْز *pl.* بَخَاخِير	1 H. and P. گَنْج = a storehouse. 2 H. بَخَار = a warehouse.
Water-melon	بَطِّيخ زِقِي	حُج	A. حَج = a small shrivelled melon, a colocynth.
Water-spout, *s.* (for rain water)	وِيزَاب	1 مِرْزَاب *pl.* مَرَازِيب 2 مِزْرَاب *pl.* مَزَارِيب	1 P. مِرزَاب = a water-pipe. 2 A. from زَرَب = it (water) flowed.
Weeds, *n.*	عُشْب بَطَّال	هُوَل	A. from حُولة = anything abominable or obnoxious. This word often takes the imitative sequent مُوَل. شَلّ هَذَا هُوَل مُوَل = remove these weeds or this rubbish.
Well, *n.* (built with stones)	بير	طَوِى *pl.* طُوِيَان	A. طَوِى = a well lined with masonry.
Well, *n.* (small)	بير	بِدِي *pl.* بِدْيَا	A. from بَدِيّ = a well that has been newly dug (or, anything done since the Muhammadan era).
Wheat, *n.*	حِنْطَة	حَبّ	A. حَبّ = a grain.
Whey, *n.*	مُضَارة	لَبَن	A. لَبَن = milk.
Whim, *n.*	هَوَى	زَبْرَة	A. from زَبَر in the sense of being impatient.

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Whisker, *n.*	سَبَلَة الخَدّ	عَارِض *pl.*	عَوَارِض	A. عَارِض = a side of the face, a cheek.
Whisper, *v.i.*	وَسْوَسَة	1 صَوْصَوَة	2 تَوْتَوَة	Either from A. وَسْوَسَة by transposition and substitution of letters, or they are all Onomatopoeic words.
Wholesale, *n.*	بِالجُمْلَة	بِالجَبْرَة *or*	جَبْرَة	A. from جَبْر = wholeness. أَنَا بَعْت المَال بِالجَبْرَة = I sold the goods wholesale.
Widow	اَرْمَلَة	تَرِيكَة *and* تَرِكَة	*pl.* تَرَايِك	A. تَرِكَة = property left by a deceased person.
Wife	زَوْجَة	حُرْمَة *pl.*	حَرِيم	A. حُرْمَة = a wife.
Wind, *n.*	رِيح	هَبُوب		A. هَبُوب = a wind that blows hard. This word is also used to express rheumatism, that disease as in India being considered a kind of wind.
Wind, *n.* (strong)	رِيح عَاصِف	شَرْتَي *pl.*	شَرَاتِي	A. شُرْطَه = helpers, friends. P. بَادِ شَرْطَه = a favourable wind.
Window, *n.*	طَاقَة	1 دَرِيشَة *pl.*	دَرَايِش	P. from دَرِيچَه = a window.
		2 مَصْبَاح *pl.*	مَصَابِح	A. مِصْبَاح = a light.

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Wind-pipe	حُلْقُوم	مَذْبَحَة *pl.* مَذَابِح		A. مَذْبَح = that part in the throat where they generally slaughter animals.
Woman	إِمْرأَة	حُرْمَة *pl.* حَرِيم		See *Wife*.
Year before the last	أَوّل العَام الاوّل	أَوّلَة العَام *and* العَام أَوّل		Omanee A. العَام = last year.
Year to come (next)	العَام القَابِل	الدَوْر		A. from دار = a year, or from دَار in the sense of coming round.
Yoke	مِضَمْدَة	وَيْج *pl.* وُيُوج		A. وَيْج = the wooden sock of the plough.
Zigzag, *a.*	مُلْتَوِ	مَرَاوِيغ		A. from رَاغ = he turned aside, going this way and that way.

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CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE.

ENGLISH.	ARABIC.
Animal, *n.*	تِيتِيه
Bad, *a.*	كَنِجِيه
Beat, *v.t.*	بُبّ - دَحّ
Bird, *n.*	كُوكُوه
Bread, *n.*	خَبَيْرِيَة - بَيْرِيَه
Breast, *n.*	دِيدِيه
Brother, *n.*	دَادَاه
Camel, *n.*	عَاعَاه
Cat, *n.*	قَشُّوه - وَاوُوه
Clothes, *n.*	بُوبُو
Come, *v.i.*	تَعَه
Cow and ox, *n.*	مُجُوح
Dig, *v t.*	خَابُوه
Dirty, *a.*	أَخّ - أَخِيّه - قَاقَا
Dog, *n.*	وَاوَاه وَحْوَح
Donkey, *n.*	تَعْ تغُوه
Eye, *n.*	لُولُوه
Fall, *v.i.*	بُتّ
Father, *n.*	بَابَاه
Fire, *n.*	نَانُوه

ENGLISH.	ARABIC.
Fish, *n.*	أَمْبَح
Food, *n.*	نَمْ نَمْ - نَمَّة - نَم - هَمَّة - هَمَ
Fowl, *n.*	كُوكُوه
Goat, *n.*	تِيتِيه - تَحْ تَحْ
Hot, *a.*	نَانُوه وُقُوه
Leave off, *v.t.*	تُوتُو
Lift, *v.t.*	إِلّ
Little, *a.*	مَانِيه
Meat, *n.*	لَحَيْمِيَه
Milk, *n.*	كُخ
Mother, *n.*	مَامَاه
Nothing, none	بَابَاخ
Old woman	حَبُّوه
Pain, *n.*	وَحُوه
Pretty, *a.*	نُونُوه
Quiet, *v i. imp.*	وُسّ
Sleep, *n.*	لُوْلُوْ هُوْهُوْ
Small, *a.*	تَكُون
Stick, *n.*	أَلَكّ
Water, *n.*	أَمْبُوَاه أَمْبُوه

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ART. XII.—*The Bábis of Persia.* II. *Their Literature and Doctrines.* By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

ON a former occasion I described some of my experiences amongst the sect of the Bábís in Persia, and gave a short sketch of the history of their appearance and development. In the present paper I propose to speak of their literature and doctrine, so far as these are known to me.

First of all, however, it seems desirable to say something of the relations and antecedents of the Bábí movement. Now these are of two kinds, which I may call *formal* and *essential.* By the *formal relations* of the sect, I mean the schools of thought wherein Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb received his training, and from which he presumably acquired the germs of the doctrine which he subsequently elaborated. By the *essential relations,* I mean those religious or philosophical movements with which Bábíism has most similarity, though no external connection can be shown to exist between it and them. In the discussion which followed my last paper, Mr. Kay indicated some very interesting points of resemblance between the Bábís and the Isma'ílís, not only in doctrine and organization, but even in the use of particular terms. Similar resemblances, more or less striking, present themselves in other cases, *e.g.* the Druses, the Nuṣeyrís, and certain sects amongst the Ṣúfís. Into these latter, however, it is not my intention to enter at present, inasmuch as I do not feel that I possess sufficient knowledge of them to warrant my doing so; and I think that I shall do better to confine myself entirely to the doctrines of the Báb and his teachers and disciples, leaving to others the task of comparing and contrasting these with other analogous movements.

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But before passing on to consider what I have described as the *formal relations* of the sect, I desire briefly to revert to what was said by the above-mentioned speaker concerning the grades of initiation which exist amongst the Isma'ílís.

I have occasionally fancied that something of a similar nature, though less definite, may exist amongst the Bábís. That they adapt their conversation to those with whom they are speaking there is no doubt. With a Muhammadan they will speak of the coming of the promised Imám Mahdí, and emphasize the doctrine that the production of *verses* like those of the *Ḳur'án* is the essential sign and proof of the prophetic mission. With a Christian they will speak of the expected coming of Christ and the signs thereof, pointing out that if the Christians blame the Jews for not recognizing Christ as the promised Messiah, and failing to understand that the prophecies concerning the kingdom of the latter were intended allegorically and in a spiritual sense, they are equally to blame if they insist on a literal fulfilment of the signs of Christ's coming, and refuse to see that He *has* returned. So also, in speaking with a Zoroastrian or a Ṣúfí, they will use arguments likely to commend themselves to their interlocutor.

This, however, is not so very remarkable, since the same method is common in greater or less degree to most proselytizers. But I remember on one occasion, during a discussion in which I was engaged with a learned Bábí at Shíráz, some point arose connected with the nature of the divinity which they attribute to Báb and Behá, and manifestations of the Divine in general. One who was present was about to offer some further explanations when the chief speaker checked him, saying, "*hanúz pukhté na-shudé ast,*" "He is not yet ripe." This remark naturally suggested to me the idea that the doctrine was only disclosed by degrees, as the mind of the enquirer was found prepared to receive it. A certain comparatively small class of Bábís, especially those drawn from the ranks of the Ṣúfís, simply regard the one essential inner doctrine of all prophets and saints in this and preceding "manifestations" as the oneness of the highest

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portion of the human soul with the Divine Essence. Hence the doctrine of the divinity of Behá to them presents no difficulty at all, for they have their Manṣúrs, their Juneyds, and their Báyazíds, each of whom claimed to be divine.

To these the prophet is merely the *murshid*, or spiritual guide, on a larger scale; and in either case the ultimate outcome of his teaching is to enable the *murid*, or disciple, to realize the same truth which he has attained to. Bábís of this class ought perhaps to be regarded merely as Ṣúfís attracted by the prestige and influence of Báb or Behá, but really retaining their original beliefs almost or quite unmodified, and, as it were, reading these into the doctrine to which they have attached themselves, rather than deriving them from it. It was only at Kirmán that I met with Bábís of this type, and when I repeated their views to some of the influential and learned Bábís of Yezd, they unhesitatingly and strongly condemned them; and the following passage from the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* (of which I spoke in my last paper as the most concise and authoritative résumé of the Bábí doctrine of the present day) is clearly intended to discourage all such mystical speculation, and render impossible that method of allegorical interpretation which the Ṣúfís have so freely applied to the Ḳur'án:

"*Wa minhum man yadda'i'l-báṭina, wa báṭina'l-báṭini; ḳul, 'Yá ayyuhá'l-kadhdháb! Ta'lláhi, má 'indaka innahu mina'l-ḳushúri, tarakná-há lakum kemá tutraku'l-'idhámu li'l-kiláb!'*"

"And there are those amongst them who lay claim to the inner and the inmost (mystery). Say, 'O liar! By God, what thou hast is but husks which we have abandoned to you as bones are abandoned to the dogs!'"

A few lines further on we find the following verse:

"*Man yadda'i amran ḳabla itmámi alfi sanatin kámilatin, innahu kadhdhábun muftarin. . . . Man yu'awwil hádhihi'l-áyata, aw yufassir-há bi-ghayri má nuzzila fi'dh-dháhiri, innahu maḥrúmun min rúḥi'lláhi wa raḥmatihi'llati sabaḳati'l-'álamín.*"

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"Whosoever claims a mission (*lit.* matter) before the completion of a full thousand years, is in truth a lying impostor. . . . Whosoever shall interpret this verse, or explain it otherwise than it has been revealed obviously, is indeed deprived of the Spirit of God, and His mercy which preceded the worlds."

From this digression I now return to a consideration of the school of thought in which the Báb was reared, previously to his declaration of his divine mission.

In the early part of the present century of our era, probably (for I have not yet been able to ascertain the date accurately),[1] there lived and taught in Persia a certain *Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í*, who, though accounted unorthodox by the majority of the 'Ulemá, nevertheless attracted a number of disciples. On his death, *Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim* of *Resht* was accepted as his successor by the latter, and for some years continued to lecture at Kerbelá to all who, either by reason of faith in him or the departed Sheykh, or from mere curiosity, chose to come to him. Amongst the number of his disciples were Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb (then only a youth of some seventeen or eighteen years of age),[2] and a number of those who subsequently took a prominent part in the Bábí movement, such as Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bálfurúshí, Áḳá Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd, and many others whose names are chronicled in the Bábí history of which I formerly spoke. During the last days of his life, Ḥají Seyyid Káẓim spoke much of the approaching advent of the *Ḳá'im*, or *Imám Mahdí*, but would not describe the signs whereby he should be known, further than by stating that he would be a youth, not trained in the learning of the schools, and of the race of Háshim. Though warned of his approaching death by the interpretation of a dream concerning himself, which was

[1] Since writing the above, I have received from one of my friends in Persia short biographies both of Sheykh Aḥmad and of Seyyid Káẓim, The former was born A.H. 1166 (A.D. 1752–53), and died A.H. 1242 (A.D. 1826–27). The latter died A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843–44), being at that time not more than fifty years of age.

[2] See Appendix I.

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related to him by an Arab, he did not nominate any one to succeed him, so that, when he died, his disciples were left in doubt as to whom they should choose to take their master's place. An interesting account is given by the author of the Bábí history, on the authority of witnesses then living, of how these latter assembled in the mosque at Kúfa to fast and pray, seeking for divine guidance in the matter of the choice of a successor. Lack of space prevents me from giving these particulars in further detail here: I will confine myself to the statement that two claimants arose for the vacant leadership. These were our hero, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb, and Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán of Kirmán, whose followers still exist in considerable numbers under the name of Sheykhís. They are thus called after Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í, from whose teaching their doctrines, like those of the Bábís, were derived. The majority of the early Sheykhís accepted the Báb, and forthwith became known as Bábís, while only such of them as refused to admit his claim, and followed Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán, retained the title of Sheykhís. Between these two sects the most extreme hostility exists.

Having now described the antecedents and relations of Bábíism, so far as appears necessary for my present purpose, I shall proceed to discuss the literature which must be examined in order to arrive at a satisfactory knowledge of its development. This I shall classify chronologically, both to facilitate reference, and also to aid in bringing about a clearer comprehension of the subject. All those works to which I have had access I have described as fully as the space at my disposal would admit of. In other cases I have been obliged to content myself with mentioning the names of works not accessible to me at present.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to notice several published descriptions of Bábí MSS., of the existence of which I was unaware when I wrote my first paper.

In the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* for 1864–65 (vol. viii. p. 247 et seq.), there is a notice by Dorn of a MS. of one of the Báb's works, wherein

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several pages of the original text are given. This work, called by Dorn "the Ḳur'án of the Bábís,"[1] is probably one of the two Arabic Beyáns, as pointed out by M. Huart.[2] The interest of it is enhanced by the circumstances under which, according to Dorn, it was obtained: "With regard to the authenticity of the MS.," he says, "there can be no doubt, since it proceeds directly from the secretary of the Báb himself, who asserted that he had written it down at the dictation of his master. He had it conveyed into European hands from his prison at Tabríz. The responsibility for its contents rests, therefore, on the above-mentioned secretary."

Baron Rosen has published two volumes entitled *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (*de St. Pétersbourg*), of which the first (*Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Institut*, etc.) appeared in 1877, and the second (*Les Manuscrits Persans*, etc.) in 1886. In the first of these volumes 33 pages are occupied with an admirable description and analysis, with copious extracts from the original, of two Bábí MSS. The first of these appears to be the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf* (see below, pp. 904–909); the second contains letters written by one of the Bábí chiefs subsequently to the death of the Báb, the longest of which, addressed collectively to the kings and rulers of different countries, is altogether different from Behá's "Letters to the Kings," which I shall describe later (see below, pp. 954–958). The second volume of Baron Rosen's work contains also a description of two Bábí MSS. occupying 50 pages. Of these, the first appears to be the *Persian Beyán* written by the Báb himself; while the second is the *I'ḳán* composed by Behá. Of both these books I possess copies, and others exist in the British Museum, and I have satisfied myself by careful comparison of their identity.

Lastly, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (8th series, vol. x.), M. Clément Huart has published a description of three Bábí MSS. which apparently consist chiefly, if not entirely, of the writings of Mírzá Yaḥyá, Ṣubḥ (or Ḥaẓrat)-i-Ezel.

[1] See below, p. 940, and note.
[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii. série, vol. x.

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This notice supplies a very great want, the Ezelí writings being rare and difficult to obtain, and I shall notice it more fully in its proper place (see below, p. 940 *et seq.*).

To proceed with the classification of the literature bearing on the Bábí doctrines, I shall divide it into four periods, as follows:

I. The writings of the teacher of the Báb, Hájí Seyyid Káẓim of Resht, and of his teacher, Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í. These I shall henceforth denominate as *Pre-Bábí* writings.

II. The writings of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb himself, which probably extend over a period of seven years, the earliest (the *Ziyárat-namé*) being apparently written *before* he announced his divine mission, and the latest (probably the *Persian Beyán*) having occupied him until his martyrdom at Tabríz on July 9th, 1850. To this period also belong sundry other Bábí writings, especially the poems of the unfortunate and talented *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*.

III. The writings of what I may call "the Interval," *i.e.* from the death of the Báb until the exile of the Bábís from Baghdad to Constantinople and Adrianople, at the former of which places they only remained four months according to Nabíl, arriving at the latter in the month of Rajab, A.H. 1281 (December, 1864). This period therefore embraces about fourteen years and a half, during the whole of which Mírzá Yaḥyá[1] (Ḥaẓrat-i-Ezel) was the nominal head of the sect, and vicegerent of the Báb, although even then Behá (Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí, Mázandarání), who, according to the accounts which I received from the Bábís, was Mírzá Yaḥyá's half-brother, and older than him by some years, actually took the most prominent part in the organization of affairs.

IV. The fourth period begins with the claim of Behá to be

[1] According to Gobineau (*loc. cit.* p. 277) Mírzá Yaḥyá was the son of Mírzá Buzurg Núrí, Vazír of Imám-Verdí Mírzá, governor of Teherán, and lost his mother at his birth. He was then adopted by the wife of Behá. This would make him the *adopted son* instead of the *half-brother* of Behá. The following is Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's own statement made (in part directly, in part through his son) to Captain Young, Commissioner at Famagusta, Cyprus, who kindly communicated to me the result of his inquiries: "My name is Mírzá Yaḥyá. I was born in Teherán. My father, who was second to the Grand Vazír of Persia, was named 'Abbás, but was better known as Mírzá Buzurg. Behá is my step brother. We are of one father by different mothers. He is my elder by 13 years." (See Appendix II. § 2.)

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"He whom God shall manifest," and his consequent demand that all the Bábís, including Mírzá Yaḥyá, hitherto nominal head of the sect, should yield him allegiance. The date of this claim is fixed by Nabíl as A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866–67). The schism resulting therefrom I spoke of in my former paper. Dissension waxed fierce amongst the two parties, and finally several on either side were killed. The Turkish government decided to separate them, and Mírzá Yaḥyá and his adherents were sent to Cyprus, while Behá and his followers were removed to Acre, where they arrived on the 12th of Jemádi'ul-Avval, A.H. 1285 (August 29th, 1868). This period extends down to the present day. The literature of the sect now becomes divided into that of Behá and his followers, and that of Mírzá Yaḥyá and his partizans. I regret to say that of the latter I do not possess any examples, and in discussing it I shall have to rely entirely on M. Huart's notice.

I shall now proceed to examine each of these four periods in greater detail.

First Period. Doctrines of Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í and his successor Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim of Resht, the teacher of the Báb.

The materials for an investigation of the above are copious, since both Sheykh Aḥmad and Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim were prolific writers, and their works, which are greatly esteemed by the Sheykhís of the present day, abound.

The chief of those composed by the former are as follows: *Sharḥ-i-Favá'id*, both text and commentary by the same author, and both in Arabic; *Sharḥ-i-Ziyárat-i-Jámi'a* (4 vols.); *Sharḥ-i-'Arshiyya*, a commentary on the 'Arshiyya of Mullá Sadrá; *Ajwibatu'l-Masá'il*; *Sharḥ-i-Mashá'ir-i-Mullá Ṣadrá*; *Sharḥ-i-Tabṣira-i-'Allámá*; *Jawámi'ul-Kalam*, etc.

Hájí Seyyid Káẓim of Resht composed, amongst other works, a commentary on the *Khuṭbé-i-Ṭutunjiyyé*, and the *Sharḥ-i-Kaṣída*.

To form a proper estimate of the influence of these writers and their doctrines on the Báb, and of the extent to which

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the germ of the doctrine of the latter is contained in them, a careful study of all these works would be necessary. This I have not yet been able to accomplish. Fortunately a general résumé of the chief characteristics of their doctrine is contained in a work called the *Ḳiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá*, by Muḥammad ibn Suleymán, Tunukábuní (2nd edition, Teherán, A.H. 1304). This book contains an account of the chief Shí'ite divines of recent times, and the second article, which treats of the life and works of Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taḳí at considerable length, deals incidentally with the doctrines of both the Sheykhís and the Bábís. Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taḳí of Ḳazvín was, as mentioned by Gobineau, the uncle and father-in-law of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, the Bábí heroine. He had always disliked Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í and his followers, denouncing them as heretics; he had held disputations at Ḳazvín with the Sheykh himself concerning the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and finally so prejudiced the inhabitants of that town against him that he was compelled to depart thence. When the Báb's doctrines began to spread themselves through Persia, Mullá Muhammad Taḳí's hatred was increased, and reached its climax when his niece and daughter-in-law *Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn*, then called *Zarrín Táj*, not only embraced these doctrines, and put herself in communication with the Báb, but began openly to preach them, to the great scandal of all pious Muhammadans. Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taḳí publicly cursed Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í. For this act he paid with his life, for he was stabbed in the mosque at Ḳazvín by Mírzá Ṣáliḥ of Shíráz, and two or three other Bábís.[1] It was alleged by the enemies of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn that she was a party to this assassination. Of this there is no proof, and had there been such, we may be sure that she would have scarcely escaped the vengeance of the Muhammadans. As it was, she quitted Ḳazvín and proceeded to Mázandarán, where she met Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, and Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bálfurúsh, with whom she remained until a short time before

[1] According to the Ḳiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá, this took place in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).

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they entrenched themselves, with their followers, in the Tomb of Sheykh Tabarsí. She was ultimately arrested, and suffered death in August, 1852.

It is on account of this fatal enmity, which Hájí Mullá Muhammad Taḳí entertained towards Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í, that his biographer treats at some length of the doctrines of the latter and his followers, which he likewise regards as heretical and objectionable.

From his statements, it appears that Sheykh Aḥmad tried to combine theology with philosophy, and to reconcile dogma with reason. The result of this attempt, according to our author, was to satisfy neither theologians nor philosophers, the former disliking him as unsound, the latter despising him as illogical. Nevertheless he had numerous admirers, including Fatḥ 'Alí Sháh, who was then reigning. His followers were called after him Sheykhís. When Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb put forward his doctrine, many of the latter embraced it, and became Bábís. The Sheykhís of the present day are, as before stated, those who consider Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán of Kirmán as the successor of Hají Seyyid Káẓim of Resht, who was the successor of the Sheykh himself, and the common teacher of both Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán and Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the Báb.

Briefly, the chief peculiarities of Sheykh Aḥmad's views seem to have been as follows. He declared that all knowledge and all sciences were contained in the Ḳur'án, and that therefore to understand the inner meanings of the latter in their entirety, a knowledge of the former must be acquired. To develope this doctrine, he used to apply cabbalistic methods of interpretation to the sacred text, and exerted himself to acquire familiarity with the various sciences known to the Muslim world.[1] He entertained the most

[1] It is worth remarking that Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán, the Sheykhí, in his work entitled *Irshádu'l-'Awámm* ("The Direction of the Common People"), similarly laid claim to a knowledge of the whole range of sciences. For this presumption, as well as that implied in the title of the book in question, he is severely censured both by the Muhammadans and the Bábís. Behá, in the *Íḳán*, says that he declared in the above-mentioned book that the Ascension (mi'ráj) of the Prophet could not be properly understood without a knowledge of some twenty sciences, including Alchemy, Philosophy, and Necromancy, and condemns him most strongly for thus making spiritual knowledge dependent on such sciences.

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exaggerated veneration for the Imáms, especially the Imám Ja'far-i-Ṣádiḳ, the sixth of them in succession, whose words he would often quote. He wrote a treatise in which he asserted that in reciting the Súratu'l-Fátiḥa of the Ḳur'án, at the words "*Iyyáka na'budu*" ("thee do we worship"), the worshipper should fix his thoughts on 'Alí, and *intend* him ("*Amíru'l-Múminin-rá ḳaṣd kunad*"). He further asserted that the Imáms were creative powers, and the agents (*vakíl*) of God in His government of the world; in support of this doctrine he adduced texts from the Ḳur'án, where God is called "*the Best of Creators*," and likewise quoted a traditional saying of 'Alí's, "*Ana Ḫháliku's-samáwáti wa'l-arḍh*," "I am the creator of the heavens and the earth," for the same purpose. He used to live an austere life, believing that in his dreams he held converse with the Imáms, and received instruction from them. About the future life, and the resurrection of the body also, he held views which were generally considered to be heterodox, as previously mentioned. He declared that the body of man was composed of different portions, derived from each of the four elements and the nine heavens, and that the body wherewith he was raised in the resurrection contained only the latter components, the former returning at death to their original sources. This subtle body, which alone escaped destruction, he called *Jism-i-Huwarḳilyá*, the latter being supposed to be a Greek word. He asserted that it existed *potentially* in our present bodies, "like glass in stone." Similarly he asserted that, in the case of the Night-ascent of the Prophet to Heaven, it was this, and not his material body which performed the journey. On account of these views, he was pronounced unorthodox by the majority of the 'Ulamá, and accused of holding the doctrines of Mullá Ṣadrá, the greatest Persian philosopher of modern times. This he denied, and even pronounced Mullá Ṣadrá, and his follower, *Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayẕ*, to be heretics, but he failed thereby to establish his own orthodoxy in the eyes of the clergy.

Such, in brief, were the doctrines of Sheyḫ Aḥmad Aḥsá'í; and his pupil and successor, Hájí Seyyid Káẓim of

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Resht, appears to have held and taught essentially the same views—which, for the rest, are, I believe, substantially the same as those held by the Sheykhís of the present day.

In them also I think we can discern the germs of the doctrines of the Báb, although the latter rapidly developed far beyond this point. As these only concern us at present, it is unnecessary to examine further the Sheykhí theology. It is sufficient to note three points only of Sheykh Aḥmad's teachings: his extreme veneration for the Imáms, whom he regarded as the incarnate Attributes of God; his belief that he enjoyed spiritual communion with them, and received instruction from them; and his denial of a material resurrection, at any rate in the full sense in which it is generally held by the Muhammadan theologians.

Second Period. Development of the Doctrines of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb.

We now come to the *second* of the four periods which I have indicated above, viz. the doctrines of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb, and their gradual development. Here again the materials for an examination are abundant, but copies of the books, which exist only in manuscript, are extremely rare. Gobineau[1] states that his first writings were the Journal of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and a commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, and then proceeds: "In 1848 he codified his prescriptions, so to speak, and collected them together in an Arabic book, which he entitled the *Beyán*, 'Explanation,' that is to say, the setting forth and expounding of all which it was important to know. . . . The word *Beyán*, once employed by the Báb, appeared to him to be very suitable to designate the sphere of ideas in which his thoughts moved, and thenceforth he applied it as a title to all which he composed." Here also M. le Comte de Gobineau displays his usual acumen and profound research. In the Persian Beyán (Váḥid iii. chapter 17) the Báb says, "All the writings of the Point (Nuḳṭa) are called *Beyán*, though

[1] *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 311.

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in the original reality this term is confined to verses" (*i.e.* Arabic verses, like those of the Ḳur'án, *áyát*).

In other passages of the same work the Báb divides all his writings into five classes, viz. Verses (*áyát*), Prayers (*munáját*), Commentaries (*tafásír*), Scientific treatises (*shu'ún-i-'ilmiyyé*), and Persian writings (*kalimát-i-fársiyyé*), and expressly states that although the term *Beyán* is properly applicable only to the first, it includes them all in a certain sense. After the mention of this first Arabic Beyán, M. le Comte de Gobineau continues, "One must especially notice amongst them (*i.e.* the Báb's works) a Beyán written in Persian, which is not the commentary of the first Beyán written in Arabic, for it in no wise seeks to elucidate the difficulties of the latter. . . Besides the two Beyáns which I have just mentioned there is also a third, similarly composed by the first Báb. Without being either more difficult or more easy to understand than the two others, it sums up their contents in a comparatively short form. The translation of this catechism will be found at the end of the book."[1] Five works of the Báb's own composition are therefore enumerated by Gobineau, viz. *three Beyáns* (two of these in Arabic and one in Persian), the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf*, and the so-called "*Journal of the Pilgrimage.*" This is not intended to include them all, for the learned author adds, speaking of the works of the Báb, "they were sufficiently numerous considering his age and the shortness of his life." Of several others we have mention made in the Bábí history of which I spoke in my last paper. Thus we read of a *Commentary on the Súra-i-Kawthar* written at Shíráz for Áḳá Seyyid Yaḥyá of Dáráb, and a *Commentary on the Súra beginning "Wa'l-'Asr,"* written at Isfahán for the Imám Jum'a of that city, as well as a *Treatise on the Prophetic Mission of Muhammad* (*Nubuvvat-i-Khásṣé*) written for Minúchihr Khán, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawlah, then Governor of Isfahán; while many more of his works must have perished during the long persecution of the Bábís, and others, doubtless, still

[1] Gobineau, *loc. cit.* p. 312.

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remain hidden away amongst them. The Báb himself states in one passage of the Persian Beyán that his writings comprise no less than 500,000 verses.

We must therefore limit our investigations to the five works enumerated by M. le Comte de Gobineau, and of these it will obviously be desirable to consider first of all the two earlier ones, viz. the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf*, and the so-called *Journal of the Pilgrimage.*

Before proceeding to do so, however, let us glance once more at the circumstances of their author. Originally destined for commercial pursuits, our hero, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, had been sent at the age of fifteen or sixteen to Bushire to conduct his father's business there. From his childhood he seems to have been addicted to speculation and reverie, and we can hardly suppose that he found his employment at Bushire congenial. At any rate after a while he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and remained for some time at Kerbelá studying under Hájí Seyyid Káẓim. Even then he attracted considerable attention, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of those who came in contact with him. Let us again refer to the *Ḳiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá*, the author of which, while in Kerbelá, saw the Báb on sundry occasions. He writes thus: "Several times I attended the lectures of Hájí Seyyid Káẓim. Mír 'Alí Muhammad also used to come to his lectures, and had with him pen and inkstand, and whatever Seyyid Káẓim said, of moist or dry, he used to write down in that same lecture. And he used to shave his beard, or cut it close to the roots with a scissors. The cause of his being known to the author of this book was this, that one day I was seated with a holy and just person at the head of the tomb of that Holy One (*i.e.* Huseyn), when we saw that same Seyyid (*i.e.* the Báb) enter. And he stood at the entrance of the holy place, and performed his visit (*ziyárat*), and turned back from that same place. I asked of that holy person (*i.e.* my companion), 'Who is this person?' That holy one replied, 'This man is Mír 'Alí Muhammad of Shíráz, and he is one of the pupils of Hájí Seyyid Káẓim.' I said, 'Why does this man perform his visit (*ziyárat*) thus?'

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That person replied, 'For this reason, that he considers this manner more in accordance with respect.' I replied, 'This is a mistake, for visiting (the shrines) is an act of worship, and as we have been commanded, and our Imáms have taught us, so should we perform the visitation; and they have ordained that we should go up to the side of the pure tomb, and should embrace the most pure tomb. But to stand afar off by way of (showing) respect is as though we were not to recite supererogatory prayers because we are unworthy to stand in the court of God.'"[1]

A few lines further on the same author says: "A certain individual relates, 'I was seated with a pious personage in the burial-place of the Káẓimeyn[2] (upon both of them be peace), when Mír 'Alí Muḥammad came up to the door of the burial-place. That pious person said, "May God kill this Seyyid, and cause the time of his death to arrive!" Then I said to that pious person, "Why dost thou curse this person?" That pious one said in reply, "In a little while vain beliefs will appear from this person, and will rend the honour of the Musulmáns, and be the cause of the shedding of their blood."'"

From the above extracts we learn that at this period, before he had put forward any claim, and while still attending the lectures of Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim, the Báb had adopted the practice (unusual in his class in Persia) of shaving the chin, which he appears to have followed, not merely in a casual manner, as a simple matter of choice, but from a dislike to allowing the beard to grow, for we find that subsequently he commanded his followers to do the same.[3] For the rest, he followed the practice of the Sheykhís in his method of visiting the shrines of the Imáms, and from the

[1] This method of performing a visitation of the holy shrines at Kerbelá, etc., is one of the distinctive practices of the Sheykhís to this day. Hence they speak of other Shí'ite Muhammadans as "*Bálásaris*," i.e. those who go up to, and embrace, the head of the tomb.

[2] The tombs of "the two Káẓims" (*i.e.* the seventh Imám, Músá Káẓim, and the ninth Imám, Muḥammad Taḳí) are situated about three miles N. of Baghdad, and constitute one of the principal places of pilgrimage of the Shí'ites. Around them has grown up a considerable town, chiefly inhabited by Persians, known as Káẓimeyn.

[3] See Gobineau, *loc. cit.* p. 353, and Persian Beyán, Váḥid viii. chapter 8.

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frequency with which he appears to have done so, we may well imagine that he had imbibed from his teachers that extreme love and veneration of them which characterized the Sheykhí school.

Bearing in mind these facts, let us turn to examine the so-called "Journal of the Pilgrimage," spoken of by Gobineau as one of the earliest writings of the Báb. Of its contents, no account is given by the learned Frenchman; he merely says that in this book the Báb was "chiefly pious and mystic."[1] A little further on, however, in speaking of the departure of Mullá Huseyn from Shíráz for 'Iráḳ and Khurásán, to preach the new doctrine, he says, "In order not to appear, in the eyes of suspicious people, as an adventurer without rights, without evidences, and without proofs, he took with him the Narrative of the Pilgrimage and the Commentary on the Súra of Joseph, which at that time composed the sum of the Bábí works."

Turning to the account of the Musulmán historian in the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, we find the following account given of the same event: "So when he (the Báb) had examined Mullá Huseyn, by seeing and talking with him, and found that he was firm in his faith, he bade him journey to 'Iráḳ and Khurásán, and enter every city and village, and invite men to him. And he entrusted to him the *Ziyárat-námé, which he had composed for the visitation of the Commander of the Faithful* (i.e. *'Alí*), and he likewise gave to him the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*, which he had himself written, so that he might read it to his converts, and make the eloquence of the Báb in those words an argument for his perfections."

There can, I apprehend, be no manner of doubt that the "*Ziyárat-námé*" spoken of here, and the "Narrative of the Pilgrimage" mentioned by Gobineau, are one and the same work. Now the latter translation of the word *Ziyárat-námé* appears to me somewhat misleading. It might, no doubt, mean "Book of the Pilgrimage," in the sense of "Narrative

[1] *loc. cit.* p. 147.

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of the Pilgrimage"; but it has another, and I think a commoner meaning, viz. a book of prayers to be used on performing a *ziyárat*, or visitation, to the tombs of the Imáms, or other saints. And from the words of the Persian historian, "*which he had composed for the visitation of the Commander of the Faithful*" (i.e. *'Alí*), I think we can have no doubt that it is used in this latter sense, and that it is such a book of prayers which we must look for as representing the earliest composition of the Báb.

Now, while I was at Kirmán, one of my Bábí friends there one day showed me a MS. scroll, and informed me that it was the *Ziyárat-námé* of "*Ḥaẓrat-i-Nuḳṭa-i-Ú'lá*" (*i.e.* the Báb). I had not made any enquiries for this work, of which, indeed, I had forgotten the existence, so that the communication was quite spontaneous. Of this I obtained a copy, which is now in my possession, and I have no doubt that this is the work spoken of by Gobineau and the Persian historian. The style of the Báb's writings is too remarkable to be easily mistaken, and the same peculiarities are found in this as in the Persian Beyán.

Let us go a step further. Mírzá Kázem Beg, in his article on "*Báb and the Bábis*" in the Journal Asiatique,[1] describes a small manuscript which had been procured for him by M. Melnikoff, who had acquired it, along with some Bábí talismans, in Teherán. Concerning the manuscript he says that it "consists of twenty-seven pages of the size of a sheet (of paper) folded in four, written in Arabic, and containing instructions on the ceremonial to be observed by every Bábí who has to present himself to one of the masters of his doctrine, either during a journey or at the threshold of his dwelling, and when he appears before him."

Now I believe that Mírzá Kazem Beg was mistaken in thinking that this was the use for which the prayers in this volume were intended, and I am almost certain that the manuscript of which he speaks was none other than this *Ziyárat-námé* of the Báb which we are now considering.

Let us verify this conclusion by seeing whether we can

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 6e série, tome viii. 1866, pp. 498-502.

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find in the text of the *Ziyárat-námé* obtained by me in Kirmán any passages which correspond in meaning with the translated specimens of Mírzá Kazem Beg.

His first specimen runs thus: "La première essence qui a reçu la beauté de la forme s'est levée, a brillé et a communiqué au monde la lumière émanant de la sphère du séjour de l'Eternel, et cette essence *était la vôtre.*" Searching through the *Ziyárat-námé* I find, just as Mírzá Kazem Beg says, "at the beginning of the prayer addressed to the 'friend of God,'" the following passage:

"*Awwalu jawharin ṭurriza wa ashraḳa, thumma ṭala'a wa láḥa min sáḥati ḳurbi haḍhrati'l-ezel 'alaykum. . . .*" This I should translate, "The first substance was formed and shone forth, (and) then arose and gleamed from the court of the Presence of the Eternal upon you. . . ." Neither the Arabic text nor my translation is *identical* in meaning with Kazem Beg's rendering, but the resemblance is sufficiently striking to make it in the highest degree probable that he had in view the same passage. However, let us take his second specimen, which runs thus: "N'eût été *vous, rien* (personne) n'aurait connu Alláh; n'eût été *vous,* rien n'aurait honoré Alláh; n'eût été *vous,* rien n'aurait glorifié Alláh!" Two pages further on in my text I find the following passage:

"*Fa lawlákum, lam ya'rifi'lláha shey'un; wa lawlákum, lam ya'budi'lláha shey'un; wa lawlákum lam yuḳaddisi'lláha shey'un. . . .*" This I translate, "And were it not for you, nothing would have known God; and were it not for you, nothing would have worshipped God; and were it not for you, nothing would have glorified God." Here, at least, I think there can be no doubt of the identity of my text and Mírzá Kazem Beg's translated specimen.

To establish the matter beyond all reasonable doubt, however, let us take his third specimen, which runs thus: "Alláh *vous* a consolidé sur son trône; il *vous* a donné son verbe; il *vous* a designé pour distribuer à chacun le lot (sort) qui lui est destiné; il *vous* a élu pour transmettre leur destin à tous ceux qui sont soumis à la Providence, etc." This, I have no doubt, represents the following passage:

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"*Ḳad ja'alakum mustaḳirrina 'ala 'arshihi, wa'n-náṭiḳina min 'indihi, wa'l-mu'ṭina ilá kulli dhi ḥaḳḳin haḳḳahu, wa'l-mubliġhina ila kulli dhi ḥukmin ḥukmahu. . .*" This I translate: "He (God) hath made you to abide near His throne, and to speak on His part, and to give to every one who hath a claim his due, and to convey His decision to whomsoever needeth one."

I think that I have now fairly proved that both the book which Mírzá Kazem Beg received from M. Melnikoff, and the "*Journal* (or *Narrative*) *of the Pilgrimage*" spoken of by M. le Comte de Gobineau, are identical with one another, and also with the Bábí *Ziyárat-námé* obtained by me in Kirmán.

I have discussed this point at considerable length because, from an examination of the Bábí MSS. in the British Museum, and in the catalogues of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* at St. Petersburg, I am convinced that a great difficulty in identifying Bábí MSS. exists, and is one of the chief barriers to a study of them and the doctrines they embody.

Having now, as I hope, sufficiently established the identity of this, apparently the earliest of the Báb's writings, it is necessary to examine briefly its contents. It appears to be rightly described by the Muhammadan historian as consisting of instructions and prayers for visiting the shrines of the Imáms. After a short invocation addressed to God it begins: "When thou wishest to visit the Friend of God, or one of the Imáms of the Faith, first purify thy body from everything which thy heart dislikes; then wash thyself with seven handfuls of water upon the head, then with four handfuls upon the right (side), then with three handfuls upon the left (side). And when thou hast ceased (therefrom), put on thy best garments, and make use of perfume;[1] then sit facing the Ka'ba, and ask pardon of God thy Lord twelve times.

[1] The use of perfume, and especially rose-water, is strongly recommended both by the Báb (*Persian Beyán*, vi. 2, etc.) and Behá (see below, p. 977). The Bábis often use rose-water to wash their faces, and frequently keep otto of roses amongst their sacred books. Some of the Bábi books which were not written expressly for me, but were given to me by their owners, still preserve this perfume.

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Then walk with dignity and gravity, and magnify[1] God on thy way, until thou reachest the gate of the sacred enclosure (*bábu'l-ḥaram*). There pause, and magnify God thy Lord twelve times. Then enter, without uttering a single word, and walk with gravity until thou reachest unto (a distance of) seven paces below the foot (of the tomb). There stand, and say . . . ."

After this follows the prayer to be used, which occupies the rest of the work.

Now of this introduction I will only remark two things. *Firstly*, we find enjoined the method of performing the *ziyárat* observed by the disciples of Sheykh Aḥmad, and Hájí Seyyid Káẓim, alluded to by the author of the *Kiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* as having first attracted his attention to the Báb. *Secondly*, we see the germs of the Báb's own ideas, subsequently much more fully elaborated, of the desirability of using perfume and wearing fine raiment. In his later works he not only sanctions but ordains the use of silk, gold and silver ornaments, etc., which are condemned by Islám. This remark applies to the whole of the work in question. In the main, it reflects the doctrines of the Báb's masters, but an undercurrent of new ideas, still hardly defined, is discernible in places.

It would be beyond the scope of the present paper to attempt any detailed analysis of the *Ziyárat-námé*; a brief summary of its most salient features is all that I can give at present. What chiefly strikes us is the utter humility of the speaker, and the diffidence with which he addresses himself to the Imáms, whom he so exalts as to make them Effulgences of the Divine Glory, Manifestations of God, and Intercessors with Him for sinful men, though in this he only goes beyond the generality of Shí'ites in degree. "*How shall I describe you,*" he says, "*when in truth description is ashamed before your visage? And how shall I praise you, when verily praise is abashed before your presence?*" He then goes on to say how, in spite of his unworthiness and their loftiness and holiness,

[1] By saying "*Alláhu akbar,*" "God is most great."

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he dares to approach them in supplication, and offer them his praises, desiring only complete submission to them, and annihilation in them, although, when he remembers his imperfections and sins, his gladness ceases, and his joy is troubled, his limbs quake, and his skin creeps. "*With what language,*" he continues, "*shall I confess my faults? and with what regard shall I look upon my actions? By your glory! were any but you aware of what I had acquired* (i.e. what sins were chargeable to me), *he would not look towards me, and would fly from the terror of the justice of God with regard to me, but ye, notwithstanding the greatness of your state, and the loftiness of your rank, and the glory of your brightness, and the completeness of your proofs, have pardoned me, and concealed me, as though I had not committed any fault, nor wrought any wrong.*" Along with this self-humiliation we find a craving for closer communion with the Imáms (such as we have seen Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í believed himself to possess), and occasionally an expressed longing for their return to earth. "*Where,*" he says, in another place, "*are the days of your empire, that I may struggle for you? and where are the days of your glory, that I may obtain the blessing of (beholding) your visage? and where are the days of your kingdom, that I may take revenge for you on your enemies? and where are the days of your manifestation, that I may be independent of all except you? and where are the days of the appearance of the signs of your lordship, that by your permission I may say to whatsoever I will 'Be!' and it shall become existent before you? and where are the days which God hath promised unto His servants for your return?*"

This work seems to me of the utmost interest and importance in tracing the gradual formation of the Báb's ideas, and, so far as I know, it is the sole record of this early period of his life, before he put forward any claim to divine inspiration. In spite of the faults of grammar and obscurities of style which mark this, along with all the other compositions of the Báb, there is something sublime and beautiful in the thought concealed beneath the somewhat uncouth phraseology. Here we behold, not the "*Báb,*" nor the "*Point of*

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Utterance" ('*Ḥaẓrat-i-Nuḳṭa-i-Beyán*'), but Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the young enthusiast, the ardent disciple of Hájí Seyyid Káẓim.

And now comes the first change. By dint of dwelling on these ideas, and concentrating all his thoughts on the Imáms, the unseen dispensers of God's will, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad becomes convinced that he enjoys the favour of a special communication with them. His teacher, Hájí Seyyid Káẓim, dies, and, as has been mentioned, his disciples are left in doubt as to who is to succeed him. Of the exact sequence of events it is difficult to judge, by reason of the difference which exists between the various accounts. According to the Bábí historian, Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh (who afterwards played so prominent a part in the Bábí movement till his death at Sheykh Tabarsí early in A.D. 1849) went to Shíráz from Kerbelá to be cured of a palpitation of the heart from which he suffered. On arriving there, he enquired for the house of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, who had been his friend and fellow-student at Kerbelá, and finding his way there, knocked at the door, which was opened by the latter himself, who welcomed his old friend, and conducted him into the house. After the customary compliments and enquiries, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad said: "Is it not the case that you Sheykhís believe that it is necessary that after the death of the departed Seyyid some one should take his place? It is now five months since he died. After him, who is his successor?" Mullá Huseyn replied, "We have not yet recognized any one." Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad said, "What sort of person must he be?" After a little reflection, Mullá Huseyn described the qualities and attributes which must be found in him. "Do you behold those signs in me?" asked the Báb. Mullá Huseyn knew that Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad had only studied at Kerbelá for about two months, and had not while there shown any signs of an unusual degree of knowledge, besides having received only a rudimentary education previously. He was therefore greatly astonished at the question, and replied, "I see none of these signs in you." Shortly afterwards he finds a commentary on the

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Súratu'l-Baḳara lying on a shelf, takes it up and reads a little, and is surprised at the new meanings which it discloses. He asks Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, "Whose book is this?" but the latter only replies, "A youthful tyro (*juváni tázé-kár*) has written it, and he shows forth exceeding knowledge and greatness."

Next day they have another similar conversation, and the Báb again asks Mullá Huseyn if he sees in him the signs of spiritual leadership. The latter marvels at the persistent way he returns to this point, and determines to convince him of his deficient learning by asking him some questions. To his amazement, these are answered with surprising readiness and clearness; nay, even his inward thoughts and doubts seem to be divined and answered by the Báb. He is astonished, yet unwilling to believe in this unlettered youth, whom he has always looked on as so inferior in knowledge to himself. Finally, however, he is convinced, and accepts the doctrine of the Báb with an earnestness and sincerity to which his subsequent deeds bear ample witness. Once convinced, Mullá Huseyn does not rest idle. He hastens to inform his fellow-disciples, who are still in doubt as to whom they should choose as a successor to their late teacher; many of these come to Shíráz, and after more or less hesitation accept the new creed. Thus was formed the first nucleus of the Bábís.

The above particulars are derived from the Bábí history, of which I obtained a MS. copy at Shíráz, and of which another copy exists in the Library of the British Museum, numbered Or. 2942. There are difficulties connected with this account, for, according to the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, it was at Kúfa that Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad first put forward his claims, and Gobineau supports this statement (though he does not explicitly state that he began to preach openly till his return to Shíráz); while in another part of this same Bábí history another account of the first beginnings of Bábíism makes Medína the scene of the earliest disclosure of his doctrines. Mírzá Kazem Beg follows the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh, but represents the Báb as revisiting Mecca after

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he had gathered round him some disciples at Shíráz. According to this account, which best explains the difficulties of the case, it was on his *return* to Shíráz in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844) that the Báb was arrested by order of Mírzá Huseyn Khán, governor of Fárs, owing to the progress which the sect founded by him made under the active leadership of Mullá Huseyn. This view, too, is not free from difficulties, since the Báb expressly fixes the date of the *Ẓuhúr* (by which I suppose is meant the time when he first became convinced of his divine mission) as the 5th of Jamádi-ul-Úlá, A.H. 1260 (May 23rd, 1844), while, according to Mírzá Kazem Beg, it was in October of the same year that he was arrested and imprisoned at Shíráz. It is evidently impossible that in the space of six months he could have come to Shíráz from Kerbelá, gained adherents there, visited Mecca, and returned to Shíráz; and it is equally impossible that he should have begun preaching any definite doctrine on his own account before the date of the *Ẓuhúr* which he himself gives very accurately in the Persian Beyán. I cannot help thinking that Mírzá Kazem Beg has been misled by the somewhat proleptic account of the Persian historian, who, after stating that the "mischief" (*fitné*) began in A.H. 1260, describes what follows up to the removal of the Báb to Isfahán continuously, not recurring to the subject till he comes to speak of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, and thus certainly including in the account which he gives of the occurrences of the year A.H. 1260 events which took place subsequently to that date. This view is confirmed by the Bábí historian, who makes the arrest of the Báb at Shíráz occur in Ramazán, A.H. 1261 (September, 1845). This gives us a year and a half between the *Ẓuhúr* and the Báb's first imprisonment, a space of time amply sufficient for the events described as having occurred in it.

We must now turn our attention to the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf*, the second of the two books which Mullá Huseyn carried with him on his missionary journey to 'Iráḳ and Khurásán. This work is subsequent to the *Ẓuhúr*, and though much bolder in its dogma than the *Ziyárat-námé*,

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which we have already considered, it is less so than the Persian Beyán, which was composed at Mákú, and was apparently the ultimate expansion of the Báb's views.

Of this "Commentary of the Súra-i-Yúsuf" (*Tafsír-i-Súra-i-Yúsuf*), as it is somewhat misleadingly called, I have not myself been able to obtain a copy; but a MS., which entirely answers to the description given of it, exists in the Library of the Institut des Langues Orientales at St. Petersburg, and is fully described, with copious extracts, by Baron Victor Rosen in his work which I have already quoted. Another MS. of what appears to be the same work exists in the Library of the British Museum, numbered Or. 3539. The notes which I have taken of this latter entirely correspond with Baron Rosen's description, even to the groups of mystical letters placed at the beginning of each portion of the Commentary. Concerning the St. Petersburg MS. Baron Rosen writes, "According to M. le Comte de Gobineau, one of the first works composed by the Báb must have been 'a commentary on the súra of the Ḳur'án called Joseph.' It appears to me almost certain that our manuscript is an example of this work," and I think there can be little doubt that this is so. Since Baron Rosen has so well described the book in question, I will forbear to speak of it at length, merely referring those who are interested in the matter to his admirable account. Briefly, it consists of a number of chapters (111 in the St. Petersburg copy), at the head of each of which, except the first, stands a verse from the Súra-i-Yúsuf. This is followed by the so-called "commentary," which appears to have a very slight connection with the text. These chapters are, in the St. Petersburg copy, stated to be without title; but in the British Museum MS. most of them are headed after the fashion of the súras of the Ḳur'án. The earlier ones have a title, *e g.* the first is called "*Súratu'l-Malak*," the second "*Súratu'l-'Ulamá*," the third "*Súratu'l-Ímán*," etc. On the right side of this is written "*Shírázíyya*" (revealed at Shíráz), while on the left is written the number of verses of which the chapter consists, which appears to be forty-two in all cases. The book is entirely in Arabic, and

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is obscure and ungrammatical, like the rest of the Báb's writings. It must have been composed between May, A.D. 1844, and December, 1845, and therefore stands midway between the *Ziyárat-námé* and the Persian Beyán. In it a distinct claim to a divine mission is put forward. Thus, in the first chapter, it is written,

"*Alláhu ḳad ḳaddara an yakhruja dhálika'l-kitábu fí tafsíri aḥsani'l-ḳiṣaṣi min 'inda Muḥammadi 'bni 'l-Ḥasani 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Muḥammadi 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Músa 'bni Ja'fari 'bni Muḥammadi 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni 'l-Ḥuseyni 'bni 'Aliyyi 'bni Abí Ṭálibin 'alá 'abdihi, li-yakúna ḥujjata'lláhi min 'inda 'dh-dhikri 'alá 'l-'álamína balighá.*"

"God hath decreed that this book, in explanation of the 'best of stories' (*i.e.* the Súra-i-Yúsuf, which is so called), should come forth from Muhammad, son of Hasan, son of 'Alí, son of Muhammad, son of 'Alí, son of Músa, son of Ja'far, son of Muhammad, son of 'Ali, son of Huseyn, son of 'Alí, son of Abú Ṭálib, unto his servant, that it may be the proof of God on the part of the Remembrance[1] reaching the two worlds."

It is interesting to observe that the claim put forward at this period by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad is that he enjoys a special spiritual communion with the *twelfth* or *absent* Imám (Imám-i-Ghá'ib), whose return, as the Imám Mahdí, the Shí'ites are expecting. So far our author does not go much beyond Sheykh Aḥmad, who, as we have seen, claimed to receive instructions from the absent Imáms. It is, I think, in this sense that Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad at this period assumes the title of "*Báb*," or "Gate"; he is the *gate* whereby men must approach the Imám, and the channel whereby the latter reveals to them the true meaning of the Ḳur'án. I do not think that he claimed to be the "Gate of God" (*Bábu 'lláh*), as the Persian historian says in the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh. At all events it must be borne in mind

[1] I think that by the "Remembrance" (*dhikr*) the Báb is meant. It has been suggested to me that by reading *li-yakúna ḥujjatu 'lláhi*, etc., a different and perhaps a better sense is given to the latter part of the passage, viz. "that the proof (or demonstration) of God may reach the two worlds on the part of the Remembrance." For a similar use of *dhikr* see Appendix II. § 2.

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that at a later date he abandoned this title for a higher one, that of "*Nukṭa-i-Ú'lá*" (the first Point), or "*Nukṭa-i-Beyán*" (the Point of Utterance, or Explanation; *i.e.* Revelation). Amongst those who did not embrace his doctrines, the title of Báb was still applied to him, and his followers thus received, and are still known by, the name of Bábís. The latter, however, never mention Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad now as the Báb, but call him either "*Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lá*" (His Highness the Supreme), or "*Ḥaẓrat-i-Nukṭa-i-Ú'lá*" (His Highness the First Point), or "*Ḥaẓrat-i-Rabbi'ul-A'lá*" (His Highness my Lord the Supreme). Neither do they call themselves *Bábís* as a rule, but rather "*Ahlu'l-Beyán*," or "*Ahlu'l-Behá*," according to whether their sacred book is the Beyan, or whether they are believers in Behá.[1] In the writings of the latter the term "*Mala'ul-Beyán*" or "*Ahlu'l-Beyán*" (people of the Beyán) often means those Bábís who do not accept Behá as "He whom God shall manifest," *i.e.* the Ezelís, whom, as I have said, the Behá'ís detest.

There are a few other points which it is desirable to notice with regard to the "*Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf.*" Outwardly, at least, the dictates of Islám seem to be in the main accepted, and the Ḳur'án is not declared to be abrogated. Thus it is written, "Whosoever denies Islám, God will not accept from him any of his actions in the Day of Resurrection." At the same time it is implied that a true knowledge of what Islám means is to be obtained only through the Báb: "And verily God will not accept from any one any of his actions, save from him who comes to the Báb (Gate) by the Báb (Gate) adoring God the Eternal, commended on the part of the Báb."

The month of Ramazán is ordered to be kept as a fast, and no mention seems to be made of the new month of fasting, consisting of nineteen days, which was afterwards instituted.

Smoking is forbidden absolutely. We know from the Násikhu't-Tawáríkh that the refusal of the earlier Bábís to

[1] In conversation *Aṣḥáb* (Companions) and *Aḥbáb* (Friends) are the terms generally used by the Bábís to denote their co-religionists.

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smoke the *ḳalyán* (water-pipe), so much in vogue in Persia, was regarded as one of their distinguishing marks. At Yárjamand, for example, Mullá Huseyn and some of his followers were invited to supper by one Áḳá Seyyid Muhammad, a Musulmán; but when pipes and coffee were brought in, the former declared them unlawful, and a violent discussion ensued, which terminated in the host forcibly expelling his guests.[1]

Divorce appears to be forbidden,[2] as well as the use of drugs to produce abortion. Marriage with unbelievers is prohibited until they believe.

Although, so far, there is no great divergence from the precepts and doctrines of Islám, there are other passages of a different type, which suggest a considerable development of the Báb's ideas. In these he not only reprobates the 'Ulamá, and lays stress on his divine mission, but even distinguishes the believers in his book from the "people of the Ḳur'án," thus at least implying that the former is a new revelation. Thus he says:

"O people of the earth! Give thanks to God, for verily we have delivered you from the doctors of doubt ('Ulamá'udhdhann), and have caused you to attain unto the region of the blessed Sinai."[3]

Again he says:

"And verily God hath made lawful the food of the people of the Ḳu'rán to *the people of this book*, and verily we have made lawful the food of the people of the book (Jews and Christians?) unto them."

Of himself he speaks often, but in various, and often very enigmatical ways. Thus in one place he calls himself "This well-favoured Arabian youth, in whose grasp God hath placed the kingdom of the heavens and the earth;" in another he says, "O people of the earth! hear the voice of your Lord,

[1] Cf. Gobineau, *op. cit.* p 303, and Kremer's *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 212. The latter believes Bábiism to be connected in origin with the Wahhábí movement, and cites the prohibition of the ḳalyán and coffee by the former as evidence in favour of this view.

[2] See Rosen, *MSS Arabes*, pp. 183, 185.

[3] Alluding, apparently, to the new law revealed to himself, and comparing the 'Ulemá and Mullás to those who seduced the Israelites to worship the golden calf.

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the Merciful, from the tongue of celebration of this Arabian youth, the son of 'Alí the Arabian;" a few lines further on he describes himself as "*Hádha'l-ghulámu'l-'arabiyyu'l-Muḥammadiyyu'l-'Alawiyyu'l-Fáṭimiyyu'l-Makkiyyu'l-Madaniyyu'l-Abṭaḥiyyu'l-'Iráḳí,*" "This Arabian youth, of Muhammad, of 'Alí, of Fáṭima, of Mecca, of Medina, of Baṭḥá, of 'Iráḳ."[1] In another passage he alludes to himself as "called by the Persians a Shírází."

In other places he speaks of himself in a manner entirely mystical, as "the Light on Sinai, and Sinai in the rising-place of the manifestation" (*an-núru fi'ṭ-Ṭúr, wa'ṭ-Ṭúru fí maṭla' idh'dhuhúr*); "the (letter) *Bá*[2] which permeates the water of the Letters, and the Point which stands at the Gate of the two Alifs" (*Al-Bá'us-sá'iratu fi'l-má'il-ḥurúfín* (sic) *wa'n-Nuḳṭatu'l-wáḳifatu 'alá bábi'l-Alifeyn*); "the mystery (which is) in the Gospel Syrian, and in the Pentateuch Hebraic, and the mystery concealed in the Ḳur'án (which is) of Muhammad" (*As-sirru fi'l-Injíl Suryání, wa's-sirru fi't-Tawrát rabbání, wa's-sirru'l-mustasirru fi'l-Furḳán Aḥmadí*).[3]

It was probably at about the period which this book repre-

[1] Baron Rosen, in his work entitled "*Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*" (St. Petersburg, 1877), says, in a note on this passage (p. 186), "Ce jeune homme, qui est tantôt '*Arabí*, tantôt, '*Ajamí*, *Madaní*, etc. revient très-souvent dans le courant du livre (. . presque sur chaque feuillet), sans que l'on puisse comprendre exactement son rôle." I have no doubt myself that Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad is throughout speaking of himself. He calls himself "*Muḥammadí*," "'*Alawí*," "*Fáṭimí*," because, as a Seyyid, he is descended from these. That he should describe himself as a *Shírází* is only natural, as is the use of the epithet '*Ajamí* (Persian); but it is harder to see for what reason he calls himself "*Makkí*," "*Madaní*," "'*Iráḳí*," etc. I can only suppose that on account of his visits to Mecca and Medína, and his sojourn at Kerbelá, he considers himself entitled to apply these titles to himself. In the whole of what I have written concerning the "*Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf*" I wish to express my profound obligations to Baron Rosen's work, of which I have availed myself freely, not having the original at hand.

[2] I imagine that the Báb, following other Eastern mystics, means by this the '*Aḳl-i-Kull*, or Universal Intelligence. Sheykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, who flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century of our era, and whose works are much esteemed by the Ṣúfís, says, in his Commentary on the first chapter of the Ḳur'án, "Here is a subtle point, which is this, that the prophets . . . have placed the letters of the alphabet in correspondence with the degrees of Existences . . . and therefore it is said, '*Existences emerged from the Bá of Bismi'lláh*,' since that is the letter which follows the *Alif*, which is placed to correspond with the Essence of God. And it (*i.e.* the letter *Bá*) signifies the First Intelligence, which was the first thing which God created."

[3] I only hazard a guess at the meaning of these passages, especially the last two, which are very obscure. Indeed as they stand they appear to contravene the rules of grammar.

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sents that an event occurred which deserves passing notice. The Báb wrote to Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán (who, as has been mentioned, refused to admit that the former was the lawful successor of Hájí Seyyid Kázim, which he himself claimed to be), and invited him to acknowledge his authority. This the latter not only entirely refused to do, but further wrote a treatise against the Báb and his doctrines.[1] A copy of this was sent to the Báb, and placed in his hands, while he was surrounded by his disciples, to one of whom he handed the book, desiring him to read some of it aloud. The latter accordingly began at the beginning, which ran in this fashion: "Thus says the sinful (*athím*) servant, Muhammad Karím, son of Ibráhím." Now it is usual for a Musulmán author to speak of himself as "standing in need of God's mercy," "poor, and of no account," and the like; but *not* as "*athím*" (a word chosen by the Báb's adversary, doubtless, because it rhymes with *Karím* and *Ibráhím*), which has a much worse signification, denoting actual impiety. When the Báb heard this, therefore, he said, "That is sufficient; he has condemned himself out of his own mouth." He then took the book, and wrote on the title-page the Arabic letters *Há-Mím*, and sent it back to its author, who probably did not fail to understand the allusion, which consisted in a reference to the chapter of the Kur'án entitled *Súratu'd-Dukhán* (which commences with these mystical letters), and the forty-second and following verses thereof, which run as follows:

"*Inna shajarata'z-zakkúm.* (43) *Ta'ámu'l-athím.* . . . . (48) *Dhuk! innaka anta'l-'azizu'l-karím!*"

"Verily (the fruit of) the tree of al-Zakkúm shall be the food of the impious (*athím*); . . . . Taste (this); for thou art that mighty (and) honourable (*karím*) person."[2]

[1] At least *two* such treatises were written by Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán. One of them was composed at a later date than this, probably after the Báb's death, at the special request of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh. Of these two, one has been printed, and is called "the crushing of falsehood" (*Izháku'l-Báṭil*); the other was shown to me by a Sheykhí at Kirmán, but I do not know what name it bears.

[2] Sale's *Koran*, ch. xliv. For a similar anecdote see Ouseley's *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, London, 1846, pp. 84-86.

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This passage is said to have been specially levelled against Abú Jahl, the great opponent of Muhammad; and since the Bábís believe that in every *Zuhúr* or "manifestation" there must be a "*Point of Darkness*," opposed to the "*Point of Light*," they readily accepted this wonderfully appropriate application of the words of the Ḳur'án, and thenceforth identified Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán with the former.

We must now turn to consider the latest works of the Báb, in which his doctrine is fully elaborated.

We know, from the investigations of M. le Comte de Gobineau, that there are at least three Beyáns, two of these being in Arabic, and one in Persian. Of the shorter Arabic Beyán a translation is given by this writer in his "Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale." The original text of this I have not seen, neither do I know whether it exists in Europe, though it is probably included amongst the Bábí MSS. obtained by Gobineau in Persia, which were six in number.[1] A work, which would seem to be the longer Arabic Beyán, is mentioned by Dorn,[2] who gives extracts from it, but of this likewise I do not possess a copy, neither do I think that it is to be found in the British Museum.

With the Persian Beyán it is otherwise. A very good MS. copy of this, written by the great Bábí poet *Nabíl*, whose chronology of the life of Behá I have already spoken of, exists in the British Museum (Or. 2819). Another copy, in the St. Petersburg Library, is very fully described, with extracts, by Baron Victor Rosen.[3] A third I was fortunate enough to obtain with some difficulty, and much entreaty, from some of my Bábí friends in Persia; and I have satisfied myself of its identity with the other two. I shall therefore take this as representing the ultimate doctrine of the Báb, since I have been able to study it at my leisure, and there is ample internal evidence in it to prove that it

[1] See *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, April 13th, 1871. Unfortunately no details are given about these six Bábí MSS., so that it is impossible to identify them. I learn from Baron Rosen that they are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

[2] *Ibid.* Dec. 22nd, 1864. See also Baron Rosen, *MSS. Arabes*, pp. 179–180.

[3] Baron Rosen, *Manuscrits Persans de l'Institut*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 1–32.

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was composed during the last three years of the life of its author, *i.e.* during his imprisonment at Mákú (1847–1850). Before proceeding to sum up the doctrines contained in this, however, I will dispose of the other works of the Báb.

These, as I have pointed out, were numerous; but so far as I am aware no copy of the Commentaries on the Súras entitled respectively *Baḳara*, *Kawthar*, or *'Aṣr* has found its way to Europe. It is much to be hoped that efforts to obtain these may be made by those who have the opportunity of doing so, in order that all the materials for an exhaustive examination of the tenets of this religion and their gradual development may be collected while this is still possible.

Of one other work, however, which is attributed to the Báb, I possess a copy. This is known amongst the Bábís as the "Seven Proofs" (*Dalá'il-i-Sab'a*), but my MS. thereof is, as usual, without title. This is a comparatively short treatise, written in proof of the divine mission of the Báb. I am unable to determine its authorship, but from the style of the document I do not think that it was composed by the Báb himself, although it is less easy to pronounce positively on this point than might at first sight appear, inasmuch as the latter always speaks of himself in the third person as "the Point" (*Nuḳṭa*), "the Tree of Truth" (*Shajara-i-Ḥaḳiḳat*), or "the Gate" (*Báb*), as the case may be; and moreover his followers naturally to some extent imitated his style and manner of thought and expression. I should conjecture the writer to have been one of the Báb's companions rather than himself. The epistle in question appears to have been written in answer to a letter from one of the disciples of the late Hájí Seyyid Káẓim, containing sundry questions, and setting forth certain difficulties which the questioner experienced with regard to the acceptance of the Báb. Hence the writer several times quotes sayings of Sheykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í and Hájí Seyyid Káẓim, adding in the case of the latter such remarks as "which you yourself have repeatedly heard from the departed Seyyid," "for you yourself are one of the disciples of the departed Seyyid," etc.

Though we cannot with certainty determine either the

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writer of the letter, or the person to whom it was addressed, it is possible to fix the date of its composition approximately. It was written *after* the publication of the Beyán, from which the writer quotes, and of which he speaks much. The Báb is also spoken of twice as confined "*in the mountain of Mákú*," and allusion is made to the sufferings which he had undergone. Now the Báb was imprisoned at Mákú for about three years, viz. from the spring of A.D. 1847 till his martyrdom in July, 1850, and this book was therefore composed during this period. But one passage, if I understand it aright, fixes its date still more accurately, for the writer quotes a prophetic tradition of Kumeyl concerning the events of *five* successive years of the Ẓuhúr, and, speaking of the *first four*, points out this prophecy as already fulfilled, adding, "and in the fifth year thou *shalt see* (fulfilled), '*there shone forth a light from the morning of Eternity*,' if thou dost not thyself flee away and become troubled."

Now since "the beginning of the Ẓuhúr" was in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), this would fix the date of this work as A.H. 1264, or early in A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1848–49), *i.e.* about a year or a year and a half before the Báb's death.

The book itself contains an excellent summary of the arguments for the truth of the new religion, which are also given in substance, but with less conciseness and sequence, in the Persian Beyán; and in a fuller form in the Íḳán. I shall therefore choose this place to set them forth once and for all. In doing so, I shall state them as briefly as is consistent with clearness; and, as none of the three works from which I quote are yet available to the public, it appears to me unnecessary to give references to particular passages.

Briefly stated, then, the line of argument is this: The Unchanging and Unchangeable Essence of God has existed from Eternity of Eternities in unapproachable Glory and Purity. No one has known It as It should be known, and no one has praised It as It should be praised. It is above all Names, and free from all Likenesses or Similitudes. All things are known by It, while It is more glorious than that It should be known through aught else. From It was pro-

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duced Its Creation, which has had no beginning in time, and shall have no end. This Emanation or Creation was produced by the Primal Will (*Mashiyyat-i-U'lá*), and though eternal in duration, is subsequent to the latter as to causation. Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has, for their guidance and instruction, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as "Prophets," and there have been endless numbers of them in the Past, as there will be in the future. That which spoke in all the prophets of the Past, now speaks through the Báb (or the Nuḳṭa, to speak more accurately, since, as we have seen, the former title belongs to a period antecedent to these teachings), and will speak through "Him whom God shall manifest" (*Man yudhhiruhu'lláh*), and after him through others, for there is no cessation to these Manifestations. The Primal Will is like the Sun, which rises and sets day after day, but is always the same Sun in reality, though we may, in ordinary parlance, speak of "the sun of to-day," or "the sun of yesterday." So in like manner, though we may, in common language, speak of Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad as distinct, in truth that which spoke in each of them was One, *viz.* the Primal Will. This is the meaning of the saying of Muhammad, "*Amma'n-nabiyyúna, fa-aná,*" "But as to the prophets, I (am them)." The last manifestation of the Primal Will took place 1270 years ago (counting not from the hijra, but from the first revelations received by Muhammad till the beginning of this Ẓuhúr), and it has now incarnated itself in Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the *Nuḳṭa*, and speaks through him.

In each manifestation news has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah, but when he came as Jesus they rejected him, because they had imagined his coming in a different way, and one which was impossible, and contrary to nature. So again the followers of Christ were told to expect His return, yet when He returned as Muhammad they for the most part failed to recognize Him, and are to this day expecting His coming,

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although more than a thousand years have elapsed since that took place. So likewise the Muhammadans are expecting the coming of the Imám Mahdí, and continue to pray for that day when he shall appear, and, whenever they mention his name, add the formula "*'ajjala'lláhu farajah*," "May God hasten his gladness;" yet now he *has* come, with verses and signs (*áyát va bayyinát*), they refuse to recognize him, because the manner of his coming does not correspond with their own vain imaginings of how he *ought* to come.

The Muhammadans in particular are now addressed thus: You blame the Jews because they did not accept Christ as the promised Messiah. You also condemn the Christians because they did not recognize Muhammad as the Promised Comforter, although Christ has clearly said, "*Ya'ti min ba'di aḥadun, ismuhu Aḥmad'* (One shall come after me whose name is Ahmad[1])."

You admit that they were led to expect certain prodigies as announcing and ushering in this return of the Promised One, but that these were intended, and should have been understood, in a spiritual sense. So far you are right. All sacred books are written in a mystical language which needs interpretation, as it is said by the Prophet of the Ḳur'án that each verse has meanings within meanings; and as the Imáms have said, '*Naḥnu natakallamu bi-kalámin, wa nuridu minhu iḥdá*[2] *wa sab'ína wajhan*,' 'We speak with a speech, and intend by it seventy-one (different) aspects.' This symbolic language is common to all the prophets, and the key to it is given in the sacred books themselves. By the *Sun*, for instance, is meant the Primal Will, manifesting itself in the Prophet of the Age, as before explained. By the *Moon* and *stars* are meant his immediate companions and disciples.

[1] It is generally believed by Muhammadans, at any rate in Persia, that such words were spoken by Christ, and are to be found in the Gospels. The belief is no doubt based on the prophecies concerning the *Paraclete*, for which word they would substitute *Periklutos*, which corresponds in meaning with Ahmad or Muhammad (praised, laudable). See Ibn Hishám's "*Life of Muhammad*," ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. i. pp. 149–150, where the Greek word is stated as *Baraḳlíṭis*, and the Syriac as *Manḥamanná*.

[2] I have not ventured to alter the MS. reading, though I think it should be *aḥadun* rather than *iḥdá*.

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Thus, when amongst the signs of the 'end of the world,' or 'the coming of the Promised One' (both of which mean the same thing, for only the cycle of one Manifestation comes to an end, while the actual world is eternal), it is said that '*the Sun shall be darkened, and the stars shall fall from heaven,*' or the like, what is meant is that the sacred book of the last Manifestation is abrogated, and the divines, or priests, or mullás, whose honour and position depended on their being the expounders of that book, have fallen from this high privilege, since their book is now superseded by another. Such is the meaning of the *Súratu't-Takwír* (ch. lxxxi. Sale's translation), 'When the Sun shall be folded up; and when the stars shall fall,' and of the *Súratu'l-Infiṭár* (ch. lxxxii.), which begins, 'When the heavens shall be cloven in sunder, and when the stars shall be scattered.'

Now the Muhammadans blame the Jews and Christians, yet act in precisely the same way themselves, urging as a reason for not accepting this manifestation that the expected signs of the Imám's coming have not appeared. Either they must admit that the latter were justified in their conduct, or they must abandon the puerile objections whereby they seek to justify their own unbelief.

Have they accepted Islám intelligently, or unintelligently as a mere inheritance from their parents? If the latter, they are not truly believers at all, inasmuch as they believe without reason, and are, in fact, exactly like the unbelievers of old, who answered the appeals of the prophets who came to them with the words, "Verily we found our fathers in this religion, and we follow them." If the former, by reason of what proofs have they accepted it? They have never seen the prophet, neither have they witnessed any miracles, so that the written word of the prophet only is their proof. This, too, was the proof to which Muhammad always appealed. When his opponents demanded a sign, he challenged them to imitate the Ḳur'án, saying, 'Produce a súra like it, if ye speak truly.' No one of his adversaries was able to do this, and for twelve centuries and more the challenge had remained unanswered. Now, in these days, a young man of the race

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of Háshim, Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad of Shíráz, had come, and claimed a divine mission, in proof of which he had produced verses and a book like the Ḳur'án, but surpassing it in wisdom and eloquence. If then the Ḳur'án itself was a sufficient proof of the divine mission of Muhammad, the Beyán was equally satisfactory evidence of the truth of the prophetic claim advanced by its writer. Which was more wonderful? That Muhammad, brought up from his youth amongst the Arabs, should, in the course of a sufficiently long life, produce a comparatively small book like the Ḳur'án, written in his native language; or that this young Shírází, untrained in the learning of colleges, and accounted as nought by the learned, should in the space of a few hours write thousands of verses, like those of the Ḳur'án, in Arabic, which was not his native tongue, and in which he had not been instructed? It was objected that the verses of the Beyán were not only *not eloquent*, but that they were full of grammatical errors. Such an objection showed ignorance of the nature of the proof on which Muhammad's claim rested. The Kur'án was not so "eloquent" in the ordinary meaning of the term as many of the old Arabic poems, like the Mu'allaḳát, written in the 'days of ignorance.' The eloquence intended and appealed to as a proof of divine inspiration was the quality of profoundly affecting men's hearts, so that they were ready to die for their convictions; the power of realization or actualization possessed alike by the Divine and the Prophetic word. It is written that "When God wishes to create anything, He only says 'Be,' and it is." The word of the Prophet, who is an incarnation of the Primal Will, has the same quality. What he says comes to pass. Muhammad said, 'Make a pilgrimage to Mecca,' and now each year brings thousands flocking thither. He said, 'Fast in Ramazán,' and millions obey him year by year, in spite of the inconvenience they thereby suffer. Now once again a new command has come forth; once more, in answer to the divine '*A-lasta-bi-rabbikum?*'[1] ('Art thou not

[1] *Rúz-i-'Alast'* (The Day of 'Art thou not?') is a phrase familiar to all students of Persian poetry. The tradition is that in the beginning of Creation God addressed

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of thy Lord's?'), thousands have answered, '*Balá! Balá!*' ('Yea! Yea!')

The word of the '*Nukṭa*' (Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad) is as powerful to change and to construct as the word of Muhammad. For the rest, the Ḳur'án, like the Beyán, might, when first produced, have been declared less eloquent in style, less accurate in grammar, and less pure in diction, than ancient Arabic poems like the Mu'allaḳát. Now it is regarded as the criterion of eloquence, as the Beyán will be. Divine revelations cannot be criticized as regards style and grammar, for the latter are merely deduced from them.[1]

Such, in brief, is the line of argument adopted by the Bábís in dealing with Muhammadans. Its cogency is so far recognized by many of the latter that they do not often seek to meet a Bábí missionary in fair discussion; and I have heard it said by Persian Muslims who had fallen in with the latter on the pilgrimage to Mecca or Kerbelá, where free speech was possible, that as a last resort they were compelled to declare that they were sceptics (*lá-maẕ-hab*), since in no other way could they escape the logic of their opponents.

When dealing with Christians, Jews, or Zoroastrians, the Bábís adapt their arguments to the particular case, which the knowledge their missionaries generally possess of the respective beliefs of each enables them to do with considerable skill.

I now come to the Persian Beyán, the latest and fullest of the Báb's works. As I have already discussed the controversial portion of it above, it only remains for me to speak

the souls that had been created with these words, "*A-lasta bi-rabbikum?*" and they all answered, "*Balá! Balá!*" ("Yea! Yea!"). According to another tradition, only the souls of believers answered 'Yea.' The Bábís apply the tradition in this way, viz. as the summons of the Primal Will speaking through a Prophet, and inviting all to follow him, for, as we have seen, with them Creation is co-existent in *duration* with God, and only subsequent in *causation*.

[1] This is stated explicitly in the first chapter of the second Váḥid of the Persian Beyán: "*Va agar nukté gírí dar i'rdb-i-ḳirá'at, yá ḳawá'id-i-'arabiyyé shavad, mardúd-ast; zírá ki in ḳawá'id az dyát bar dáshté mí-shavad, na áyát bar ánhá járí mí-shavad,*" "And if exception be taken to the vocalization (*i.e.* pointing) of the text (*lit.* reading), or the rules of Arabic (according to which it is written), he (*i.e.* the objector) is rejected; for these rules are removed from (revealed) verses, nor do the verses flow forth according to them." See Baron Rosen's *Manuscrits Persans*, p. 3, where the verse in question is quoted, and explained.

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briefly of the doctrines it embodies (in so far as they have not been stated already) and the ordinances it lays down. The reasons which have led me to take the Persian Beyán instead of either of the two Arabic Beyáns have been already set forth.

On a perusal of the Beyán, three peculiarities therein strike us most forcibly. These are: *firstly*, the peculiar arrangement of the chapters into groups of nineteen; *secondly*, the stress which is laid on the doctrine that this revelation is *not final*, but that believers therein must continually expect the coming of *Him whom God shall manifest*, who will confirm what he pleases of the Beyán, and alter what he pleases; *thirdly*, the certainty with which the writer speaks of the ultimate prevalence which his religion will obtain. These three points must be considered in detail.

First, then, what is the significance of the number nineteen, and of the peculiar arrangement of the Beyán?

Each of the letters of the Arabic alphabet has, as is well known, a numerical value, and according to these values they are arranged in an order differing somewhat from that in which they are ordinarily placed. Hence every word may be represented by a corresponding number, formed by adding together the values of its component letters. This property is utilized in representing dates by a sentence which at once describes the events, and sums up in the numerical values of its component letters that number which it is desired to chronicle. The cabbalistic method of interpreting texts, or discovering their inmost meanings, depends on the same property of the letters, as does the science of talismans. In short, the "Science of the Letters," and the "Science of Numbers," are in the East highly esteemed and diligently cultivated, and skill therein has always been considered an accomplishment of the highest order. The subject has been treated of at considerable length by M. le Comte de Gobineau in his *Traité des Ecritures Cunéiformes*. Sheykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, a learned Arab of Spain, who flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries of our era, and whose numerous and erudite

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writings profoundly affected Muhammadan mysticism, and are still eagerly studied in Persia and Turkey, employed this science largely in his interpretation of the Ḳur'án. I have already, in a note, made use of his explanation of the meaning of the letter *Bá*, to explain why the Báb called himself "the Bá which pervades all the Letters;" and the fact that he also discovered the sacred character of the number *nineteen* may well make us ask if the Báb may not also have been influenced by his views.

Interesting as the "Science of the Letters" is, I have not space to treat of it here at any length, but must confine myself to what is necessary for a comprehension of the point under discussion. We have seen that the letter *Bá* in the world of letters corresponds to the "Primal Will" or "First Intelligence," since it "follows the (letter) Alif, which is placed to correspond with the Essence of God." Now Alif stands for One, and in Arabic One is '*Váḥid*.' If we add up the numerical values of the letters in this word *Váḥid*, we find that the number 19 results. Thus 1 represents the unmanifested Essence of God, and 19 the first manifestation of the same. Again, God is absolute Being, which in Arabic is called "*Vujúd*." If we add up the letters in this word, 19 is again produced. So also in the formula '*Bismi'lláhi'r-Raḥmáni'r-Raḥím*,' "In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement," which is used before commencing any action, there are 19 letters.

Now all things that exist do so only so far as they are permeated by the Divine Essence. It is the One Being diffused through them, and manifested in them, which raises them from Nothingness (*'adam*) to the rank of "Contingent" or "Possible Being" (*imkán*), *i.e.* Being, the existence or non-existence of which is equally *possible* (as opposed to "*Vujúd-i-Vájibu'l-Vujúd*," "Necessarily Existing Being," which cannot even be thought of as ceasing to exist). This afflux of Being whereby the Contingent exists is called '*Feyẕ-i-Aḳdas*' (the Most Holy Outpouring), and sometimes '*Váḥid-i-sárí dar jamí'-i-a'dád*,' "the One which pervades all the Numbers." When, therefore, we descend from the

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sphere of Absolute Being, and the undifferentiated Divine Essence, to that of "the Names," *i.e.* of Differentiation and Plurality, we must take into account the "One pervading the Numbers" whereby the latter exist.

Thus, one of the principal Attributes or Names of God is '*Ḥayy*,' the Living. If we take the sum of the letters of this word, we find it is 18. Adding to this the number of the Alif—the "One pervading the Numbers"—we again get the sacred number 19.

The number 1, therefore, represents the Unmanifested, Undifferentiated, Unknowable Essence; 19, the manifestation thereof. Going a step further, we find 19 × 19, *i.e.* 361, represents the manifested Universe. This the Bábís call '*'adad-i-kullu shey*,' "the number of All Things;" and if we add up the values of the letters in '*kullu shey*,'[1] we find they come to 360, which, with the "One pervading the Numbers," makes 361.

The number 19, being thus recognized by the Báb as the sacred number, plays a prominent part in his system. God, the One (*Váḥid*=19), the True Existence (*Vujúd*=19), the Living (*Ḥayy* + the One pervading the Numbers=19), by means of the 19 "Letters of the Living" (*Ḥurúfát-i-Ḥayy*) created "All Things" (*kullu shey* + the One pervading the Numbers=361=19 × 19).

In the World, He is represented by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, the "Point" (Nuḳṭa), and the 18 disciples, called "Letters of the Living," who first believed in him; these together constituting the complete "Unity" (Váḥid). Each of the 19 members of the "Unity" had 19 immediate disciples, who represent the "Number of all things" (361).

Everything is arranged to correspond to this. The Arabic Beyán consists of 19 váḥids (unities) each containing 19 Bábs (chapters). The Bábí year consists of 19 months, each containing 19 days. Nineteen names serve to indicate alike the months and days. Thus the first month is called *Shahru'l-*

[1] Letters marked with *tashdíd* to double them are only counted once in the enumeration. Thus, in our word, *káf* = 20, *lám* = 30, *shín* = 300, *yá* = 10, total 360. Cf. Gobineau, "*Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*," pp. 319-322.

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Behá, and the first day of any month *Yawmu'l-Behá*, the remaining names being as follows: 2nd *Jalál*, 3rd *Jimál*, 4th *'Azamat*, 5th *Núr*, 6th *Raḥmat*, 7th *Kalimát*, 8th *Kemál*, 9th *Asmá*, 10th *'Izzat*, 11th *Mashiyyat*, 12th *'Ilm*, 13th *Ḳudrat*, 14th *Ḳawl*, 15th *Masá'il*, 16th *Sharaf*, 17th *Sulṭán*, 18th *Mulk*, and 19th *'Ulá*. Supposing, therefore, we wish to name the 12th day of the 5th month according to this notation, we call it "*Yawmu'l-'Ilm min Shahri'n-Núr*." As, however, it appeared probable that the old method of counting by days of the week might linger on for some time, even after the Bábí arrangement of the year had been adopted as regards the months, it was considered desirable to give new names to the former. These are as follows: Saturday, *Yawmu'l-Jalál*; Sunday, *Yawmu'l-Jimál*; Monday, *Yawmu'l-Kemál*; Tuesday, *Yawmu'l-Fiẓál*; Wednesday, *Yawmu'l-'Idál*; Thursday, *Yawmu'l-Istijlál*; Friday, *Yawmu'l-Istiḳlál*.

It must not be supposed that at present this system is much used amongst the Bábís. It is rather, like the new writing (*Khaṭṭ-i-Badí'*), intended for the future. So far as I know, it is confined to colophons at the end of the sacred books of the sect, and is not often used even for that purpose. When it is used, the *day* is usually given in both of the two manners explained, as, for instance, in the following colophon from the end of a commentary on the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*: "*Ḥarrarahu fí yawmi'l-Kemáli, min yawmi'l-'Ulá'i, min shahri'n-Núri, min sanati'l-Badiyyi mina'l-wáḥidi'th-thání*, 1296" (A.H.). "He wrote it on the day of *Kemál* (Monday), corresponding to the day of *'Ulá* (the 19th day), of the month of *Núr* (the 5th month), of the year of *Badí*[1] of the second Váḥid, A.H. 1296."

[1] It is evident from the latter part of this colophon that a special method of enumerating *years* is also employed. I regret to say that I did not ask for an explanation of this from the Bábís at the time when I learned the preceding details about the days and months, so that I do not know what ordinal number in the series of 19 years constituting the *váḥid* is represented by the '*Sanatu'l-Badí*.' One would be inclined to take *Badí* as meaning *the first* (see Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, book i. part i. p. 171); but not only does it not agree with *sana* (year), but chronological difficulties are involved; for if A.H. 1296 be counted by the Bábís as the first year of the second váḥid, *i.e.* the 20th year from the commencement of their era, the latter would fall in A.H. 1276, in which no important event occurred, for the "manifestation" of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad was in A.H. 1260, and the "manifestation" of Behá in A.H. 1283.

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Although the sacred character of the number 19 was thus prominently brought forward by the Báb, he by no means implies that it was unknown to previous prophets. On the contrary, he not only points out that the number of letters in the "*Bismi'lláhi'r-Raḥmáni'r-Raḥím*," which stands at the head of every chapter in the Ḳur'án, is 19, but further that the total number of the chapters themselves ($114 = 19 \times 6$) is a multiple of the sacred number. So, in every "Manifestation," the 18 "Letters[1] of the Living" have appeared surrounding the "Point," and amongst their number there is always at least one woman—Fáṭima in the Manifestation of Islám, Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn (*Jenáb-i-Ṭáhiré*) in the present one. I have not a complete list of the 18 disciples of the Báb who constituted the "Letters of the Living," and each of whom bore a special title, but two at least, besides Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, are prominent figures in the history of the sect, viz. Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh (*Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*), and Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí of Bálfurúsh (*Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús*). So also the Báb declares that "He whom God shall manifest" will appear with his 18 "Letters of the Living."

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the part played by the sacred number in the ordinances of the new religion. The system of coinage, the construction of places of worship, the fines inflicted for transgressions, and the taxes to be levied, are all arranged on the same basis, so that, to quote from the Beyán (Váḥid vii. ch. viii.), "It seems to be seen that the mystery of the Váḥid will gain currency till it pervades all things, until even the pens in the pen-case shall be according to the number of the Váḥid."

Before leaving this subject, one point must be noticed. I have said that the Bábí sacred books were to be composed on this plan, and that the longer Arabic Beyán is so, we know from Dorn's description of the St. Petersburg MS. But the Persian Beyán, and the shorter Arabic Beyán translated by

[1] For a similar use of the term "Letters" (*Ḥurúf*), cf. de Sacy's "*Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*," Paris, 1838, vol. i. p. 119. where the disciples of Ḥákim bi-amri'lláh are called "Letters of Truth" (*Ḥurúfu'ṣ-ṣidḳ*).

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Gobineau, both cease at the 10th chapter of the 10th Váḥid; in other words, they are only half completed. Was this mere accident? Was the life of their author cut short when these books were but half finished, or was there a reason for the elaborately incomplete form in which they were left? I believe that the latter is the case, and that the half-finished works were intended to be a perpetual reminder to the Báb's followers that the revelation they had received was not final, and that they must continually look for the coming of "Him whom God shall manifest."

This brings me to the second peculiarity I spoke of in the Beyán. As we have seen, in considering the arguments put forward by the Bábís, they consider that men have continually fallen into error in not recognizing the fact that the revelation which they believed in was not final. Consequently, on the arrival of the new "manifestation," they have always for the most part rejected it. The Báb is determined that his followers shall be, as far as possible, prepared and warned against this danger, so that they may have no excuse for failing to recognize and accept "Him whom God shall manifest" when he appears.

We have seen that, according to the Báb's teaching, all prophets are incarnations or "manifestations" of the "Primal Will." In this sense, therefore, they are all equal, but the same cannot be said of their revelations. For the human race is ever progressing, and consequently, just as a child is taught more fully and instructed in more difficult subjects by its master as its understanding ripens, so also the Primal Will, the Instructor ('*Murabbi*') of mankind, speaks in each successive manifestation with a fuller utterance. As children must be told things in a simple manner which they can easily understand, so with the human race in its earlier stages of development. For instance, if we wish to explain to a child that knowledge is a pleasant thing, we may tell it that it is sweet like sugar, though in reality there is no resemblance between the two things. In the same way, the Primal Will, or Universal Intelligence, speaking through former prophets, has taught men that good is pleasant in its

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results, and evil bitter, by comparing the condition of the good after death to people in beautiful gardens surrounded with all such things as they are accustomed to consider most pleasant, while the wicked, on the contrary, are said to be consumed in fire. But now the world has reached a stage of development when it can be told the truth about these things without parables and similes, viz. that Paradise is belief, and Hell unbelief. But although this revelation is much fuller than preceding ones, it must not be considered final. On the contrary, it is merely intended to prepare the world for the fuller measure of truth which will be uttered by "Him whom God shall manifest." The Beyán is the seed; his revelation will be the fruit. Whenever men are sufficiently "educated" in the Beyán, "He whom God shall manifest" will appear. The day of his coming is known to God alone, and when he comes, he will come suddenly, even as the "Nuḳṭa" did. Should any one at any time come and claim to be He, and produce the necessary proof of his identity, viz. "verses" (*áyát*), no one is to dare to deny him. Thus in the 8th chapter of the 6th Váḥid it is written: "And ye have not so much sense as to perceive that none but God can reveal verses. Know, therefore, that this is the same Primal Reality to whom God revealed verses in the beginning of Islám. If ye had understood the proof of your own religion, you would also have understood this Matter. Just as, from the time of Muhammad until now, which is 1270 years, no one has been able to produce verses like it (*i.e.* the Ḳur'án), so likewise after the setting of this Sun (*i.e.* after the death of the Báb) will it be, until He whom God shall manifest shall appear. *It is impossible that any one other than Him whom God shall manifest can lay claim to this Matter. . . . If any one makes such claim, and verses appear from him, none must oppose him, lest perchance sorrow come upon that Sun of Truth. Had the people of the Ḳur'án acted thus, all their books would not have become vain. So, therefore, if you hear of such a matter, and are not certain, do not do anything which may be the cause thereof* (*i.e.* of bringing sorrow on Him whom God shall manifest), *even though it really be other than*

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him (*i.e.* even though the claimant be not really He whom God shall manifest). *But this is an impossible idea. But if he* (the claimant) *merely mention His name* (*i.e.* the name of Him whom God shall manifest), *it is far from those who possess His love to grieve him, out of respect for His Name. For the matter is not outside one of two alternatives. Either it is He* (*and in truth it is impossible that it should be other than Him, in that he reveals verses spontaneously*), *and why then should any one deny the Truth, since they have acted night and day in expectation thereof? Or, which is an impossible supposition, he is not; in that case let him alone; it is not for creatures to judge him, out of respect to the Name of their Beloved.*"

We cannot fail to be struck by the fact that when the Báb was a prisoner and an exile at Mákú, probably well aware of what his ultimate fate would be, he showed far more anxiety about the reception which should be accorded to "Him whom God shall manifest" than about himself. That he did anticipate in some degree the cruel fate in store for him, the following words of his, quoted in the Bábí history,[1] sufficiently prove: "It is as though I heard the voice of one crying in my inmost heart, '*the most acceptable thing is that thou shouldst sacrifice thyself in the way of God, even as Huseyn* (*upon him be peace*) *sacrificed himself in my way*;' and, did I not regard this mystery, by Him in whose hand is my soul! even were all the Kings of the Earth to assemble, they could not take from me a single letter," and he concludes by stating that the object of this sacrifice is "that all may know the degree of my patience, and contentment, and sacrifice in the way of God."

Almost every ordinance in the Beyán is similarly designed to be a perpetual reminder of "Him whom God shall manifest." Thus, in every assembly of believers, a vacant place is to be left for Him, and, if possible, 18 more empty seats for the "Letters of the Living" who accompany Him, so that, if they come suddenly, all may be prepared for them.

[1] These words of the Báb are also quoted in the Íḳán, and the passage where they occur is specially noted by Baron Rosen (*Manuscrits Persans de l'Institut*, etc. p. 43).

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Whenever His name is mentioned, all must rise from their seats. None of the believers in the Beyán must grieve one another, nor must children be beaten, lest sorrow be thereby caused to Him whom God shall manifest. Posts, and other means of communication, must be well organized, "as in the land of the Frank," so that, as soon as the new "manifestation" takes place, there may be every facility for conveying the news thereof to all parts of the earth. Many other instances might be added, but these are sufficient. Any one who reads the Beyán will find "He whom God shall manifest" mentioned on every page, and again and again is the hope expressed that, when He comes, He may not suffer at the hands of unbelievers as the Báb has suffered. When we consider all this, we shall better understand how almost universal was the acceptance met with by Behá amongst the Bábís when he announced that he was "He whom God shall manifest."

The third remarkable feature of the Beyán which I noticed was the assurance with which the Báb speaks of the ultimate prevalence of his religion. When we picture to ourselves the circumstances in which he was placed, a prisoner and exile amongst foes, in continual expectation of the inevitable fate which hung over him, and with scarcely a friend to support and encourage him, we cannot but admire the calm conviction with which he writes of the final triumph of his faith, and the confidence wherewith he organizes the model whereon the Bábí empires of the future are to be moulded. There is not a word of compromise on the one hand, nor a trace of rancour or desire for revenge on the other. Infidels are to be allowed no part nor lot in the future government; they are not even to be permitted to reside in the five holy provinces of Fárs (*the Land of Fá*), 'Irák (*the Land of 'Ayn*), Ázarbaiján (*the Land of Alif*), Khurásán (*the Land of Khá*), and Mázandarán (*the Land of Mím*), nor in any other country whose inhabitants are believers in the Beyán, unless they be merchants, or others who follow a useful profession. Every effort is to be made to convert them to the faith, but no violence is to be used, and "*no one is to be slain for unbelief,*

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for the slaying of a soul is outside the religion of God; . . . and if any one commands it, he is not and has not been of the Beyán, and no sin can be greater for him than this."

Much more might be written on the Beyán, but I must at present necessarily content myself with sketching its most important features. It would be interesting to trace out in detail the Utopia which the Báb had conceived in his mind. Briefly, the future Bábí community was to be one characterized by brotherly love; dignity combined with courtesy in all dealings and transactions between its members; cultivation of all useful arts and improvements; prohibition of useless occupations and studies, amongst which latter are included Logic, Jurisprudence (*Fiḳh*), Philosophy, and Dead Languages; amelioration of the condition of women, who were to be allowed to appear in society; general elementary education; provision for the poor out of the common treasury at the discretion of the members of the "House of Justice" (*Beytu'l-'Adl*), but strict prohibition of mendicity. The object of forbidding the study of philosophy, logic, etc., seems to have been the prevention of disputation and wrangling, which are strongly condemned, as destructive of that harmony which it is desired to secure. Pilgrimages are not much encouraged, particularly in the case of women, and travelling is restricted. Children are to be treated with kindness and affection, and allowed to play and enjoy themselves as much as possible, and penalties are imposed on any one who shall beat them severely. They are not to be made to stand at their lessons, lest they should be fatigued, but are to be allowed to sit on chairs, which it is recommended that all believers should do rather than on the ground.

Amongst many such ordinances which suggest to us the idea that the Báb had in some degree taken European civilization as his model, we find others which recall rather the pomp and ceremony of the religions of the Past. This is especially the case with regard to the instructions laid down for the enshrouding and burial of the dead. These are to be washed first three or five times with water in

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a certain definite manner, and with certain prayers and ejaculations; then, if possible, with rose water. A cornelian ring, on which one of the Names of God is engraved, is then to be placed on one of the fingers of the right hand; after which the corpse is to be shrouded with five garments of different stuffs, beginning with silk and ending with cotton. During all these operations, the utmost reverence is to be observed in moving and turning the corpse, for "the outward body is the throne (*'arsh*) of the inward or essential body (*jasad-i-báṭini*, *jasad-i-ẓáti*), therefore must the former be preserved with the utmost care, that no disgust may come upon the latter; for the Essential body regards its Throne, and is gratified if that be treated with respect." These preliminaries completed, the body is to be placed in a coffin or sarcophagus of glass or crystal (*ballúr*), or hard polished stone. Public prayers are then to be performed over the dead, and this is the only occasion when they are permitted. At other times people must perform their prayers singly. And now comes the strangest regulation of all, which is that the confession of faith of the dead man, and his belief in the "Divine Point" (*Nuḳṭa-i-Iláhiyyé*) and the "Letters of the Living" (*Ḥurúfát-i-Ḥayy*), with a declaration of his love for them, and an account of his actions, shall be written and preserved by his heirs till the coming of "Him whom God shall manifest." Can we read these instructions without being reminded on the one hand of the Zoroastrian dislike of polluting the earth by the burial of corpses, and on the other of the "Book of the Dead" of the Egyptians?

If we seek for traces of Zoroastrian ideas in the Beyán, we shall not fail to find other instances, such as the formal establishment of a solar instead of a lunar year; the command to observe the Nawrúz as the great annual feast; the command to wash by pouring water over oneself, not by plunging into the water; the salutation of the Sun on first beholding it on Friday mornings by reciting the verse, "*The Brightness* (Behá) *on thine aspect is only from God, O rising Sun! and bear witness unto that which God hath*

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witnessed concerning Himself, that there is no God but Him, the Precious, the Beloved."

The parts of the Beyán and, generally speaking, of the Bábí doctrine, which are least readily understood, are those which treat of the future life. All the Muhammadan conceptions of the Questioning of the Tomb, the Resurrection, the Bridge of Ṣirát, Hell, and Heaven, are allegorically interpreted. The *first* is the summons of the next Manifestation to those who are spiritually dead to believe in Him; the *second* is His appearing, or arising (*Ḳiyámat*); the *third*, the "Bridge which is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword to the unbelievers, but to the believers more spacious than Paradise," is belief in the Prophet of the Age, which is so difficult to the self-willed and obstinate, so easy to those who are really seeking after God. The Fire of Hell is ignorance, denial, and negation. Paradise is the joy of believing in and meeting the Manifestation of God, and attaining to the utmost perfection of which one is capable. Hence the perfection of anything is described as the *Paradise* thereof, as, for instance, in the following passage from Váḥid iv. chapter xi.: "*God, at the time of the revelation of the Beyán, looked at all His creation, and established limits for His creation in whatever station they may stand, so that no soul may be in the least grieved or distressed in the Paradise of the Beyán, but rather He has ordained that everything should be capable (of this), that they should bring that thing to the summit of its perfection, so that it may not be deprived of its Paradise.*" As an instance of what is meant, it is further stated that the Paradise of a text is that it should be written in the most excellent writing, and adorned with gold.

When we come to inquire what the Báb believed and taught about the life after death, we find it hard to give a satisfactory answer. We have seen that he speaks of an "Essential" or "Inner Body," which survives the death of the elementary body, so that it is clear that he believed in some sort of future life; but he does not seem to care to dwell on it, and in one passage says, in speaking of the "Barzakh" (generally understood by the Muhammadans

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somewhat in the sense of the Greek Hades[1]), "*What is intended by Barzakh is merely the interval between two manifestations, and not that (explanation) which is (commonly) known amongst men . . .; for none knoweth what shall be decreed unto them after death except God.*" In another passage he speaks of that Paradise which consists in a knowledge of the Manifestation of God, and the Letters of the One as more glorious than a sensuous Paradise, wherein are "*silken garments, and gold vessels, and excellent meats, and pure wine, and mansions, and ḥúrís.*" It is evident that the Báb wishes his followers to worship God from love of Him, and not in the hope of reward, as he says in Váḥid vii. chapter xix., "*So worship God that if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the Fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor wilt thou be accounted a Unitarian. So also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that; for then you have made God's creation a Partner with Him.*"

Certain passages in the Beyán would tempt us to imagine that the transmigration of souls formed a part of the Báb's belief and teaching, as would certain modes of expression often employed by the Bábís. Yet if you ask them whether they believe in metempsychosis (*tanásukh-i-arwáḥ*), they will answer in the negative, and declare that the doctrine, though superficially resembling this, is in reality otherwise; but that it cannot easily be understood except by those skilled in philosophy.

In the face of this it seems presumptuous to attempt to put forward an explanation of what appears to me to be the doctrine really taught by the Báb, yet, inasmuch as the subject is too important to be passed over, I feel bound to state the opinion I have been led to form on it from a careful consideration of the various passages bearing on the matter in the Beyán, only premising that I do not presume to dogmatize on this point.

[1] See Sale's *Koran*, p. 261, note.

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First of all, I must make a distinction between "Individuality" and "Personality." The former is the real, essential, and permanent part of a man; the latter, the temporary peculiarities which condition him in a particular state. To make the meaning of this clearer, let us take the favourite Bábí metaphor of the "Letters." The forms of these exist in the mind in unseen types which cannot be destroyed. They likewise have endless external "manifestations," which are transitory and perishable, and which show forth more or less clearly their original archetype. For instance, the essential character of the letter *Alif*, whereby it is known and individualized, is a straight vertical stroke of the height of five dots (*nukṭas*). This form can be written again and again, more or less perfectly. When it is written quite perfectly, it completely corresponds with its ideal archetype, and this is its Paradise. Particular written *alifs* may be destroyed, but only their "personality" is destroyed; their individuality returns to the archetypal *Alif*, and their essential part will manifest itself again and again in the world of writing (the External World) as occasion requires. It is in this sense that one may pick out all the *alifs* in a page of writing and say that they are the same letter: they are the same as regards individuality, but different in their accidental conditions, such as size, position, and perfection of form. It is the same with men. Just as we may write an alif on a piece of paper, and then tear it up and destroy it, and write another, and say, "Alif has been written again," or "has returned;" so also we may say, "Huseyn has returned in Mír-á 'Alí Muhammad," for both are manifestations in different *mazhars* (places of manifestation) of the same Divine "Letter."

This, I think, is the real sense of passages like the 6th Chapter of the first Váḥid, where it is written, "*Huseyn has returned to the life of the world with all who believed in him,*" or like the following passage from Váḥid iv. chapter v.: "*Those who hold ta'ziyas*[1] *and weep and lament over the*

[1] *Ta'ziyas* are the representations of the adventures and misfortunes of the Imáms, etc., held during the month of Muharram, and especially during the first

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misfortunes of the first promulgators of Islám, nevertheless imprisoned and oppressed that same person whom they lament, and the learned gave decisions (fatwás) against him."

It is this manner of speaking which has led the Muhammadans to assert that the Bábís believed in transmigration, and that the reason they met death so fearlessly was their conviction that after forty days they would come to life again.[1]

I must now conclude this necessarily imperfect consideration of the doctrine of the Báb to pass on to the subsequent developments of it by Behá and others. I do so with regret, for who can fail to be attracted by the gentle spirit of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad? His sorrowful and persecuted life; his purity of conduct, and youth; his courage and uncomplaining patience under misfortune; his complete self-negation; the dim ideal of a better state of things which can be discerned through the obscure and mystic utterances of the Beyán; but most of all his tragic death, all serve to enlist our sympathies on behalf of the young prophet of Shíráz. The irresistible charm which won him such devotion during his life still lives on, and still continues to influence the minds of the Persian people. The majority of the Bábís of to-day may regard Behá as "Him whom God shall manifest," and Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad merely as his forerunner; yet it is with loving thoughts that they dwell on the memory of the latter. Often they apply to him these lines from an old Persian song:[2]

ten days thereof, by the Shí'ites. They reach their culminating point in the tragedy of the death of Huseyn and his adherents, cut off from water, and hemmed in by foes on the arid plain of Kerbelá. My guide from Bálfurúsh to the Tomb of Sheykh Ṭabarsí informed me that, following out the parallel suggested by the Báb, his followers, who make pilgrimages to those places where the earliest sufferings of the Bábís took place, call the river Bábul, which flows through Bálfurúsh, the "Euphrates," and Sheykh Ṭabarsí "Kerbelá." In the same spirit are the following lines, which form the concluding stanza of a Bábí poem of the authorship of which I am uncertain:

"*Shuhadd-yi-ṭal'at-i-ndr-i-man!*	*Bi-dawid sú-yi-diydr-i-man!*
Sar ú ján kunid nisdr-i-man!	*Ki man-am Shahinshah-i-Karbalá.*"
"Ye who have seen my form of flame!	Haste to the land from whence I came!
Shed your blood for my holy name,	For I am the monarch of Kerbelá."

[1] Cf. Gobineau, *op. cit.* p. 330.

[2] I have often asked who was the author of these verses, and have generally been informed that they were Sa'dí's, but I have not succeeded in finding them in his published writings.

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"Shíráz pur ghawghá[1] *shavad; shakkar-labí peydá shavad;*
Tarsam kaz áshúb-i-labash bar-ham zanad Baghdád-rá."

"Shíráz shall become full of tumult; one shall appear with lips like sugar;
I am afraid that by the disturbance of his lips he may throw Baghdad into confusion."

Or, by a slight modification of a couplet of the poet 'Iráḳí, they will express their sense of the injustice of the sentence of death pronounced and carried out against their hero:

"Dar kudám maẓhab-ast in? dar kudám millat-ast in?
Ki kushand dilbarí-rá ki, 'tú dilrubá chirá'í?'"

"In what sect is this (lawful)? In what religion is this (lawful)?
That they should kill a charmer of hearts (saying), 'Why art thou a stealer of hearts?'"

Turning from the Báb, there is another figure amongst those who took part in this sad drama which irresistibly commands our attention. I mean the beautiful and accomplished Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, the heroine, poetess, nay, almost the prophetess, of the new faith, distinguished by the title of "*Jenáb-i-Ṭáhiré*," "Her Excellence the Pure." Anxious as I was to obtain some of her poems, I only met with a very limited amount of success. None of the Bábís at Shíráz whom I conversed with had any in their possession, and they said that Ḳazvín and Hamadán, where Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn had preached, and Teherán, where she had suffered martyrdom, would be the most likely places to obtain them. However, at Yezd I saw copies of two short poems (*ghazals*) attributed to her authorship. Both of these are in the same metre (*kámil*), and have the same rhyme; and of each of them I obtained a copy for myself. I wrote to one of my friends at Shíráz, and asked his opinion on their authenticity. He replied that one of them, beginning

"Lama'átu wajhika ashraḳat, wa shi'á'u ṭal'atika''tilá:
Zi ché rú 'Alasta bi-Rabbikum?' *na-zaní? Bi-zan ki* 'Balá! Balá!'"

[1] Pronounced *ḳawgá*.

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was not by Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, but by a Súfí poet called Ṣuḥbat, of Lár. Although I have on several occasions heard the latter spoken of by dervishes and others in Persia with the highest approbation, I have neither been able to obtain his works, nor to discover any particulars about him; for he is not mentioned in any of the Biographies of Poets (*Taẓkirés*) which I have been able to consult, not even in the *Riyáẓu'l-'Arifín* of the learned *Riẓá-Ḳuli Khán*, published a year or two ago at Teherán.

The second poem attributed to Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, beginning,

"*Jadhabátu shawḳika aljamat bi-salásili'l-gham wa'l-balá*
Hama 'áshiḳán-i-shikasté-dil, ki dihand ján bi-rah-i-walá,"

was thought by my friend, and pronounced with certainty by others, to be undoubtedly the work of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn.

In a small work on Persian grammar called *Tanbíhu'l-Aṭfál*, composed by Hájí Mírzá Huseyn Khán, Persian Consul at Trebizonde, and printed at Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1881), the first verse of the first of these two poems, which I have quoted above, is cited as an example, and its author is stated to be the above-mentioned Ṣuḥbat (Mullá Muhammad Báḳir) of Lár. Further on in the same work a verse occurring in the second poem is quoted, and attributed to Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Karím, whose takhallus was Símá. Although these poems, especially the first, can only be referred very doubtfully to the authorship of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, it must be borne in mind that the odium which attaches to the name of Bábí amongst Persian Muhammadans would render impossible the recitation by them of verses confessedly composed by her. If, therefore, she were actually the authoress of poems, the grace and beauty of which compelled an involuntary admiration even from her enemies, it would seem extremely probable that they should seek to justify their right to admire them by attributing them to some other writer, and this view is supported by an assertion which I have heard made by a learned Persian with whom I was acquainted in Teherán, and who, though not actually a Bábí, did not lack a certain amount of

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sympathy for those who were such, to the effect that many poems written by Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn were amongst the favourite songs of the people, who were for the most part unaware of their authorship. Open allusions to the Báb had, of course, been cut out or altered, so that no one could tell the source from whence they came.

Without pretending to assert positively, then, that either of these two poems is by Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn, I venture to give a translation of the second of them, which I have attempted to versify in imitation of the original metre, so as to afford a better idea of its style than could be given by a literal rendering in prose. In this I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the sense of the original, even though the English may have suffered thereby. I have chosen the second rather than the first poem, because there is a stronger consensus of opinion in favour of its being the work of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn. The text of the poem will be found appended at the end of the paper.

TRANSLATION OF THE POEM BEGINNING "*Jadhabátu shawḳika aljamat,*" etc.

The thralls of yearning love constrain in the bonds of pain and calamity
These broken-hearted lovers of thine to yield their lives in their zeal for thee.
Though with sword in hand my Darling stand with intent to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content with his tyranny.
As in sleep I lay at the break of day that cruel Charmer came to me,
And in the grace of his form and face the dawn of the morn I seemed to see.
The musk of Cathay might perfume gain from the scent those fragrant tresses rain,
While his eyes demolish a faith in vain attacked by the pagans of Tartary.

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With you who contemn both love and wine for the hermit's cell and the zealot's shrine,
What can I do? for our faith divine you hold as a thing of infamy?
The tangled curls of thy darling's hair, and thy saddle and steed are thy only care,
In thy heart the Absolute hath no share, nor the thought of the poor man's poverty.
Sikandar's pomp and display be thine, the Ḳalandar's habit and way be mine,
That, if it please thee, I resign, while this, though bad, is enough for me.
The country of "I" and "We" forsake; thy home in Annihilation make,
Since fearing not this step to take, thou shalt gain the highest Felicity.

Besides these poems, I have a copy of a Maṡnaví of about 570 couplets in the same metre as the Maṡnaví of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí (*Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maḥẕúf*) attributed to Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn. That this latter is a Bábí poem I have no doubt, but I have not yet had time to examine it carefully with a view to determining whether it may not be a later production in praise of Behá rather than the Báb. For this reason, and also on account of its length, I leave it for future consideration.

One more document of great interest which belongs to this earlier period of Bábíism deserves notice, since it affords us an insight into the limitless self-sacrifice and devotion which is so remarkable in the disciples of the Báb. It is a letter written by Áḳá Muhammad 'Alí of Tabríz to his elder brother on the night before he suffered death with his Master, and the text of it has been preserved for us by the Bábí historian, and will be found appended at the end of the paper. It appears that the relatives of Áḳá Muhammad 'Alí occupied a good position in Tabríz, and as they did not believe in the Bábí doctrines, they were extremely anxious to persuade him to save himself from death by a recantation.

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This letter, of which I here give a translation, seems to have been written in answer to a last appeal of this sort from the brother of the writer. It runs as follows:

"He is the Compassionate.

O thou who art my Ḳibla![1] My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and 'to every difficulty succeedeth ease.' You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter; nay, rather we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O! what happiness is this! The will of God will come to pass with regard to his servants, neither can human plans avert the Divine decree. What God wills comes to pass, and there is no power and no strength, but in God. O thou who art my Ḳibla! the end of the world is death: 'every soul tastes of death.' If the appointed fate which God (mighty and glorious is He) hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor: behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy, or contrary to the respect due from juniors: and seek pardon for me from all those of my household, and commit me to God. God is my portion, and how good is He as a guardian!"

This letter, which bears every mark of genuineness, attracts us as much by its simplicity of style and lack of those epistolary ornaments to which we are accustomed, as by the spirit of courage and resignation which breathes in every line. I, for my part, cannot read it unmoved; for I feel myself face to face with one whose unwavering faith has robbed death of its terrors, and whose care is less for himself than for the helpless little ones he leaves behind.

[1] *Ḳibla*, as is well known, is the name given by the Muhammadans to the point towards which one turns in prayer, such as Mecca, in the case of the Muslims, and Jerusalem in the case of the Jews. The Persian form, *Ḳibla-gáh* (lit. "Ḳibla-place") is often used in letters to relations older than oneself as a title of respect.

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THIRD PERIOD. WRITINGS OF THE INTERVAL WHICH INTERVENED BETWEEN THE DEATH OF THE BÁB AND THE CLAIM OF BEHÁ TO BE "HE WHOM GOD SHALL MANIFEST" (A.D. 1850–1867).

I now turn from the writings of the Báb and his contemporaries to those of his successors. In considering the latter in connection with the later history of the sect, we perceive the necessity of carefully distinguishing three distinct classes. *Firstly*, there are the writings of Mírzá Yaḥyá (*Haẓrat-i-Ezel*), which might be further divided into those written in Baghdad before Behá put forward his claim, while their author still enjoyed the undivided allegiance of all the Bábís, and those composed subsequently to the schism, in Cyprus. Considering the very limited number of these writings at present available, it seems unnecessary to observe this distinction, and I shall therefore include them all in one class. *Secondly*, there are the writings of Behá during the period which preceded his claim to supremacy; and *thirdly*, those of that which succeeded it. The first and second of these classes, which we may call "writings of the Interval," I shall consider here, leaving the third class till the end.

I. *Writings of Mírzá Yaḥyá (Haẓrat-i-Ezel).*

These need not detain us long. I have already stated that I met very few Ezelís in Persia, and that I was unable to obtain any of Mírzá Yaḥyá's works, which are of course accounted as worse than worthless by the Behá'ís, *i.e.* by the vast majority of the Bábís. Gobineau says (*op. cit.* p. 312), "His Highness the Eternal" (*i.e.* Haẓrat i-Ezel) "has also composed a certain number of works; amongst these, that which is most appreciated by the Bábís is the *Book of Light.*" Although I several times heard mention of this "Book of Light" (*Kitábu'n-Núr*) amongst the Bábís, I never succeeded in seeing it, or obtaining any information about its contents. The lacuna thus left in my knowledge caused me much regret until recently, when my attention was drawn to an excellent

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article in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887 (viii. série, vol. x.), by M. Clément Huart, which contains a description of three Bábí MSS. which had come under the writer's observation.

The first of these M. Huart identifies with the "Book of Light" described by Gobineau, and indeed the title of it, which he quotes, seems to establish this identity with certainty. There appears, however, to be some discrepancy between the size of this small MS. of 63 pages each comprising 19 lines, and that of the thick folio work described as the "Book of Light" by Gobineau. It is unfortunate that M. Huart subsequently terms this same work the "Ḳur'án of the Báb," and describes it as the "fundamental work of the new doctrine, concerning which its author said to the 'ulamá of Shíráz, 'Take my Ḳur'án, and compare it with that of your prophet, and you will be convinced that mine is more eloquently written than yours, and that my belief is preferable to the religion of Muhammad.'" For first of all, the term "Ḳur'án of the Báb," or "Bábí Ḳur'án,"[1] is open to objection. It is only used loosely in the sense of "the sacred book of the Bábís," just as we might call one of them the "Bábí Bible." For each one of them the Bábís have a special name: Beyán, Íḳán, or Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas, etc., as the case may be; it is only the Muhammadans, who do not know one from the other and have no knowledge of their contents, who call them generically the "Ḳur'án of the Bábís." Furthermore, the indiscriminate manner in which this term is applied to any of the Bábí books of doctrine has resulted in no little confusion. Thus, for instance, the copy of the "Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf" in the British Museum is lettered "Bábí Ḳur'án," while a work which appears to be one of the two Arabic Beyáns is described by Dorn by the same title. To apply this name to the "Book of Light" also, is to increase unnecessarily this confusion. Secondly, the latter was not

[1] I regret to say that I myself made use of this term in my first paper, thereby adding to the confusion which I here deplore. What I meant by using it was that if the chief work of the Bábís of to-day (*i.e.* the Behá'ís) were to be described as their *Ḳur'án*, then the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* was most worthy of this title.

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composed by the Báb at all, nor, so far as we know, was it put forward by its author, who is clearly proved by M. Huart to be Mírzá Yaḥyá, as a rival to the Ḳur'án; neither is it at all likely that Mírzá Yaḥyá visited Shíráz at any period of his life. M. Huart, however, corrects Dorn's mistake, and identifies the work described by him as one of the Beyáns.[1]

The second work described by M. Huart comprises 26 chapters called *Rúḥ* (spirit), each of which, with the exception of the 22nd and 24th, has a special title. M. Huart shows that these too are the work of Haẓrat-i-Ezel.

The third volume contains a number of letters (*alwáḥ*) written by Haẓrat-i-Ezel to his disciples and followers, as is explicitly stated at the commencement of one, the text of which is published, with a translation, by M. Huart, who adds that "others emanate from certain personages designated by conventional formulæ, whom it would only be possible to indicate more clearly if one were in possession of the entire key to these denominations." Three of the latter are quoted, viz. *Al-wajh* ("The Face"), *Beyánu'l-'adl* ("The Explanation of Justice"), and *Shajaratu'l-'Amá*, which M. Huart translates "The Tree of Blindness" ("*L'Arbre de l'aveuglement*"), but which I should rather render by "The tree of the (Divine) Mystery."[2] I would merely suggest as a conjecture that all these terms may indicate the same person, viz. Haẓrat-i-Ezel,[3] just as the Báb has several titles such as *Nuḳṭa-i-Beyán*, *Nuḳṭa-i-U'lá*, *Haẓrat-i-A'lá*, etc. It is true that all the "letters of the Living" enjoyed similar titles,

[1] *Journal Asiatique* (1887), viii. série, vol. x. p. 135, note 2.

[2] The word 'Amá is used in this sense by the Ṣúfís commonly. See Jorjání's "Definitions," ed. Flügel, p. 163, where it is defined as "the degree of primal unity" (*martabatu'l-aḥadiyyat*), by which is generally understood by Ṣúfí writers that degree or plane wherein God is regarded as one absolutely, not relatively to plurality; and where plurality is not even potential, as it is in the "Degree of Unity" (*Martabatu'l-Wáḥidiyyat*), where the "Fixed Exemplars" (*A'yán-i-Thábita*) are existent in the mind of God. The first is the "Station of the Essence" (*Maḳám-i-Ẕát*); the second the "Station of the Attributes" (*Maḳám-i-Ṣifát*). For this sense of *'Amá* consult also Lane's Arabic English Lexicon, s.v. *'Amá*, book i. part v. p. 2161, where the tradition from which this use of it is borrowed is discussed.

[3] Or perhaps Behá may be intended by one of these titles, since he calls himself *Al-wajh* (the Face) in several passages of his writings. See below, pp. 967, 969.

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but their relative inferiority to the chief of the sect is generally marked by the prefix being *Jenáb* instead of *Hazrat*; *e.g.* Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn is called *Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira*; Mullá Huseyn of Bushrawyh *Jenáb-i-Bábu'l-Báb*; Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí is *Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús*; and similarly we read of *Jenáb-i-Muḳaddas* in the Bábí history, and Gobineau speaks of Mírzá Asadu'lláh of Tabríz surnamed *Deyyán*. In short it would appear as though names indicating the *Divine Essence* were originally bestowed only on the chief of the sect, while those given to the other members of the "Unity" indicated only the *Attributes*. For these reasons it appears to me probable that Mírzá Yaḥyá (Hazrat-i-Ezel) is the author of all the letters described by M. Huart. As I can add nothing more about the Ezelí writings, I will pass on to those of Behá, referring those who desire fuller information to M. Huart's valuable article, which fills a most important gap in our knowledge of the Bábí literature. M. Huart holds out some hopes of publishing these MSS., at any rate in part, and it is greatly to be hoped that he may carry out this intention.

II. *Writings of Behá during the 'Interval.'*

Although I have already described the state of affairs amongst the Bábís during the period which separated the death of the Báb from the claim of Behá to be "He whom God shall manifest," I think that it may not be amiss to quote in translation that part of the article on the Bábís in the Arabic Encyclopædia called *Dá'iratu'l-Ma'árif* which sums it up in a few well-chosen words. After relating the martyrdom of the Báb and the fierce persecution of his followers in A.D. 1852, the article proceeds as follows:

"Now this man (*i.e.* the Báb) had hinted in some of his writings that he who should succeed him after his death was a youth amongst his disciples named Yaḥyá, and entitled *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* ("The Morning of Eternity").[1] And when the severities of the Sháh against them occurred, and he pur-

[1] See Appendix II. § 2.

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sued them with slaughter in all places, many of them fled to Baghdad in the territory of the Sublime State (*i.e.* the Ottoman Government). And of those who came out (from Persia) thus, were Yaḥyá, 'Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel,' and his elder brother named Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí and entitled 'Behá.' And Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel hid himself from the eyes of men at the command of his brother, and his brother pretended that he (*i.e.* Mírzá Yaḥyá) was present amongst men, but that they did not behold him because their eyes were not fit to look upon him. And when it fell out that the Sublime State (the Ottoman Government) and the State of the Sháh (Persia) agreed to expel them from Baghdad, and the Government transferred them to Adrianople, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel came forth and showed himself unto men, exercising the authority of vicegerency, and inviting (men) unto the religion of his master, the Seyyíd 'Alí (Muhammad, *i.e.* the Báb). And his brother envied him, and repudiated him, and asserted that he was Antichrist, and a schism occurred between them, and (their) followers were separated into two parties: one party followed Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, and the other Behá, and the former are called 'Ezelís,' and the latter 'Behá'ís,' while 'Bábís' is a term for both in common. And after a while the Sublime State (the Ottoman Government) perceived evil designs in them, and detected mischief amongst them, so it exiled Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel to the island of Cyprus, and there he died.[1] And Behá it exiled to 'Akká (Acre), where he is now, with a number of his followers."

This account entirely agrees with what I have heard from the Bábís of the relative positions of Behá and Ezel at Baghdad. The latter remained for the most part secluded from the eyes of men, while the business of interviewing disciples and inquirers and carrying on correspondence with the Bábís in Persia was chiefly undertaken by Behá, although at this time he acted merely on behalf of Ezel. Indeed, it would appear that even at this time he was regarded by the enemies of the Bábís as the chief of the sect,

[1] This is a mistake. See Appendix II. § 2.

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and that consequently it was against him that their proceedings were chiefly directed. It is not easy to form a clear idea of the light in which he regarded himself while thus acting in the name of the nominal chief, Ezel; to do this it will be necessary to collect and study his earlier letters and writings, if such can be found. For the present I shall only notice his chief work during the period of the 'Interval,' about the date of the composition of which there is no doubt. This is the *I'ḳán* (Assurance) of which I spoke in my last paper, and which I described as a proof of the truth of the Bábí doctrines and the divine inspiration of their Founder, supported by arguments drawn from the Pentateuch, Gospel, Ḳur'án, and Traditions. Of its contents it is unnecessary for me to speak more fully at present, *firstly* because I included the general purport of its argument in a former paragraph while discussing the work called *Dalá'il-i-Sab'a* (The Seven Proofs); *secondly*, because Baron Rosen has already published a detailed account of it, with copious extracts, to which I refer those who desire fuller information.[1] Beyond repeating that it is composed in Persian, and is eagerly read and highly esteemed by the Bábís, I will only notice the following points about it:—

(1) Except a small tract in Persian called *Muḏuniyyat* (Civilization), which does not deal directly with religious questions, the *I'ḳán* is, so far as I am aware, the only one of their books which the Bábís have published. It was lithographed, I think in India, and much care was bestowed on its execution. It is not sold openly, all copies being in the hands of influential Bábís, who give them away to those who desire them and can be trusted with them. Manuscripts of the work are also commonly met with; Baron Rosen states that he possesses a copy, besides the one which exists in the Library of the Institut des Langues Orientales at St. Petersburg; another is to be found amongst the MSS. of the British Museum, numbered Or. 3116; and I have already stated that the first Bábí book which I

[1] *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, vol. iii. Manuscrits Persans*, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 33–51.

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succeeded in obtaining in Persia was a MS. of this work. Almost every Bábí who possesses any books at all has a copy of it, and from its pages their arguments are for the most part drawn.

(2) The date of its composition is thus mentioned in the body of the text: "*Hál hazár ú divist ú haftád* (*ú*) *hasht sené az zuhúr-i-Nuḳṭa-i-Furḳán guzasht, va jamí'-i-ín hamaj-i-ra'á' dar har ṣabáḥ talávat-i-Ḳur'án namúdé-and, va hanúz bi-ḥarfí az maḳsúd-i-án fá'iz na-shudé . . .*" "One thousand two hundred and seventy-eight years have passed since the manifestation of the 'Point of the Furḳán' (*i.e.* Muhammad, who is so called in correspondence with the title 'Point of the Beyán' applied to the Báb), and all of these worthless wretches have read the Ḳur'án every morning, and have not yet attained to a single letter of the purport thereof." It will be remembered that the Báb is very fond of dating not from the *hijra*, but from the *bi'ṣat* (mission) of Muhammad,[1] which he places ten years earlier; and this fact might make us uncertain whether the same method may not be employed in this passage, and the year A.H. 1268 (A.D. 1852) be intended rather than the year A.H. 1278 (A.D. 1861–62). We have, however, no reason for supposing that Behá imitated the Báb in this; and since A.H. 1268 was the year of the attempt on the Sháh's life, and the great persecution of the Bábís which resulted therefrom, and since, moreover, during the last three or four months of it, Behá was confined in prison at Teherán, and the exodus of the Bábís from Persia to Baghdad did not occur till A.H. 1269 (A.D. 1853), while in the Íḳán Baghdad is referred to in at least two passages as being the head-quarters of the chief of the sect, it seems quite certain that it was in A.H. 1278, and not in A.H. 1268, that the latter work was composed.

(3) The conclusion of the book is important as casting a certain amount of light on the relations of its author, Behá, with other members of the sect at this period. Six pages from the end an appeal is made to the "'Ulamá of the

[1] Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XXI. p. 507.

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Beyán" not to behave like the Muhammadans, and to refrain from persecuting and rejecting the promised "Mustaghás," whose advent they are expecting, when he appears. After repeating the same injunction in other words on the following page, the author proceeds to speak briefly of the hostility shown towards himself (whom he denotes as *in 'abd*, "this servant") by some of the Bábís, adding these words: "*Bá in-ki bá aḥadí dar amrí iftikhár na-namúdam, va ba-nafsí bartarí na-justam; ma' har nafsí muṣáḥibí búdam dar niháyat-i-mihrbání, va bi-ghayat burdbár ú ráyagán, va bá fuḳará miṯl-i-fuḳará búdam, va bá 'ulamá va 'uzamá dar kamál-i-taslím ú riżá,*" "Although I never exalted myself over any one in any matter, nor sought for authority over any one; I associated with every one with the utmost affection, and (was) extremely patient and accessible, and with the poor was as the poor, and with the learned and great (I was) perfectly submissive and contented." He then declares that all the cruelty and tyranny of his open foes is far easier to bear than the envy and malice of pretended friends, and proceeds to describe how, on his "first arrival in this land" (*i.e.* Baghdad) he withdrew for two years into the wilderness by himself,[1] intending to remain there all his life, since his only desire was to avoid being a cause of dissension and strife amongst the believers. His reason for altering this resolution was that "the order to return emanated from the source of command,"[2] which clearly shows us that at this date (A.D. 1861–1862) Behá still recognized Ezel as his chief, and submitted to his authority, at least nominally. After declaring that "the pen is powerless to portray" what he has experienced since his return to Baghdad, and that for two years his enemies have been

[1] We learn from Nabíl's chronological poem that Behá arrived at Baghdad when he was 37 years old, *i.e.* in A.H. 1270 (since he was born in A.H. 1233), and that when he was 38 years old (*i.e.* in A.H. 1271 = A.D. 1854–55) he "withdrew from mankind" (*ghaybat az khalk namúd*) until he was 40, when he returned to *Zawrá* (*i.e.* Baghdad). This is evidently the "four years of retirement" here alluded to. His return therefore occurred in A.H. 1273 (A.D. 1856–57), five years before the publication of the Íḳán.

[2] In the original "*az maṣdar-i-amr ḥukm-i-rujú' ṣádir shud, va lá budd taslím namúdam va ráji' shudam.*"

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seeking to destroy him, while assistance and sympathy were withheld by those from whom he had the best right to expect such, he adds that, were it not that he is not only ready but anxious to yield up his life "in the way of the Nukṭa" (*i.e.* the Báb), he would assuredly not remain in Baghdad for a single moment. Although these details which Behá gives us about himself in the Íḳán only occupy a few paragraphs, they are sufficient to enable us to form a fairly clear idea of his position at the time he wrote it, which is the more valuable because we know precisely the date of its composition. To recapitulate briefly the most important facts which we learn from them: Behá at this time admitted the supremacy of Ezel, and arrogated to himself no superiority over his comrades, but at the same time he appears to have aroused the envy and hostility of some of the latter, besides having attracted the special attention of the enemies of the new religion. The latter facts may suggest to us the question whether Behá did not even at this time really occupy a more prominent position then his own words would seem to imply; while the repeated exhortation to the "people of the Beyán" not to reject the promised Mustaghás when he appeared renders the supposition that he already contemplated the idea of putting forward this claim himself not wholly improbable.

(4) The colophon with which the Íḳán closes deserves notice. It runs as follows: "*Al-munzalu min al-Bá wa 'l-Há, wa's-salámu 'alá man sami'a naghmata 'l-warḳá fí sidrati 'l-muntahá fa-subḥána Rabbaná 'l-A'lá,*" "Revealed from the B. and the H." (*i.e.* Behá) "and peace (be) upon whomsoever heareth the song of the dove on the 'lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,'[1] and glory (be) to our Lord the Most High."

The expression *munzal* ("revealed," "sent down") is remarkable, since we have seen that Behá at this date asserted that he "claimed no authority over any one," which statement could scarcely be put forward if he intended the work

[1] See Ḳur'án liii. (Súratu'n-najm), v. 14, and Sale's translation, p. 390, note.

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in which it occurs to be regarded in the light of a revelation. I therefore think it most probable that the colophon was added at a later date, after Behá's claim had been put forward and accepted by the majority of the Bábís, and when all his writings (including, probably, those composed at a date previous to this claim) were regarded by his followers as inspired. The point can only be settled definitely when a copy of the Íḳán written previously to this date (*i.e.* before A.H. 1283, A.D. 1866–67) can be obtained and examined. The British Museum MS. ends with the same colophon, except that *al-manzúl* is written instead of *al-munzal.*

To these remarks on the Íḳán I will only add that it is a work of great merit, vigorous in style, clear in argument, cogent in proof, and displaying no slight knowledge of the Bible, Ḳur'án, and Traditions on the part of the writer. It fully deserves the high estimation in which it is held by the Bábís.

Fourth Period. Writings of Behá composed after his claim to be "He whom God shall manifest."

In the year A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866–67), two years after the transference of the Bábís from Baghdad to Adrianople, Behá, then in his fiftieth year, openly declared his divine mission, and called upon all the Bábís, including Ezel, to acknowledge the same. From this point dates the schism which to this day divides the Bábís into Behá'ís and Ezelis, and henceforth the writings of Behá breathe a spirit altogether different from that which pervades the Íḳán.

The works of the Báb are, as has been already shown, voluminous though not very numerous. The Persian Beyán and the Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, as well as the longer Arabic Beyán, are books of considerable bulk. On the other hand, the total number of separate treatises composed by him (at least of those with which we are at present acquainted) does not exceed, even if it reaches, a dozen.

Of the works of Behá exactly the opposite may be said. They consist of numerous letters and treatises, all, so far as I know, of comparative brevity, the longest and most com-

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plete being the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* which I shall discuss shortly. All letters emanating from Behá are regarded as revelations by his followers, who carefully preserve and diligently copy them. In my last paper I described how the Bábí couriers visit Persia yearly, bearing with them a number of these *alwáḥ* (epistles) addressed to believers in the different towns. To receive one of these, even of only a few lines, is accounted a very great honour: the favoured recipient exhibits the treasured scrap of paper to his friends and co-religionists, who, after kissing it, and placing their foreheads on it, proceed eagerly to peruse it, and, if possible, obtain leave from the owner to take a copy of it for themselves. The number of these *alwáḥ* is therefore practically unlimited, and collections of them frequently occur amongst Bábí MSS.[1]

As these generally consist only of a few words of encouragement and exhortation, and as, without a knowledge of the circumstances and date of their composition and of the persons to whom they were addressed (which knowledge could scarcely be obtained otherwise than by careful inquiries amongst the Bábís at Acre) little can be deduced from them, I shall at present limit myself to a consideration of a few of the longer and more important treatises and epistles of Behá, and for the purpose of illustration shall choose for discussion the *Lawḥ-i-Naṣír*, which appears to be the earliest of his writings wherein he distinctly and uncompromisingly puts forward his claims; the *Alwáḥ-i-Salátín* (Letters of the Kings), wherein he summons the rulers of various countries to believe in him and accept his religion; and the *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas*, which, containing as it does in a codified form the prescriptions of the new faith as revised and remodelled by Behá, is the most important of all.

1. *The 'Lawḥ-i-Naṣír.'*

This is an epistle of 73 pages of small size, addressed to some Bábí called Naṣír, who appears to have been favourably

[1] One such collection occurs in the British Museum MS. marked Or. 3114, and another at the end of Or. 3116, the first part of which contains the *Íḳán*.

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disposed towards Behá, but to have had some difficulties in admitting the claims then recently advanced by the latter. These difficulties he had apparently set forth in a letter, to which this is a reply. A copy of this I obtained at Kirmán by the advice and through the kindness of some of my Bábí friends there, who considered it as an important document which I ought to possess. I know of no other copy in Europe. It is for the most part written in Persian, with occasional passages in Arabic. I shall confine myself to noticing briefly some of the more important points in it.

After the exordium, the letter proper commences thus: "*Ey Naṣír! Ey 'abd-i-man!*" "O Naṣír! O my servant." This mode of address already marks a great change from the tone adopted by Behá in the Ḳúr'án, where he declares that he "never sought supremacy over any one." A little further on he proceeds, "*Námé-i-tú bi-maḳarr-i-ḳuds várid ámad,*" "Thy letter arrived at the Place of Holiness;" and shortly after he says, "*Báb-i-faẓl maftúḥ, va tú ma'múr bi-dukhúl,*" "The door of grace is open, and thou art commanded to enter."

That this letter was addressed to one named Naṣír appears from the above, and two or three other passages where the name of Behá's correspondent is mentioned. That it was written by Behá is also evident, apart from the style and substance of the document, from two passages, one of which begins, "*Lá fa-wa-nafsiya 'l-Behá!*" "No, by myself the Behá!" and the other of which runs as follows: "*Wa law yaḳúmu aḥadun 'alá ḥubbi-'l-Behá fí arḍhi 'l-inshá wa yuḥáribu ma'ahu kulla man fi'l-arḍhi wa's-semá la-yughlibuhu 'lláhu* if any one understood the love of Behá in the earth of "And *'aleyhim idhháran li-ḳudratihi, wa ibrázan li-salṭanatihi,*" creation, and were to fight on his side against all who are in the earth and the heavens, God would verily make him victorious over them, as a showing forth of His power, and a setting forth of His majesty."

That the letter was composed *after* Behá had put forward his claim is also manifest not only from the passages I have quoted, but from many others, and indeed from the whole

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tenour of the letter. That it was written *shortly after this* is also evident from the strong opposition to his claims by the majority of the "people of the Beyán" (*i.e.* the Bábís) of which Behá complains, and for which he censures them, which opposition appears rapidly to have subsided until his rival, Ezel, only retained a mere handful of followers. In only one passage is anything approaching a definite date given, and in it Behá speaks thus:—"O people of the Beyán! have you not considered that for *twenty years* he"—(Behá is here speaking of himself in the third person)—"has stood up by himself against the enemies? Many are the nights when all were sleeping at ease on their beds, while this Beauty of Primal Unity (*Jemál-i-Aḥadiyyat*) was standing up openly against the unbelievers (*mushrikín*), and many the days when the Beauty of Glory and Dignity (*Jemál-i-'izz ú tamkín*) was evident and resplendent and obvious amongst the unbelievers, while ye kept yourselves preserved and concealed in hiding-places, fearing for yourselves." Now Behá must have been one of the first to believe in the Báb: we learn from the Bábí history that he was amongst those who met the latter at a place called Khánlik near Teherán as he was being conveyed to Tabríz from Isfahán, which was in the year A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847). As we have seen, Behá's claim was put forward in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866-67), *exactly twenty years later*. From this we may fairly assume that the Lawḥ-i-Naṣír was written very soon after that event, probably in the same year, which conclusion agrees with the statement made to me by the Bábís at Kirmán.

It remains for me to notice the nature of the claim therein set forth, which is of the utmost possible magnitude, and stated in the most uncompromising manner, though differently expressed in different passages. These differences, however, are only of aspect, depending on the Bábí views concerning the unity of the essential principle which speaks through all the prophets. Thus in one passage Behá says, "*Kull-i-kutub-i-samaví bi-lisán-i-jalíl-i-ḳudrat názil farmúdam*"—"I revealed all the heavenly books by the glorious tongue" (or, 'in the glorious language') "of (Divine) Might." In

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another place he calls himself "*Malik-i-Ṣifát*," "The Lord of the Attributes" (meaning thereby that he is the Divine Essence made manifest), and reproves those who are "veiled by the Names" from the Essence, mentioning especially one (probably Mírzá Yaḥyá, "Haẓrat-i-Ezel") whom he calls "a Name amongst my Names,[1] whom I created by a single letter, and to whom I gave life by a single breath," and who nevertheless "arose in war against" his "Beauty." In other passages, again, he declares that he is the *Nuḳṭa-i-U'lá* ("The First Point," *i.e.* the Báb) returned again, and this manner of speaking he carries so far as to talk of the execution of the Báb at Tabríz as one of his own experiences, as in the following remarkable passage:

"It hath been witnessed what an amount of cruelty and perversity was shown by the people of error, so that none can reckon it but God: until at length they suspended my glorious body in the air, and wounded it with the bullets of malice and hatred, until my spirit returned to the Supreme Companion (*Rafíḳ-i-A'lá*), and gazed on the Most Beauteous Garment (*Ḳamiṣ-i-Abhá*). And not one reflected wherefore it was that I accepted this injury from my own servants, for, had they reflected, they would not have remained veiled from my Beauty in my second manifestation by reason of a Name amongst my Names." Again, in another passage, he says, "In the *Beyán* I admonished all in the language of power." Other similar sayings might be quoted, but I think these are sufficient to establish this point.

Many valuable pieces of information can be gleaned from this epistle, since it is less formal and didactic than Behá's later writings. Thus he quotes several passages from the Báb's works, and mentions some of the latter by name, distinctly stating, for example, that the names *Aḥsanu'l-Ḳiṣaṣ* and *Ḳayyúm-i-Asmá* apply to the same book. As the

[1] I need hardly repeat that the 18 "Letters of the Living" which constituted, with the "Point," the Bábí hierarchy, and amongst whom Ezel was included, were regarded as incarnations, or "manifestations," of the chief Attributes or "Names" of God, while the "Point" was a manifestation of the Essence. Behá claims to be the "Point," and complains that one of his own "Names" should attempt to conceal him.

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former of these terms is that whereby the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf* is generally denoted amongst the Bábís, we learn where we must look for a passage stated in the *I'ḳán* to occur in the *Ḳayyúm-i-Asmá*, the importance of locating which Baron Rosen has pointed out.[1] This same passage quoted in the I'ḳán is also cited in the Bábí history, as I have mentioned in referring to it in a former part of this paper.[2] Some information about persons who played a more or less important part in helping or opposing the Bábí cause, such as Mullá 'Alí Bisṭámí amongst the former, and one of the Muhammadan 'ulamá called Muhammad Hasan Najafí amongst the latter, is also given. The second of these individuals is probably the same as the "Sheykh who is named as Muhammad before Hasan," against whom a passage in the Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas is directed. I must now leave the Lawḥ-i-Naṣír, which concludes with a warning to Naṣír that one will shortly appear before him and try to turn his heart from the love of Behá, but that he is to "be sure that he is a devil, even if he be the highest of men." It is probable that Behá here alludes to some Ezelí missionary who was engaged in trying to prevent the Bábís from accepting Behá's claim and in consequence rejecting Haẓrat-i-Ezel.

2. *The 'Alwáh-i-Saláṭín* (*Letters of the Kings*).

In my last paper I alluded to and enumerated the Letters sent by Behá to the Rulers of the chief countries in Europe and Western Asia, and promised to describe their contents more fully on a future occasion. I regret that the length which the present article has already attained forbids me from discussing them as fully as the great interest of their contents would impel me to do did the space at my disposal allow of it. For the present I must limit myself to

[1] *Collections de l'Institut, etc., vol. iii. Manuscrits Persans*, p. 43, note on text of I'ḳán: "Ce passage est très-important, parcequ'il nous donne le nom authentique d'un des ouvrages fondamentaux de la secte. Il s'agit maintenant de retrouver ce passage dans les manuscrits bâbys connus jusqu'ici."

[2] Page 926 *supra*, and note.

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a statement of the more important features of each of them. Taken collectively, these letters constitute what is known amongst the Bábís as the *Súra-i-Heykal*, which I think includes also some shorter letters addressed to sundry other people. The only text in my possession forms part of a MS. obtained at Kirmán, which also includes the Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas, as well as a *tarji'band* in praise of Behá. In this are contained: (1) the letter to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, King of Persia; (2) the letter entitled *Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís*, addressed apparently to one of the Turkish ministers (probably 'Álí Páshá, but of the identity of the Lawḥ-i-'Álí Páshá with that at present under consideration I am not certain); (3) the letter to the Pope of Rome; (4) the letter to the "King of Paris" (*i.e.* Napoleon III.); (5) the letter to the then-reigning Emperor of Russia; besides these there is (6) the letter to Queen Victoria, of which, as it was not included in the Kirmán MS., I recently obtained a copy through the kindness of one of my friends at Shíráz. I am almost certain that a letter to the late Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz also exists, but of this I have unfortunately no copy. Most of these letters appear to have been written about the same time, viz. soon after the arrival of Behá at Acre (A.H. 1285–86, A.D. 1868–69), but the Lawḥ-i-Ra'ís must be placed later.

a. *Letter to the Sháh of Persia.*

Before proceeding to speak of this letter in detail, it is right that I should mention a difficulty which I am at present unable to solve. Near the beginning of my paper I spoke of Baron Rosen's description of a MS. in the St. Petersburg collection containing a long letter addressed collectively to the Sháh of Persia, the "Christian Kings" (*Mulúku'l-Masṭhiyya*), and certain officials (*vukalá*), particularly the French and Persian Consuls at Baghdad. When I first read this description I had no doubt that Behá was the writer of the letter in question, but a further examination of it and a comparison between its style and tone and

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those of the Letter to the Sháh which I am about to describe, render this supposition difficult.

The letter of which I possess a copy I have compared with another copy in the British Museum marked Or. 3115, with which, apart from a few various readings, it agrees. It is partly in Arabic, partly in Persian, and is characterized by extreme moderation of tone. The blame of persecuting the Bábís is chiefly laid on the 'Ulamá, who, it is alleged, have instigated and maintained these persecutions by false representations to the Sháh. The writer declares that he has always been a loyal subject of the King, obedient to his commands, and desirous of his welfare, in proof of which he points out that since he was released from his imprisonment at Teherán on the establishment of his innocence of any complicity in the attempt on the Sháh's life (which attempt Behá, in all his writings where he alludes to it, strongly condemns), no act of sedition has emanated from the Bábís, and that this submissiveness on their part, contrasting strongly with their former conduct, is in great measure due to his (the writer's) influence.

The letter described by Baron Rosen, which is entirely in Arabic, not only does not contain a single passage corresponding with the above, but differs from it widely both in style and tone. The style appears to me very inferior (at any rate as regards accuracy) to that of Behá, and it contains, as Baron Rosen observes, numerous grammatical errors. The tone it adopts towards the Sháh is one of fierce recrimination: the writer, after upbraiding him for putting the Báb to death, says,[1] "And would that you had slain him as men slay one another, but you slew him in such wise that the eyes of men have not seen the like thereof, and Heaven wept over him, and the hearts of those near (to God) cried out. Was he not the son of your Prophet, and was not his relationship to the Prophet well known amongst you? How then did you do unto him that which none of the former ones have done? By God! the eye of existence hath not beheld the

[1] Rosen, *MSS. Arabes*, p. 199.

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like of you: you slay the son of your Prophet and then rejoice in your places, and are of those who are joyful. And you curse those who were aforetime, who did the like of what ye have done, while ye are careless of yourselves." A few sentences further on the writer proceeds to excuse, if not to approve, the attempt on the Sháh's life as follows:—"And when ye slew him, one from amongst his friends arose in retaliation, and none knew him, and his purpose was concealed from whatever hath life. . . Then it is not meet that you should blame any one for this, but rather blame yourselves for what you have done, if ye be just."

The fact that the particulars which we glean from a perusal of both letters correspond in the main is not a proof that their authors were identical, for the exodus from Teherán to Baghdad, and the proceedings eventually taken at the latter place against the Bábís included them all alike. Again, if both letters had been written by Behá at different times, we should have expected some allusion to be made in one of them to the former one, which is not the case. On the contrary, Behá, in the letter which is undoubtedly his, and which was written from Adrianople after it had been decided by the Turkish Government to send him to Acre, particularly says that he had not previously appealed directly to the Sháh, but only to one of his ministers named Mírzá Sa'íd Khán. He also says that he had not written or communicated with any foreign states. This, I think, conclusively proves that the document described by Baron Rosen cannot have been written before the one which is included in the Súra-i-Heykal, supposing Behá to be the author of the former. If we could overlook the difference of style, we might, however, suppose the reverse of this, viz. that the letter in the Súra-i-Heykal was first written, and that the change in tone observable in the other was caused by disappointment or anger at the neglect shown to the preceding missive. But when we recall the fate which befell the bearer of Behá's letter to the Sháh, which is a matter of notoriety in Persia, this hypothesis likewise appears difficult. It was considered desirable that this letter should be sent by

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a special messenger, and on the announcement of this, several volunteers stepped forward, from the number of whom a youthful believer, now known amongst the Bábís as *Badí'* "the Wonderful," was selected. Travelling on foot from Acre to Teherán he succeeded, on his arrival at the Persian capital, in delivering his letter to the Sháh as the latter was riding through the streets, saying as he did so, "I bring a command (*farmán*) to you." The Sháh, thinking that the sense of awe produced in him by the Royal Presence had bewildered him so that he did not know what he was saying, remarked, "You mean a *petition*." "No," answered Badí', "I mean what I say: a *command* from one whose authority is higher than yours." When the Sháh understood whence the letter came, and who the writer was, he ordered Badí' to be put to death, which was done by branding him with red-hot bricks. I have heard that as the executioners were lifting up the bricks with iron tongs to apply them to his body, he cried out, "It is not necessary for you to trouble yourselves: I welcome death in such a cause," and, seizing the bricks in his own hands, pressed them to his bosom. Amazing as this seems, it finds a parallel in the behaviour of Suleymán Khán at his execution in A.D. 1852.

Now if Behá had been, as I at first supposed, the author of this second letter (quoted by Baron Rosen), some allusion would almost certainly have been made in it to so remarkable an event. No such allusion occurs in the notice of its contents. This appears to me almost conclusive evidence that the second letter was not written by Behá. In this case its author must have been one of the other Bábí chiefs, and the first supposition which would naturally occur to us would be that it was composed by Ezel. This view is supported by the fact that in another letter occurring in the same collection, which is quoted in part by Baron Rosen,[1] we find these words: "*Asma'ú nidá'a 'lláhi 'an hádhihi 'sh-shajarati 'l-mani'ati 'l-murtafi'ati 'l-mubárakati 'l-*ezeliyyati *'l-aḥadiyya.*" "Hear the voice of God from this unapproachable, lofty, blessed, eternal Tree of Unity."

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 208.

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Against this view of the authorship of the letter is the fact that the writer describes himself[1] as "this servant who is called Huseyn in the Kingdom of names," while in another passage he says, "Say, O people, am I not in truth the son of 'Alí? but I am named Huseyn in the spiritual world[2] of God the Protector, the Mighty, the Kind." Inasmuch as the name of Haẓrat-i-Ezel was *Yaḥyá*, not *Huseyn*, these passages would conclusively disprove his authorship of the document in question did it not seem possible that the meaning of the passages quoted is, not that the writer of the letter was called Huseyn in the actual world or "World of Creation" (*'Á'lam-i-Mulk*), but that he is so called spiritually, because he is the successor of the Báb, as Huseyn was of 'Alí. A passage in which he speaks of the Báb, not as *'Alí Muhammad*, but as *'Alí*,[3] tends to strengthen this view, which, for the rest, is fully in keeping with Bábí methods of thought and expression.

To sum up the results of the foregoing investigation, it appears probable that the letter described by Baron Rosen was written not by Behá, but by one of the other Bábí chiefs, possibly Ezel.

Having occupied so much space with this discussion, I must speak very briefly of the points which have not been already noticed in the letter of Behá's which constitutes a part of the Súra-i-Heykal. It is written with great humility and moderation; the writer speaks of himself as "*hádhá 'l-mamlúk*" ("this slave"), and prays to God for help and courage to address the King. Turning then to the latter, he declares that those by whom he is surrounded, and who counsel him to act with severity against the Bábís, do so from interested motives: they have no real attachment to their master, whereas Behá sincerely and earnestly desires his welfare, which can only be secured by the exercise of justice towards all his subjects alike, regardless of their

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 192.
[2] Thus, in accordance with its use in Ṣúfí terminology, have I translated the expression *Jeberút*, concerning which *cf.* Jorjání's *Definitions*, ed. Flügel, p. 77 and p. 297.
[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 193, l. 7.

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creed. All other sects and religions are tolerated in his dominions; why are the Bábís alone placed under a ban? Let them enjoy the liberty given to others, and they will prove loyal and obedient subjects. As to resistance to the Sháh's authority, Behá has never countenanced it, as he shows by quotations from his former writings, especially a letter to one of his co-religionists on the true meaning of "victory," which, he explains, means victory over one's own heart, and turning aside from all except God, not victory achieved by war, for "strife has never been and is not beloved of God, nor is the slaughter (of their fellow-creatures) which some of the ignorant have committed pleasing" (to Him). The remainder of the letter is chiefly taken up with strictures on the 'ulamá, certain exceptions being made in favour of members of that class who are free from bigotry and notable for piety. Of these latter a certain Sheykh Murtaẓá, who used, before his death, to reside at Baghdad, and who had shown kindness to the Bábí exiles, is particularly mentioned. As to the others, Behá only demands to be confronted with them in open discussion before the Sháh, promising, if he fails to confute them and prove his case, to submit without complaint to whatever sentence the Sháh may pronounce against him.

He quotes from the Ḳur'án the text[1] "*Fa-tamannawú 'l-mawta, in kuntum ṣádiḳín,*" "Desire death then, if ye be sincere," and asks whether the Bábís or their enemies the Musulmán divines, have best responded to this test. Nor can it be alleged, he adds, that the Bábís are impelled by a sort of madness to this readiness to meet death, for it is not a thing confined to a few only. He cries out against the injustice of condemning the votaries of the new faith unheard, quoting again from the Ḳur'án the verse,[2] "*In já'a fásiḳun bi-naba'in fa-tabayyanú,*" "Even if a sinner come unto you with a message, investigate (it)." Many traditions are also quoted, including one which says that the 'ulamá of the latter days shall be most wicked and unjust, and this tradition, he says,

[1] *Ḳur'án* ii. 88, and lxii. 66.
[2] *Ḳur'án* xlix. 6.

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has been fulfilled in these days. It is pointed out that in all previous "manifestations" they are the most bitter enemies of the light, which statement is illustrated by the treatment which Christ experienced at the hands of the Jewish doctors. After again exhorting the Sháh to be just, and seek after the truth, since the pomp and majesty of Empire pass away, Behá concludes by describing the insecurity and danger in which he has lived owing to the malice of his enemies, which is graphically described in the following sentence, with which I conclude: "*Fí akthari ayyámí kuntu ke-'abdin illadhí yakúnu jálisan taḥta sayfin 'ullika bi-sha'r(at)in wáḥidatin, wa lam yadri matá yanzilu 'aleyhi fí 'l-ḥin, aw ba'da ḥin,*" "For most of my days I was as a servant who is sitting under a sword which is suspended by a single hair, and he knoweth not when it shall descend upon him, at once, or after a while."

b. *Letter to the Ra'is.*

I have already stated that I believe this letter to have been addressed to Álí Páshá, but that I am not certain of this point. It is written entirely in Arabic, and is the longest of the letters comprised in the Súra-i-Heykal with the exception of the letter to the Sháh which has just been described. Though the first part of it is addressed to the Turkish official designated by the word *Ra'is* (chief), the latter portion is devoted to answering certain questions about the soul propounded by one of the faithful who had apparently proved his sincerity by the sufferings which he had undergone for the faith. As the letter contains an obvious reference to the death of the "Martyrs of Isfahán," which event I believe I am right in placing about the year A.D. 1880, it must have been written at a much later date than most of the others now included in the Súra-i-Heykal. I must confine myself to giving a translation of some of the most interesting passages.

"O chief!" the letter begins, "hear the voice of God, the Protecting Self-existing King. Verily He crieth between

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the earth and the heavens, and summoneth all to the most glorious outlook (*al-manẓaru'l-abhá*), neither doth thy grunting prevent Him, nor the barking of those who are around thee, nor the hosts of the two worlds. . . . O chief! thou hast committed that by reason of which Muhammad the Prophet of God lamenteth in the highest heaven. And the world hath made thee proud in such wise that thou hast turned away from the Face of Him by whose light the people of the supreme assembly are illuminated, and thou shalt find thyself in a manifest loss. And thou didst unite with the Persian chief in opposition to me after that I came unto you from the rising-place of Greatness and Might with a matter whereby the eyes of those near (to God) are refreshed (*i.e.* whereby they are rejoiced). By God! this is a day wherein the Fire speaketh through all things, 'The Belovéd of the two worlds is come.' . . . Dost thou imagine that thou canst quench the Fire which God hath kindled in the horizons? No, by Himself, the True One, wert thou of those who knew! Rather by that which thou hath done its burning is increased and its blaze. . . . And the 'Land of the Mystery' (*i.e.* Adrianople) and what is beside it shall be changed, and shall pass out of the hand of the King (*i.e.* the Sultan of Turkey), and commotions shall appear, and lamentation shall arise, and trouble shall become manifest on all sides, and matters shall be altered by reason of that which hath come on these hearts from the hosts of the oppressors. . . . Look! and then remember when Muhammad came with manifest signs on the part of the Mighty (and) Wise One. The people would have stoned him in the public places and streets, and they denied the signs of God, thy Lord, and the Lord of thy fathers who were before. And the learned (*'Ulamá*) denied him; then those factions who followed them, and after them the Kings of the earth, as thou hast heard in the stories of those who were aforetime. And of these was Kisrá,[1] unto whom he sent a kind letter, inviting him to God, and forbidding him from polytheism; and verily thy Lord hath knowledge of all things. Verily he made himself

[1] *i.e.* Khusraw Parvíz, the Sásánian king.

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great against God, and tore up the letter, because he followed his passion and lust. Is he not of the people of hell? Was Pharaoh able to hinder God from His dominion when he rebelled in the earth, and was of the disobedient? . . . Say, verily the King of Persia slew the Belovéd of both worlds that he might thereby extinguish the Light of God amongst His creatures (*lit.* "What is beside Him") and hinder mankind from the pure water of Life in the days of God, the Mighty, the Kind. . . . Leave the mention of the Chief; then mention the friend who came to know the love of God, and separated himself from those who associated (other things with God), and were of the lost. . . . . Know, then, that we were in the morning one day and we found the friends of God confronted by the transgressors. The troops beset all the gates, and prevented the servants (of God) from entrance and exit, and were of the oppressors. And the friends of God, and His family, were left without food in the first night: thus did it befall those for whose sake was created the world and what is therein. Shame upon them! and upon those who commanded them to (do) evil! and God shall consume their livers with fire, and verily He is the fiercest of Avengers. Men gathered round the house, and the eyes of Islám and of the Christians wept, and the sound of weeping arose betwixt heaven and earth because of that which the hands of the oppressors had wrought. Verily we found the assembly of the Son (*i.e.* the Christians) more bitter in their weeping than (those of) other creeds, and herein are indeed signs to the thoughtful. And one from amongst the friends sacrificed (?) himself for myself, and cut his throat with his hand[1] from love of God: this is that the like of which we have not heard from former ages. This is that which God hath set apart for this manifestation, as a setting forth of His Power, for verily He is the Mighty and Powerful. And he whose throat was cut in 'Iráḳ (*i.e.* 'Iráḳ-i-'Ajamí), verily he is the 'Beloved of Martyrs' (*Maḥbúbu'sh-Shuhadá*) and their King (*Sulṭán*), and that which appeared from him was the

[1] This event I described briefly in my former paper on the Bábís, p. 516.

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proof of God unto all creatures.[1] . . . . This is a day unto which, had Muhammad the Prophet of God attained, he would assuredly say, 'We have known Thee, O Desire of (all) the apostles.' And had the Friend (*i.e.* Abraham) attained it, he would certainly place his face upon the earth, humbling himself before God, and would say, 'My heart is at peace, O God of whomsoever is in the heavens and the earths, and Thou hast caused me to behold the kingdom of Thy Command, and the dominion of Thy Might, and I bear witness that at Thy Manifestation the hearts of those who advance are at peace.' Had the Interlocutor (*i.e.* Moses) attained it, he would certainly say, 'Praise (be to Thee) for that Thou hast shown me Thy beauty, and hast made me of those who increase.' . . . . And God shall raise up one amongst the Kings who shall succour His saints, for He encompasseth all things. And He shall put into the hearts (of men) the love of His saints, and this is a decree on the part of the Mighty, the Beautiful (One). . . . Give thanks to God in that He hath strengthened thee with knowledge of Himself, and caused thee to enter into His protection on a day whereon the unbelievers encompassed the people of God and His saints, and drove them forth from their houses, with evident tyranny. And they desired to bring about a separation between us on the shore of the sea, and verily thy Lord is aware of that which is in the breasts of the unbelievers. Say, 'Though ye cut off our limbs, the love of God will not depart from our hearts: verily we were created for sacrifice: therefore do we glory over the two worlds.'" The remainder of the letter, which discusses the nature of the soul, I am compelled to omit for lack of space.

c. *Letter to the Pope.*

Of this also I append a few extracts without comment:

"O Pope! rend asunder the veils! The Lord of Lords hath come in the shadow of clouds, and the matter hath been

[1] I think there can be no doubt that the "Martyrs of Isfahán" are here alluded to, concerning whom see my former paper, p. 489 *et seq.*

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decided on the part of God, the Powerful, the Unconstrained. Disclose the (divine) splendours (?) by the authority of thy Lord; then ascend into the Kingdom of Names and Attributes: thus doth the Supreme Pen command thee on the part of thy Lord, the Mighty, the Controller. Verily He hath come from heaven another time, as He came from it the first time: beware lest ye oppose Him as the Pharisees opposed Him without evidence or proof. On His right side floweth the River of Grace, and on His left side the Sweet Waters of Justice: before Him go the angels of Paradise with the standards of signs. Beware lest Names withhold you from God the Maker of the earth and the heavens. . . . Dost thou dwell in palaces, while the King of the Manifestation is in the most ruined of abodes?[1] . . . The breath of God is diffused throughout the world, because the Desired One hath come in His Most Great Glory. Lo! every stone and clod crieth, 'The Promised One hath appeared, and the Kingdom is to God, the Powerful, the Mighty, the Pardoning. Beware lest sciences prevent thee from the King of what is known, or the world from Him who created it and left it. Arise in the Name of thy Lord the Merciful amidst the assembly of beings, and take the Cup of Life in the hand of assurance; drink therefrom, or not; then give to drink to those who advance of the people of (different) religions. . . . Remember when the Spirit[2] came; he who was the most learned of the doctors of his age gave sentence against Him in his city, while those who caught fish believed in Him; be admonished, then, O people of understanding! . . . And when We come unto you another time we see you fleeing from Us, therefore doth the eye of My compassion weep over my people; fear God, O ye who are in expectation! . . . Look likewise at this time. How many monks seclude themselves in churches in My Name; and when the appointed time was completed, and We disclosed to them perfection (?), they did not know Me, after that they call

[1] *i.e.* Acre ('Akká), which is often thus described by Behá in his writings.
[2] *i.e.* Christ, whom the Muhammadans call "*Rúḥu'llah*," "The Spirit of God."

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upon Me at eventide and at dawn. . . . Do ye read the Gospel, and (still) do not flee to the Glorious Lord? This beseemeth you not, O concourse of learned ones! . . . The Word which the Most Faithful wrote hath appeared: It hath indeed descended into the form of man in this time: blessed is the Lord, who is the Father: He hath come with His most mighty Power amongst the nations; turn towards Him, O concourse of the good! . . . . The Father hath come, and that which hath been promised unto you in the kingdom is accomplished: this is a Word which was concealed behind the veil of Might, and when the promised (time) came, it shone forth from the horizon of the (Divine) Will with manifest signs. . . My body longeth for the Cross, and my head for the spear (?) in the way of the Merciful One (*i.e.* God), that the world may be purified from sin. . . . The people of the Furḳán (*i.e.* the Muhammadans) have arisen, and tormented me with torments whereat the Holy Spirit crieth out; and the thunder roars, and the eyes of the clouds weep because of the unbelievers. Whosoever imagineth that calamity will hinder Behá from that which God, the Creator of (all) things, willeth, say (unto him), No! by the descent of the rains, nothing shall prevent him from the mention of his Lord. By God the Truth! even though they burn him on the earth, verily he will lift up his head in the midst of the sea, and will cry, 'Unto God indeed belongeth whosoever is in the heavens and in the earth.' And even though they cast him into a dark pit, they shall find him on the summits of the mountains, crying, 'The Desired One hath come by the authority of Might and Sovereignty.' And though they bury him in the earth, he will arise from the horizons of heaven, and will speak with the loudest voice, 'Behá hath come to the kingdom of God, the Holy, the Mighty, the Unconstrained.' And though they shed his blood, every drop thereof shall cry out and call upon God by this Name whereby the perfumes of the Garment are diffused through (all) regions. . . . And regard the pearl, that its lustre is in itself: if thou coverest it with silk, verily it veileth the beauty and

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qualities thereof: such is man; his nobility is in his virtues. . . . O people of the Son![1] we have sent unto you John (the Baptist) another time.[2] Verily he crieth in the wilderness of the Beyán, 'O creation of beings! make clear your eyes! The day of vision and meeting hath come nigh. Prepare then the way, O people of the Gospel. The day wherein shall come the Lord of Glory hath come nigh: prepare to enter into the Kingdom. Thus was the matter decreed on the part of God, the Cleaver of the Dawn. . . . This is indeed the Father, whereof Isaiah gave you tidings, and the Comforter whom the Spirit (*i.e.* Christ) promised. . . . . Hasten unto Him, and follow not every denying infidel. And if the eye of any one oppose him in this, it behoves him to pluck it out; and if his tongue oppose him, it behoves him to cut it out. Thus was it written by the Pen of Eternity on the part of the King of Contingent Being (*Imkán*); verily He hath come another time for your deliverance, O people of creation: will ye kill Him after that He desireth for you enduring life? Fear God, O people of discernment. . . . The Glorious One crieth continually from the horizon of the Pavilion of Might and Greatness, and saith 'O people of the Gospel! He hath come into the Kingdom who was out of it; and to-day we see you standing at the Gate. Rend the veils by the power of your Lord, the Mighty, the Munificent, and then enter into my Kingdom in my Name; thus doth He command you who desireth for you enduring life; verily He is powerful over all things. Blessed are those who have known the Light, and have hastened towards it: behold, they are in the Kingdom, they eat and drink with the elect. And we see you, O children of the Kingdom, in darkness: this is not meet for you. Do ye fear to meet the Light because of your deeds? Advance thereto. . . . Verily He said, 'Come, that I may make you my fishers; come, that I may make you fishers of men;' and to-day we say, 'Come, that we may make you the

[1] *i.e.* Followers of Christ, the Son of God.
[2] The Báb, who was the precursor (*mubáshir*) of Behá, is here intended.

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vivifiers of the world.' Thus was the decree ordained in a tablet written by the Pen of Command."

d. *Letter to Napoleon III.*

This letter is rather longer than the last, and like it is entirely in Arabic. As much of what it contains is merely a repetition of the substance of what has been or will be noticed elsewhere, I shall give translations of only a few of the more important passages. The letter begins thus:

"O King of Paris! tell the priest not to ring (*lit.* strike) the bells. By God, the True One! the Most Glorious Bell hath appeared on the Temple of the Most Great Name, and the fingers of the will of Thy Lord, the High, the Supreme, ring (*lit.* strike) it in the World of Eternal Power (*Jeberútu 'l-Baḳá*) through his Most Splendid Name (*Ismuhu 'l-Abhá*): thus have the most mighty signs of thy Lord descended once more, that thou mayest arise to commemorate God, the Creator of the Earth and the Heaven. . . . We have sent one whom we have strengthened with the Holy Spirit that he may give you tidings of this Light which hath shone forth from the horizon of the Will of your Lord, the Exalted, the Most Splendid, and whose effects have appeared in the West, that ye may turn unto Him in this day . . . Arise amongst the servants (of God) in My Name and say, 'O people of the Earth advance towards Him, who hath advanced towards you, for verily He is the Face of God (*Wajhu'lláh*) amongst you, and His Evidence in your midst, and His Proof unto you. . . . This is that whereof the Spirit[1] gave you tidings when He brought the truth, and the Jewish doctors opposed Him, until they committed that whereat the Holy Spirit lamented. . . . Say, O concourse of monks! do not withdraw yourselves in churches and sanctuaries; come forth (thence) by my permission, then occupy yourselves with that whereby your souls shall be profited, and the souls of mankind. . . . He who cleaveth to the house is indeed as one dead: it is meet for man that he should produce

[1] *i.e.* Christ, "*Rúḥu'lláh*," as before stated.

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that whereby (other) beings shall profit; and he who hath no fruit is fit for the Fire . . . Verily, O King, we heard from thee a word which thou didst speak when the King of Russia asked of thee concerning what was settled as to the order of war: verily thy Lord is Wise and Informed. Thou didst say, 'I was asleep in my bed (when) the cry of the servants (of God) who were wronged, even till they were drowned in the Black Sea, awoke me.' Thus did we hear, and God is the Witness of what I say. Thou canst witness that it was not (their) cry, but (thine own) lust (of war) which awoke thee, inasmuch as we tried thee and found thee afar off. . . . Hadst thou been the speaker (*lit.* owner) of that speech, thou wouldst not have cast the book of God behind thy back when it was sent unto thee on the part of one Mighty and Wise. Verily we tried thee therewith, and did not find thee in that state whereto thou didst pretend: arise, and make reparation for what has passed away from thee. The world shall perish, and what thou hast, and the Kingdom remains to God, thy Lord, and the Lord of thy fathers who were of yore . . . *Because of what thou hast done affairs shall be changed in thy kingdom, and empire shall depart from thine hands, as a punishment for thine action*: then shalt thou find thyself in manifest loss, and commotion shall seize the peoples there, unless thou arisest to assist in this matter, and followest the Spirit in this Straight Way. *Thy glory hath made thee proud: by my life! Verily it shall not endure, but shall pass away, unless thou takest hold of this firm rope. We have seen humiliation hastening after thee, while thou art of those that sleep.*"[1]

The letter contains many other passages of interest, and is vivid and graphic in its eloquence. It concludes with a summary of some of the ordinances of the new religion, especially as regards fasting and the observance of the two great feasts recognized by the Bábís. The last paragraph is directed against inordinate love of fame and glory.

[1] The passages in italics contain the prophecy of the downfall of Napoleon III. to which I alluded in my last paper.

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e. *Letter to the Emperor of Russia.*

This is the shortest of all these letters, if indeed it be given in extenso in my MS. It seems to end so abruptly that I cannot help thinking it may be incomplete. It contains thanks on the part of Behá for services rendered by a Russian minister during his captivity. I content myself with giving a translation of this passage, preceded only by the first two or three lines:

"O King of Russia! hear the voice of God, the Most Holy King! Then advance unto Paradise (which is) the place wherein abideth He who is named with the Most Comely Names amongst the most high assembly, and in the Kingdom of Creation by the Name of God, the Splendid, the Most Splendid (*Alláhu'l-Bahíyyu'l-Abhá*): beware lest thy desires prevent thee from turning towards the face[1] (*wajh*) of thy Lord, the Merciful, the Clement. . . . One of thine Ambassadors did assist me when I was in prison, in chains and fetters. Therefore hath God decreed unto thee a station which the knowledge of no one comprehendeth, save He only. Beware lest thou change this lofty station; verily thy Lord is able to do whatsoever He willeth: He cancelleth what He pleaseth and confirmeth what He pleaseth, and with Him is the knowledge of all things in a Preserved Tablet. . . . Be not of those who used to call upon Him by a Name amongst His Names, and when the Named One came, they denied Him, and turned away from Him, until they pronounced sentence against him with evident injustice. Look, then, and remember the days wherein came the Spirit,[2] and Herod gave judgment against Him: God hath helped the Spirit with the hosts of the Unseen."

f. *Letter to Queen Victoria.*

This letter begins as follows:

"O Queen in London! Hear the voice of thy Lord, the

[1] It will be remembered that some of the letters in the MSS. noticed by M. Huart (see p. 941) are described as emanating from some person entitled '*Al-Wajh*' ("The Face"). I have suggested that this may be another title of Ezel, but Behá applies it to himself in several places in these letters.

[2] *i.e.* Christ.

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King of (all) Creatures from the Divine Lote-tree that 'There is no God but Me, the Precious, the Wise.' Lay aside what is on the earth: then adorn the head of dominion with the diadem of thy glorious Lord: verily He hath come into the world with His most great Glory, and that which was mentioned in the Gospel hath been fulfilled. The land of Syria hath been honoured by the advance of its Lord, the King of men, and the exhilaration of the Wine of Union hath seized upon the regions of the South and North: blessed is he who discovereth the scent of the Merciful (*i.e.* God), and advanceth to the dawning-place of Beauty in this clear Morning. . . . It hath reached us that thou hast forbidden the selling of slaves and handmaidens: this is what God hath commanded in this marvellous Manifestation. God hath recorded unto thee the reward of this: verily He is the Discharger of the rewards of the well-doers. . . . And we have heard that thou hast entrusted the reins of deliberation into the hands of the Commonwealth.[1] Thou hast done well, for thereby the bases of the edifices of (all) affairs are made firm, and the hearts of those who are under thy shadow (*i.e.* protection), both of high and low, are made tranquil. But it behoves them[2] to be (as) trustees amongst the servants (of God), and to regard themselves as guardians over whomsoever is in all the earth. And when any one turns towards the assembly, let him turn his glance to the Supreme Horizon, and say, 'O God! I ask Thee by Thy Most Splendid Name (*bi'smika'l-Abhá*) to assist me unto that whereby the affairs of Thy servants may prosper, and Thy countries may flourish; verily Thou art Powerful over all things.' Blessed is he who entereth the assembly in the regard of God, and judgeth betwixt men with pure justice: is he not of those who prosper? . . . And look on the world as the body of a man who was created sound and whole, but diseases have attacked him from various and diverse causes, and his soul is not at ease for a day, but rather his sickness increaseth, in that he hath fallen under the control of unskilful

[1] Alludes to the system of Representative Government.
[2] *i.e.* those who are chosen to represent the people.

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physicians who are hurried away by vain desires, and are of those who stray madly. And if one limb of his limbs become sound in one age of the ages through a skilful Physician, the other limbs remain as they were: thus doth the Wise and Knowing One inform you. . . . And that which God hath made the most mighty remedy and the most complete means for its health is the union of whomsoever is upon the Earth in a single Matter,[1] and a single Law. This can never be possible except through a skilful physician, perfect and strengthened (by God). By my life! this is the truth, and aught else is nothing but evident error."

The writer goes on to say that whenever this True Physician (*i.e.* a Prophet) has come to heal the world of its ancient sickness, these would-be doctors (*mutaṭabbibún*) strive to hinder and prevent him, and "become (as) clouds between him and the world," even as, in the present manifestation, they have "placed him in confinement in the most desolate of lands"[2] for the alleged reason that he is one of those who make mischief; and this they do although they have not seen him nor spoken with him, and though they see that he has never been free from the causeless oppression and persecution of his enemies. Rulers are next exhorted to seek after peace rather than war as follows:

"We ask God that He will help the Kings to be at peace: verily He is able to do what He willeth. O assembly of Kings! Verily we see you increasing your expenditure every year, and placing the burden (thereof) on your subjects: this is nought but manifest injustice. Fear the sighs of the oppressed and his tears, and do not burden your subjects above that which they can bear, neither ruin them to build up your palaces: Choose for them that which ye choose for yourselves: thus do we expound unto you that which will profit you, if ye are of those who enquire."

I can only pause for a moment to notice one further point. In this letter, as in that addressed to Napoleon, allusion is made to a previous appeal to the Kings. I have already

[1] *Amr*, *i.e.* Religion, in which sense the word is much used by the Bábís.
[2] *i.e.* Acre, as stated previously.

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pointed out the difficulties of regarding the epistle described by Baron Rosen as the work of Behá, but it must be admitted that until another letter is discovered which, besides being addressed to the Rulers of Christian countries, corresponds more closely in style with Behá's writings, considerable uncertainty on this point must remain.

3. *The 'Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas'* (*Most Holy Tablet*).

I now come to the most important of Behá's works, and the last of which I shall speak at length; I mean the Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas, wherein his prescriptions are arranged and codified. Of this work I have three MSS. in my possession, two of which I obtained at Shíráz, and one at Kirmán. Another copy, marked Or. 2820, is in the British Museum. One of the copies which I possess was written for me by one of the Bábí missionaries of whom I spoke in my last paper. It is well and carefully written in a good Naskh handwriting, and contains 146 pages, each of which, except the first and last, comprises 11 lines. I should estimate that the total number of words contained in it is rather over 10,000. I shall translate the first few lines, and then notice the contents in detail in the order in which they occur as briefly as possible, only translating passages which appear to me of special interest.

It begins thus:

"IN THE NAME OF HIM WHO RULETH OVER WHAT WAS AND IS.

"Verily the first thing which God hath ordained unto (His) servants is the Knowledge of the Dawning-place of His revelation and the Rising-place of His command, who was the station of Himself in the world of command and creation.[1] Whosoever attaineth thereunto hath attained unto all good, and he who is deprived (thereof) is indeed of the people of error, even though he bringeth all (good)

[1] *i.e.* the first thing necessary to men is that they should know Behá, the present "manifestation" of God in the World, without which knowledge good actions are of no avail.

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actions. And when ye have attained to this most glorious station, and this most lofty horizon, it behoveth every one to follow that whereunto he is commanded on the part of the (Supreme) Object, because these two (things) are together: one of them will not be accepted without the other. This is what the Rising-place of Inspiration hath decreed. Verily those who are given vision from God will regard the ordinances of God as the greatest means to the order of the world and the preservation of the nations, and he who is careless is of the vile and worthless."

The first prescription given concerns *prayer*, which is ordained three times a day, in the morning, the afternoon and the evening; each prayer is apparently intended to consist of three prostrations (*rik'a*), since it is said that there are to be nine in all. The worshipper is to turn his face towards "the Most Holy Region, the Holy Place, which God hath made the point round which the Supreme Concourse revolves, and that whereto the denizens of the cities of Permanence advance, and that whence issueth the command to whomsoever is in the earths and the heavens." By this Acre is apparently intended, for it is added that "when the Sun of Truth and Exhortation sets" (*i.e.* when Behá dies) the Ḳibla will be changed to "that place which we have appointed unto you." All congregational prayer is abolished except in the single case of the prayers used for the Burial of the Dead. The wearing of garments which contain the hair of animals, or which are made of their skins, or have buttons of bone or ivory, is allowed: "verily it was not prohibited in the Furḳán (*i.e.* the Ḳur'án), but it was misunderstood by the divines." In the case of those who are on a journey the prayers are still further shortened, a simple "*Subḥána'lláh*" ("Glory to God") sufficing for those who cannot manage more. Further directions for prayer are given, into which I have not space to enter here.

Fasts and Feasts are next treated of. The great festival is the Persian Nawrúz (New Year's Day) when the Sun enters the sign of Aries, and this is made the beginning of the Bábí year, which, as I have already stated, consists

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of 19 months of 19 days each, to which five intercalary days (*Khamsa-i-mustaraḳa*) are added, thus bringing the total number of days in the year to 366. The month of fasting is that which immediately precedes the Nawrúz; in other words, the last month of the Bábí year; and the five intercalary days are inserted between it and the preceding month, and are commanded to be observed by entertaining relatives and friends and feeding the poor. The fast itself lasts from sunrise to sunset daily during the month of 19 days, and is incumbent upon all except the young, the sick, the aged, and the infirm.

These instructions are followed by a prohibition of Murder, Adultery, Slandering and Backbiting, after which the Law of Inheritance is laid down. This is too complicated and obscure to discuss in detail in this place: suffice it to say that seven classes inherit, to wit, children, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and teachers; the share of each diminishing from the first to the last. In the absence of one or more of these classes, the share which would belong to them goes to the "House of Justice" (*Beytu'l-'Adl*), to be expended on the poor, the fatherless and widows, or on useful public works, as shall be decided by the members thereof. The constitution of this "House of Justice," though not described till further on in the Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas, is best mentioned here. The number of its members is to be "according to the number of Behá" (which will be eight if we take the values of the letters in that word, but perhaps 19 is intended), though it may exceed this. In every city there must be one such "House of Justice," the members of which must regard themselves as the trustees and representatives of God in the world, and strive to fulfil for the public good the trust placed in them.

Places of worship are to be built, and they must not contain any images or pictures. The dead are to be buried with much pomp and ceremony, having been placed in coffins of stone or hard wood. Pilgrimages to the "House" (*Beyt*) are commanded to such as can undertake them, but women are excused. By the "House" most of the Bábís whom I

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asked understood the Báb's house at Shíráz in the *Kúché-i-Shishé-garán* (Glass-blowers Street).

Next follows an absolute prohibition of mendicity couched in the following words: "The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs: take hold of the rope of means, relying on God, the Causer of causes." Men are forbidden to kiss one another's hands, or to ask pardon for one another (from God): those who have done wrong must repent and turn to God.

Those who claim inward knowledge and pretend to understand Divine mysteries are next censured. By this passage, which I have already quoted (p. 883), the Súfís and Philosophers appear to be intended. Austerities and self-mortification are forbidden, and their uselessness is exposed.

A statement next follows to the effect that any one who claims to have a new Revelation before the accomplishment of a thousand years is a liar, and to make this more unmistakeable, it is added that no sort of explanation or interpretation of this verse contrary to its obvious meaning is to be attempted or listened to.[1]

A passage now comes which is important as in some degree fixing the date when the work was composed. Speaking of some event Behá says, "This is what we informed you of when we were in 'Iráḳ (*i.e.* Baghdad), and in the Land of the Mystery (*i.e.* Adrianople), and in this bright watch-tower" (*i.e.* Acre). Again alluding to his death he says in the next verse, "When the Sun of my Beauty has set and the Heaven of my Form is concealed be not troubled; arise for the help of my religion (*lit.* affair) and the exaltation of my word betwixt the worlds. Verily we are with you in all circumstances, and will assist you with the Truth: verily we are able (to do so).

Provision is made for the disposal of endowments (*Wakf*) in the event of Bábíism becoming the dominant religion in any country, the control over these belonging to Behá so long as he lives, then to his sons (*Aghṣán*), and then to the House of Justice.

[1] See above, p. 883–884, where this passage is quoted.

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Theft and its punishment are then treated of. For a first or second offence imprisonment is decreed, but on the third conviction a mark or sign is to be placed on the forehead of the thief, whereby he may be known wherever he goes, that men may beware of him.

Certain regulations for private life and personal conduct follow. Shaving the head is forbidden, because "God hath adorned it with hair," but the latter is not to be allowed to grow below the level of the ears. The use of gold and silver plate and ornaments is permitted, and the use of knives and forks in eating instead of the hands is enjoined. Cleanliness is insisted on. Parents are commanded to instruct their children; if they refuse, the "House of Justice" must see to the matter, charging the expenses of education to the parents if they are able to bear them, and if not, defraying them out of the funds at its disposal. Music is permitted.

Regulations for the punishment of some other crimes follow. Adultery is punished by a fine of 19 miṣkáls of gold, to be paid to the House of Justice, the fine being doubled for a second offence. Wounds and blows are also atoned for by fines proportionate to their gravity. Arson and murder are punishable by burning and death respectively, but in place of this the offender may be imprisoned for life. Birds killed in the chase may be lawfully eaten, even though they have not had their throats cut and the Bismi'lláh uttered over them.

Marriage is enjoined on all, and is made conditional on the consent of both parties and their parents, only the former being necessary according to the law laid down in the Beyán. Instructions concerning dowries are given. Married men who travel must fix a definite time for their return, and use their utmost endeavours not to extend their absence beyond it. Their wives, if they have no news of them for nine months after the expiration of this period, are allowed to marry again, but if they are patient it is better, "since God loves those who are patient." If quarrels arise between a man and his wife, he is not to divorce her at once, but must wait for a whole year that perhaps he may become reconciled

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to her. If, however, at the expiration of this period, he still wishes to put her away, he is at liberty to do so, but may take her back at the end of any month so long as she does not marry again, in which case "the separation is rendered valid by a new union." The practice of marrying a divorced woman to another man before her former husband can take her back is forbidden. If a man is travelling with his wife and they quarrel, he must give her a sufficient sum of money to take her back to the place they started from, and send her with some trustworthy person who will look after her.

The traffic in slaves is forbidden, and men are warned to be careful about the destruction of life. Legal impurity is abolished, and the people of all religions are regarded as pure and not to be avoided. The use of pleasant perfumes, and especially rose-water, is recommended.[1]

The kings of the earth are then addressed and exhorted to adopt and spread the new faith. The Emperor of Germany is reproved, apparently because he had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and had passed by Acre without visiting Behá or asking after him, on account of which neglect calamities and defeat are foretold to the German nation as follows: "O banks of the river Rhine! we have seen you drenched in gore because the swords of retribution were drawn against you, and you shall have another turn. And we hear the lamentation of Berlin, though it be to-day in manifest glory."

Turkey, personified in Constantinople, is also addressed thus: "O Point which liest on the shore of the two Seas! The throne of injustice hath been fixed in thee, and in thee hath been kindled the fire of hatred in such wise that the Supreme Host lament thereat, and those who circle around the lofty Throne. We behold in thee the foolish ruling over the wise, and the darkness exalting itself over the light, and verily thou art in evident delusion. Thine outward adornment hath rendered thee proud; thou shalt perish, by the Lord of Creation! and thy daughters and widows and those peoples that are within thee shall lament. Thus doth the Wise, the All-Knowing, admonish thee."

[1] See above, p. 899, note.

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Some of the cities and provinces of Persia are then addressed. Teherán is blessed because Behá was born there, and comforted thus: "If He (*i.e.* God) will, He will bless thy throne with one who shall rule with justice and gather together the sheep of God which have been scattered by the wolves. . . . Affairs shall be changed in thee, and a republic of men shall rule over thee. Verily thy Lord is the Wise, the Encompasser."

Khurásán is also comforted, and applauded because therein are heard "the voices of men commemorating thy Lord, the Rich, the Exalted." The faithful are enjoined not to oppose those that rule over them, but to "leave to them that which they have," and address themselves to gaining the hearts of men.

Kirmán is subsequently addressed and sharply rebuked for the pretensions to spiritual knowledge of some of its people. That this alludes to the Sheykhís, who are, as before stated, the followers of Hájí Muhammad Karím Khán, is pretty certain, especially as the latter is held up to execration in a later passage.

Tithes of nineteen per cent. are decreed on all who possess more than a hundred miṣḳáls of gold. Believers are exhorted not to withhold these, since by giving them their wealth will be purified.

Here a digression occurs, explaining that this book was "revealed" because Behá had at different times received letters from believers asking for instructions as to conduct, etc., which were now epitomized so as to be accessible to all. The learned are warned against criticizing it, or judging of its style and contents according to their limited horizons. They are also challenged to produce the like of it with all their learning, and are reminded that Behá never studied the sciences which they have learned, but that all his wisdom is received from God. All explanations of the sacred text contrary to the obvious sense thereof are again forbidden.

Certain further regulations concerning personal cleanliness follow. The nails are to be cut and the body bathed at least once a week, but the use of the tanks (Khazína) in the

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Persian baths is forbidden, because the water in them is generally not changed sufficiently often and so becomes foul and offensive. It is therefore recommended that the body should be washed by pouring water over it rather than by entering the water. Praying in the streets is forbidden, probably as savouring of ostentation. Festivals are again spoken of and are limited to two: the anniversaries of the "manifestations" of Behá and the Báb. As we have seen that the Nawrúz is the great festival of the Bábís, and as we know that the "manifestation" of the Báb occurred on Jamádí'ul-U'lá 5th, A.H. 1260 (May 23rd, A.D. 1844), it seems probable that that of Behá was on the Nawrúz.

The contents of the next portion of the Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas, so far as they can be classified, refer mainly to the Báb, and certain modifications of the ordinances laid down by him which are considered necessary. By him it was enacted that whoever possessed any object "the like of which was not to be found on earth" was to give it to Him whom God shall manifest (Persian Beyán, Váḥid v. ch. 16); that useless and especially dead languages were not to be studied (*ibid.* iv. 10); and that all books were to be re-written every 202 years, and the originals then destroyed or given away (*ibid.* vii. 1). All these commands are abrogated by Behá, and the study of foreign languages for purposes of missionary enterprise is commanded. Some quotations from the Báb's writings are introduced to prove that Behá is really "He whom God shall manifest," and some of the objections raised by the Ezelís are met. This portion concludes with praise of the Báb, and those who do not believe in him are exhorted at any rate not to condemn him, because "the hosts of the oppressors who assembled against him suffice."

Wine and opium are prohibited. The instructions for the shrouding of the dead and the placing on their fingers of cornelian rings with certain words (which are detailed) engraven on them are essentially the same as those given in the Beyán, which have been already noticed in their proper place. Kindness and courtesy are enjoined on all believers, and they are forbidden to enter any man's house without his

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permission, or in his absence. No one is to approve for another that which he would dislike himself. The sacred books are to be read regularly, but never so long as to cause weariness. Enemies are to be forgiven, nor must evil be met with evil. The furniture of houses is, where possible, to be renewed every nineteen years. Every one is to wash his feet daily in summer, and at least once every three days in winter. The use of chairs is recommended in preference to sitting on the ground. Arms are forbidden to be carried, except in time of war and disturbance. Shaving the beard is permitted.

Sheykh Muhammad Hasan (also referred to in the Lawḥ-i-Naṣír) is held up to reprobation. The Beyán is again spoken of, and those who believe in it are warned not to allow any passage therein to make them doubt the truth of Behá's claim, since he is the revealer of it, and learned all Divine Mysteries before Creation existed.

Next follow some passages which seem to be addressed to Behá's rival Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, part of which I translate: "Say, O rising-place of opposition! Cease (wilfully) to close thine eyes; then speak of the truth amongst the people. By God! my tears flow over my cheeks because I see thee advancing after thy lust and turning aside from him who created thee and fashioned thee. Remember the kindness of thy Master (*Mawláka*) when we educated thee during the nights and days for the service of the Religion (*lit.* 'matter'): fear God, and be of those who repent. . . . Remember when thou didst stand before the throne (*'arsh*) and didst write what we conveyed unto thee of the signs (verses) of God, the Guardian, the Able, the Powerful. . . . Verily we advise thee for the sake of God: if thou advancest, (it is) for thyself (*i.e.* for thine own good); and if thou turnest aside, verily thy Lord is independent of thee and of those who follow thee in manifest error. God hath taken away him who then led thee astray; return unto Him humbled, abased, trembling; verily He will put away from thee thy sins: verily thy Lord is Swift to Repent, the Precious, the Merciful."

After two more clauses, the first strongly forbidding the

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ill-treatment and overloading of beasts of burden, the second ordaining the payment in all cases of accidental homicide of the sum of 100 miṣḳáls of gold as a compensation to the relatives of the deceased, the book closes with a recommendation that mankind shall select one language and one character of those which exist and adopt them as a means of communication one with another. "This," says Behá, "is the means of union, if ye knew it, and the greatest cause of concord and civilization did ye recognize it. Verily we have made these two things the two signs of the maturity of the world: the first (and that is the chief foundation) we have revealed in other Tablets; and the second we have revealed in this marvellous Tablet."

I have now completed my sketch of the sacred literature and the doctrines of the Bábís. Did I not feel that I had already exceeded the limits reasonably to be assigned to an article of this description, I should have said something about the poems of Nabíl, Na'ím, Rawḥá, Maryam, and other Bábís who have drawn the inspiration of their verses from the doctrines of the new religion. As it is, I unwillingly postpone an account of them till some future occasion.

My object in this Essay has been to sum up in the briefest compass possible all the more important facts which I have been able to glean on a subject hitherto comparatively little studied; to classify and describe the literature of the different epochs into which the history of Bábíism divides itself; to smooth the path of future students of this last great religious movement to which Persia has given birth; and to point out the most important lacunæ which exist in our present knowledge of this matter. The work which was so ably begun by M. le Comte de Gobineau I have attempted to carry down to the present date so far as was possible from the materials at my disposal, though I am painfully conscious that I can lay no claim to the masterly pen and keen insight into character which he possessed, and by the magic of which he transports us as we read his words into the midst of the stirring events which convulsed Persia some forty years ago, in such wise that to us the fiery and zealous Mullá Huseyn, the beautiful

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and enthusiastic Kurratu'l-'Ayn, and most of all the gentle, patient, persecuted Founder of the new faith, seem to us as people whom we have met and conversed with rather than such as we have merely read of in history.

In conclusion I would ask the kind indulgence of the reader for the defects which may be apparent in this Paper, whether of composition, arrangement, selection of material, or treatment thereof. Its preparation, frequently interrupted by other duties, has involved the perusal of a number of Persian and Arabic MSS., some of which were written in a Shikasta handwriting not easy to read. The perusal of these was for the most part accomplished *pari passu* with the composition of this article, and this was particularly the case with the later writings of Behá. That this method of procedure has given rise in some cases to inconsistencies I am fully aware, further study having sometimes obliged me to modify a view expressed, perhaps rashly, in an earlier part of my Paper; while it was not always possible so to alter the passage first written as to eliminate from it all traces of the opinion I had discarded without entirely reconstructing large portions of what I had written. In such cases I have referred in a note to the subsequent passage wherein this modification of opinion is set forth.

Lastly, some may perhaps wonder why I did not settle those points as to the date and authorship of certain works which I have been compelled to leave somewhat undecided by reference to my Bábí friends while this was still possible. With regard to this, I can only state that to the best of my knowledge I never missed an opportunity of conversing with the Bábís on matters connected with their religion, and that the information so acquired was in almost all cases carefully recorded in my Diary within a few hours of the time of hearing it; but that the perusal of the books which I obtained from them, often as a parting gift on the eve of my leaving a town, could not be accomplished amidst the vicissitudes of travel, because, as the Arabs say (and the proverb is specially true in the case of Eastern countries), "*Al-musáfiru ke'l-majnún,*" "The traveller is as one mad."

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APPENDIX I.

I. Translation of Nabíl's Chronological Poem of the events in the Life of Behá.

(1) In the beginning of *Ghirbál* (=1233 A.H. according to the abjad notation) from the year of the Furḳán (*i.e.* the Ḳur'án), on the second morning of Muḥarram, in Teherán, that King, who is the Creator of whomsoever is in the world (*lit.* in the Contingent World), turned His footsteps from the Unseen to the Visible (*lit.* Contingent) World.

(2) After twice ten and seven (*i.e.* 27 years) of His pure life it was "sixty" (*i.e.* the year of the 'manifestation' of the Báb, A.H. 1260), and there was mercy (shown) to the people of His land. He manifested His Supreme Name, so that creatures might comprehend him in that way.

(3) At thirty-two (years) of age He started for the plain; the World became bright from the splendour of His visage; He met, to unfold His glories, with the forms of *Ṭá* (probably Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira, *i.e.* Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn) and *Ḳuds* (Jenáb-i-Ḳuddús, *i.e.* Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Bálfurúshí) in the plain of Badasht.

(4) At thirty-three He blossomed like a rose; that God of all set out for (the tomb of Sheykh) Ṭabarsí; on the way, by His own hidden Will, He fell in with the people of tyranny at Ámul.

(5) At thirty-five that Monarch of dominion set out towards grief and calamity (there is a play on these words, *Karb ú Bela* and *Karbalá*). At thirty-six when He arrived at Teherán He was imprisoned for four months with a hundred pains and griefs.

(6) At thirty-seven the Monarch of Grace arrived at Baghdad with those of His household. At thirty-eight He disappeared from men, lifting up His standard like the Sun on the mountain-land

(7) At the age of forty He went from the plain to Zawrá (*i.e.*

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Baghdad); Zawrá in honour became like Yathrib and Baṭhá (*i.e.* Medina and Mecca); His lovers assembled from all directions (*lit.* from the four quarters); the standard of God (or 'of the truth') was set up by His rule.

(8) At forty-seven that mighty Monarch came from 'Iráḳ (*i.e.* Baghdad) travelling to the Great City (*i.e.* Constantinople): for four months he was journeying like the bright sun with those of His household and His family and His companions.

(9) At forty-eight that Giver of Purity to the earth became for four months a sojourner in the Great City (*i.e.* Constantinople): in the month of Rajab he reached the 'Land of the Mystery'; Edirné (Adrianople) became the envy of the highest Paradise.

(10) When the age of that Wonderful Lord was fifty He tore from His face the veil; sparks fell into the soul of Paradise and the Devil (*Ṭághút*, which also signifies 'an idol'): the Sun of Behá appeared from behind the cloud.

(11) When His blesséd age was fifty-three, His advance towards Jerusalem took place: in *Ghurfa* (this word, which is a name for the seventh, or highest heaven, stands in the abjad notation for 1285, which is the year of the hijra intended), and on the twentieth of Rabí'uṣ-ṣání from Adrianople went forth the King of its glory.

(12) On the twelfth day of Jamádi'ul-avval the King of nations (or creeds) arrived at Acre: it is settled that from beyond this strong prison all kingdoms will advance to His court.

(13) It is now (the month of) Sha'bán of the year of *Fúrú'* (=1286 A.H.): the age of that King is fifty-four. It is now a full year and four months that this strong fortress (*i.e.* Acre) has been the abode of the Belovéd.

(14) This year the reckoning of the life of the Belovéd is 'Life' (*ján*=54, and means 'life,' or 'soul'): all

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the friends are lifeless through separation: the Belovéd, who is this year established on the throne of 'Life' (*ján*) is ready to give life to those separated.

(15) The King of Permanence with seventy people (*i.e.* followers) has made His abode in the most desolate of all cities (*i.e.* Acre): help Thine own religion (*amr*) Thyself, O King of Permanence; for Thee there is no other helper than Thyself.

(16) How long shall Thy Branches (*aghṣán*, 'branches,' is, as I have explained, the term applied to Behá's sons) be in the assembly of the enemy? How long shall Thy friends be scattered on every side? Give life to the troop of those separated from Thee: how long shall this people be lifeless?

(17) Open this year the Gate of Meeting; give exaltation to the People of Behá this year; this year, when *ján* (soul, or life=54) is in conjunction with *furú'* (divisions, ramifications=1286), exalt a standard from the Unseen this year.

(18) O Nabíl, (make) a plan for thine own affairs; thou art forty years (old); make a change; ask for the cup of spiritual knowledge from God this year; how long wilt thou stick in the world of Words?

(19) Thine age is forty, (yet) thou art nought but a fool; thou hast not entered in at the gate of the City of the Heart: they say that forty is the year of perfection: thine age is forty, yet hast thou not become perfect."

N.B.—I have made the above translation as literal as possible, and added such notes as seem to me necessary to render it intelligible. All the dates embodied in it are given with the events corresponding to them and the equivalent Christian dates in the latter part of the "Chronological Table" appended to my first Paper on the Bábís. I possess only one text of this poem, which I copied for myself from a MS. in the possession of one of my friends at Kirmán.

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II. Text of Nabíl's Chronological Poem translated above.

۱

در اوّل غربال ز سال فرقان
دویم سحر محرّم اندر طهران
از غیب قدم بشهر امکان بنهاد
آن شه که بود خالق من فی الامکان

۲

بعد از دو ده و هفت ز عمر پاکش
سنّین شد و رحم شد باهل خاکش
اظهار نمود اسم اعلایش را
تا خلق از آن راه کنند ادراکش

۳

اندر سی و دو ز عمر شد عازم دشت
عالم ز فروغ طلعتش روشن گشت
شد مجتمع از برای کشف سبحات
با طلعت طا و قدس در دشت بدشت

٤

اندر سی و سه شگفته همچون گل شد
عازم بطبرسی آن اله کل شد
در عرض ره از مشیّت غیبیٔ خود
بر اهل ستم دوچار در آمل شد

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٥

اندر سی و پنج آن شهنشه ولا
فرمود عزیمت بسوی کرب و بلا
اندر سی و شش چه وارد طهران شد
شد حبس چهار مه بصد رنج و بلا

٦

اندر سی و هفت همره اهل حرم
شد وارد بغداد شهنشه کرم
اندر سی و هشت غیبت از خلق نمود
چون شمس بکوهسار بر افراخته علم

٧

در سال چهل ز دشت بر زورا شد
زورا ز شرف یثرب و هم بطحا شد
عشاق وی از چهار سوی جمع شدند
از سلطنتش لوای حق بر پا شد

٨

اندر چهل و هفت آن شهنشاه قدیر
آمد ز عراق عازم آن شهر کبیر
با اهل حریم و عترت و اصحابش
سیّار چهار ماه چون شمس منیر

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۹

اندر چهل و هشت آن صفا بخش زمین
در شهر کبیر چهار مه گشت مکین
در شهر رجب وارد ارض سرّ شد
گردید ادرنه رشک فردوس برین

۱۰

پنجاه چه شد عمر آن میر عجاب
فرمود ز وجه خود خرق حجاب
افتاد شرر بجان جنّت و طاغوت
خورشید بها عیان شد از خلف سحاب

۱۱

پنجاه و سه چون گشت مبارک سالش
بر جانب ارض قدس شد اقبالش
در غرفه و بیست از ربیع الثانی
بیرون ز ادرنه شد شه اجلالش

۱۲

در یوم ده و دو از جمادی الاوّل
شد وارد عکّای بلا شاه ملل
حتم است که از ورای این سجن شدید
اقبال کند بدر گهش کلّ دول

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۱۳

از سال فروع حالیا شعبان است
پنجاه و چهار عمر آن سلطان است
یک سال و چهار مه کنون گشته تمام
کاین حصن شدید منزل جانان است

۱٤

امسال عدید عمر جانان جان است
از هجر جمیع دوستان بی جان است
جانان که بعرش جان مکین است امسال
آمادهٔ جان بخشئ مهجوران است

۱٥

سلطان بقا همره هفتاد نفر
در اخرب مجموع مدن کرد مقر
خود ناصر امر خود شو ای شاه بقا
از بهر تو جز تو ناصری نیست دگر

۱٦

اغصان تو در مجلس عدوان تا کی
احباب تو هر طرف پریشان تا کی
جان بخشا بخیل مهجورانت
از هجر تو این سلسله بی جان تا کی

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۱۷

مفتوح نما باب لقائی امسال
بر اهل بقا ده ارتقائی امسال
امسال که گردیده قرین جان فروع
از غیب بر افراز لوائی امسال

۱۸

در کار خود ای نبیل تدبیری تو
چل ساله شدی نمای تغییری تو
امسال ز حق ساغر معنی در خواه
در عالم لفظ تا بکی گیری تو

۱۹

عمر تو چهل گشت بجز چل نشدی
داخل بدر مدینهٔ دل نشدی
گویند که اربعین بود سال کمال
شد عمر تو اربعین و کامل نشدی

تمّت

Note.—I have ventured to amend the reading of my MS. in two places. At the beginning of the second hemistich of the 18th stanza I have substituted چل for چهل on account of the metre, and in the second hemistich of the 19th stanza I have substituted بدر مدینه for بدر بمدینه as making better sense. I have followed my MS. in writing چه for چو in the 5th and 10th stanzas, this being a common practice at the present day in Persia when the word is to be read as a short syllable.

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III. Text of a Poem attributed to Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn.
(For translation into English verse see pp. 936–937.)

من کلام جناب طاهره

جذبات شوقک الجمت بسلاسل الغم و البلا
همه عاشقان شکسته دل که دهند جان بره ولا
اگر آن صنم ز سر ستم پئ کشتن من بی گنه
لقد استقام بسیفه فلقد رضیتُ بما رضا
سحر آن نگار ستمگرم قدمی نهاد به بسترم
و اذا رأیتُ جماله طلع الصباح کأنّما
نه چو زلف غالیه بار او نه چو چشم فتنه شعار او
شده نافهٔ بهمه ختن شده کافری بهمه خطا
تو که غافل از می و شاهدی پئ مرد عابد زاهدی
چکنم که کافر جاهدی ز خلوص نیّت اصفیا
بمراد زلف معلّقی پئ اسپ و زین معرّقی
همه عمر منکر مطلقی ز فقیر فارغ بینوا
تو و ملک و جاه سکندری من و رسم و راه قلندری
اگر آن خوش است تو در خوری وگر این بد است مرا سزا
بگذر ز منزل ما و من بگزین بملک فنا وطن
فاذا فعلت بمثل ذا فلقد بلغت بما تشا

تمّت

Note.—The text from which the above is taken was kindly copied out for me by a Bábí friend of mine formerly at Yezd from a MS. in his own possession. I have only altered it in minor particulars, viz. in writing the *izáfat* after پی in l. 3, l. 9, and l. 11; in adding the vowel points where they seemed necessary, and omitting them where they appeared superfluous in a few places; and in writing

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ستمگرم for ستم گرم in l. 5 as more in accordance with custom.

IV. TEXT OF THE LETTER WRITTEN BY MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD 'ALÍ OF TABRÍZ TO HIS ELDER BROTHER THE NIGHT BEFORE HE SUFFERED MARTYRDOM WITH HIS MASTER, MÍRZÁ 'ALÍ MUḤAMMAD THE BÁB. (For translation see above, p. 938.)

هو العطوف

قبله گاها احوالم بحمد الله عیب ندارد و لکلّ عسر یسر اینکه نوشته بودید که این کار عاقبت ندارد پس چکار عاقبت دارد باری ما که درین کار نا رضا مندی نداریم بلکه شکر این نعمت را نمیتوانم بجا بیاورم منتهای این امر کشته شدن است در راه خدا و این زهی سعادتست قضای خداوندی بر بندگان خود جاری خواهد شد تدبیر تقدیررا بر نمیگرداند ما شاء الله لا قوّة الّا بالله قبله‌گاها آخر دنیا مرگست کل نفس ذائقة الموت اجل محتوم که خداوند عزّ و جلّ مقدّر فرموده اگر مرا درک کرد پس خداوند خلیفهٔ من است بر عیال من و توئی وصیّ من هر طور که موافق رضای الهی است رفتار فرمائید و هر چه که بی ادبی و خلاف مراسم کوچکی نسبت بایشان صادر شده عفو فرمائید و طلب حلّیت از همهٔ اهل خانه از برای من نمائید و مرا بخدا بسپارید حسبی الله و نعم الوکیل انتهی

Note.—The text of the above is taken from the MS. History of the Bábís, of which I spoke in my first paper. I have supplied the *hamza* in three places, diacritical points in two others, and the *tashdíd* in six more. The words اینکار, which were written together in the original, I have separated. These are all the alterations which I have made in my text.

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APPENDIX II.

Since the publication of my first Article on the Bábís, information bearing on certain points discussed therein or in connexion therewith has reached me. As it seems to me desirable that this should be made public, especially as it has induced me to alter the views I expressed as to the age of the Báb, I have embodied it in this Appendix, together with sundry other remarks which I wished to add to what I had previously written.

I. The Age of the Báb.

While engaged in the composition of my first Article I wrote to a friend in Shíráz, who is in some sense related to the Báb, and asked him to endeavour to ascertain the date when the latter was born as nearly as possible, stating at the same time the difficulty I had experienced in reconciling the conflicting statements of different authors.

A short time ago I received an answer stating that the Báb was born on Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (October 9th, 1820), and married in A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1842), two years before the commencement of his mission, at which time he was 24 years of age. It is therefore evident that the two passages which I quoted from the Beyán (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1889, pp. 508–511) refer to the Báb's age at the time when his mission began, *not*, as I at first thought, to the time when they were composed.

The Báb's widow survived till A.H. 1300, only six years ago. She was the sister of my friend's maternal grandfather. The above particulars are derived from an old lady of the same family, so that there is every reason to regard them as reliable.

Mr. C. D. Cobham, Commissioner at Larnaca, Cyprus, has kindly supplied me with much valuable information about the Bábí exiles there. Amongst other things he tells me that Mushkín Ḳalam (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* July, 1889, pp. 516–517), with whom he was well acquainted, stated the year of the Báb's birth as A.D. 1819, which agrees much more nearly with the date above given than with that which I previously put forward.

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II. Bábí Exiles in Cyprus.

In my first article I inserted a note (p. 517) stating that, according to the Arabic Encyclopædia called *Dá'iratu'l-Ma'árif*, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel was dead. Information kindly supplied to me by Mr. Houston, Mr. Cobham, and Captain Young, residents in Cyprus, proves this statement to be a mistake. According to the information obtained by the first of these gentlemen, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel is still living at Famagusta. He is described as "evidently a man of rank," and it is further stated that he makes no use of the freedom granted him by the British Government, from which he receives a pension. He never even appears out of doors. Mr. Cobham was kind enough to refer to the Government Estimates for 1884–5, and 1889–90, and to communicate to me the results of his investigations, which showed that Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's pension had been reduced during that period from £105 6*s.* to £61 16*s.* During the same period Mushkín Ḳalam's pension sunk from £58 17*s.* to £20 13*s.* He came from Nicosia to Larnaca towards the end of 1885, and remained at the latter place till September 14th, 1886, when he left Cyprus for Acre. He has two sons: one, 'Alí, accompanied him to Acre; the other, Jelálu'd-Dín, is still in Cyprus, and is in the employment of the British Government as Land Registry clerk. Mushkín Ḳalam's real name was "Ali-ed-Din Hussein."

The information supplied by Captain Young is still more detailed. The day after he received the letter of inquiry which I had addressed to him, he paid a visit to Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel in person, and of this interview he was kind enough to forward me a circumstantial account. On the following day he received a visit from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's son, whom he describes as "an intelligent young man about 30 years old," and from him obtained further information. I would gladly quote Captain Young's letter *in extenso*, but the length which this Article has already attained forbids me to do so, and I must necessarily confine myself to a statement of the more important facts which it embodies, some of which are incorporated in the foot-note on p. 887.

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Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel is described by Captain Young as "a slightly-built man of about 5ft. 6in., with a fine-cut handsome face, and a large beard." His name is Mírzá Yaḥyá, and he was born at Teherán. His father, named 'Abbás, was better known as Mírzá Buzurg, and was "second to the Grand Vizier in Persia." Behá and Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel are step-brothers, born of one father but different mothers. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel was sent to Cyprus apparently in 1868,[1] together with his wives and children, numbering twelve in all. Muskhín Ḳalam with his family, numbering four in all, were also sent there at the same time. These were all the Bábís sent to Cyprus. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's pension from the British Government at present amounts to £7 1*s.* 6*d.* per month of thirty-one days, and about 4*s.* 6*d.* less per month of thirty days.

Some of the statements made by me in my first Article were criticized by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel as follows:

(p. 490) "There were three Bábís killed through Sheykh Báḳir. The name of the one not mentioned was Mullá Káẓim.

(p. 498) The Bábí salutation among themselves is the same as the Muhammadan. The women not the men say *Alláhu Abhá* as well as *Alláhu Akbar.*

(p. 499) The Bábís do keep Ramázan as well as Nawrúz.

(p. 499) Circumcision is not abolished by the Bábís.

(p. 501) Wine is prohibited by the Ezelís, but not by the Behá'ís.

(p. 517) Of the Ezelís killed at Acre: Háji Seyyid Huseyn of Káshán, and Mírzá Haydar 'Alí of Ardistán were not amongst them. They were killed previously at Baghdád. The full name of Mírzá Riẓá is Mirzá Riẓá Ḳulí. The others mentioned were killed at Acre by Behá's followers, and there were besides Huseyn 'Alí and Hájí Mírzá Aḥmad, both of Káshán.

[1] This is according to a note made by Captain Young's predecessor in 1879, which states that Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel and Mushkín Ḳalam have both been in the island eleven years. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's own statement to Captain Young is as follows: "I was sent here twenty-three years ago. I may have said in 1879 that I had been here eleven years then, but it is twenty-three years now according to Persian years."

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I forget at present the names of the others, but about twenty of my followers were killed by Behá'ís at Acre."

Besides this information, and much more of almost equal value, Captain Young succeeded in obtaining from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel a MS. work (of which, as I have not yet had time to study it, I must reserve the description for some other occasion), and a document of great historical interest, viz. the appointment of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel by the Báb as his successor. This is, I believe, copied directly from the original in Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's possession. As it is too valuable to be omitted, and is, moreover, quite short, I subjoin the text and translation.

[Text of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's Appointment as Báb's Successor.]

الله اكبر تكبيراً كبيراً

هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى الله المهيمن القيوم

قل كلّ من الله مبدؤن قل كلّ الى الله يعودون

هذا كتاب من على قبل نبيل ذكر الله للعالمين

الى من يعدل اسمه اسم الوحيد ذكر الله للعالمين

قل كلّ من نقطة البيان ليبدئون

ان يا اسم الوحيد فاحفظ ما نزل فى البيان

و أمر به فانّك لصراط حقّ عظيم

(امضا)

[Translation of the Same.]

"God is Most Great with the Uttermost Greatness.

This is a letter on the part of God, the Protector, the Self-Existent.

To God, the Protector, the Self-Existent.

Say, 'all originate from God.'

Say 'all return unto God.'

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This is a letter from 'Alí before Nebíl, the Remembrance of God unto the Worlds.

Unto him whose name is equivalent to the Name of the One (*waḥid*=28), the Remembrance of God unto the Worlds.

Say, 'Verily all originate from the Point of Revelation' (*Nuḳṭa-i-Beyán*).

O Name of the One! Keep what hath been revealed in the Beyán,

And what hath been commanded. Verily thou art a Mighty Way of Truth."

(Signature).

The document from which the above text is taken is endorsed by Captain Young as follows: "*Copy of Appointment of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel as Báb's successor, original written by Báb.*" I will only make the following observations on it.

The Báb calls himself "*'Alí before Nebíl*" (i.e. *'Alí Nebíl*), instead of *'Alí Muhammad*, which is his proper name. *Nebíl* is chosen as an equivalent of *Muhammad*, the numerical value of either word being the same (92) according to the *abjad* notation. Of these substitutions the Bábís are very fond, and this same document, short as it is, furnishes us with another instance. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel is not addressed by his proper name, Yaḥyá, but is described as "he whose name is equivalent to the One" (*waḥid*), because the numerical equivalent of both وحيد and يحيي is the same, viz. 28. I have already discussed the important part played by the *abjad* notation in the Bábí theology (p. 39–43), which has also been fully treated of by Gobineau. This document furnishes us with the grounds whereon Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's claims to be the Báb's vicegerent are based. The reasons why the appointment is considered as cancelled by the Behá'ís have been mentioned in my first Article (p. 515). They admit that Mírzá Yaḥyá *was* the vicegerent of the Báb, but declare that his right to exercise authority ceased on the appearance of 'He whom God shall manifest' and the commencement of the new dispensation which he ushered in. That 'He whom

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God shall manifest' has the right to assume the fullest authority—this authority extending to the abrogation of old and the addition of new ordinances—is conclusively proved by the Beyán itself. The whole question on which the Bábí schism hinges is therefore this: "Is Behá 'He whom God shall manifest,' or not? If he is, then Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's appointment ceases to be valid. If not, then Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel is undoubtedly the Báb's chosen successor."

I cannot lose this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks to Captain Young, Mr. C. D. Cobham, and Mr. Houston for the ready help they have given me in my researches, and the valuable information with which they have supplied me. The promptitude with which their inquiries were set on foot, the care with which they were conducted, and the value of the results obtained, were only equalled by the ready courtesy with which they undertook the investigation. I also desire to express my gratitude to Mr. A. A. Bevan, of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his kindness in assisting me to revise most of the passages translated from the Arabic, whereby several serious errors have been corrected, and many emendations made.

One more remark must be added. In my first Article (p. 517, note) I stated that a rumour had reached me from Beyrout to the effect that Behá was dead. The correspondent who informed me of this report has since written to contradict it on the authority of no less a person than Behá's son, 'Abbás Efendí.

III. The Last Bábí Martyr.

Those who were present at the Meeting of the Society on April 15th, 1889, at which my first paper was read, will remember that in the discussion which followed it, General Houtum-Schindler stated that a Bábí had been put to death at Isfahán in October, 1888. In reply to inquiries which I made of my friends in Persia, I received a little time ago a letter containing an account of this event, of a portion of which I here give the translation:

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"You wrote that you had heard from General Schindler of the martyrdom of one of this sect. The details are these. A child, who was one of the servants of the *andarún* (women's apartments) of the Prince Ẓill-es-Sulṭán, had become acquainted with several individuals of 'the friends' (*aḥbáb*), and Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf of Ábádé had apprized him of this Matter (*i.e.* had converted him to Bábíism). News of this reaches the Prince Ẓill-es-Sulṭán. They torment the child to make him tell the truth, but he in no wise discloses the matter. Guile enters the hearts of the Prince's servants. One of them goes and inquires of several of 'the friends,' 'Where is Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf? I have a wife in Ábádé, and I desire to send to her a letter and some money. Since Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf has acquaintances in Ábádé, I wish to send them by means of him.' These, believing this representation, point out to him the abode of Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf. When they recognize Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf, they seize him and bring him into the presence of the Prince. The Prince inquires of Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf, 'Art thou of this sect?' He answers, 'I am not.' He says, 'If thou art not, curse' (them, or the Báb, or Behá). He replies, 'Since their wickedness has not been made apparent to me, I will not curse' (them). Eventually the Prince obtains a decision from several of the '*Ulamá*, and telegraphs to Teherán, 'If this person be not killed, the '*Ulamá* and the populace will raise disturbance: the 'Ulamá, moreover, have pronounced sentence: he himself, also, has confessed that he is of this sect, and it is necessary to kill him to quiet the people.' The order comes from Teherán, 'Do whatever appears desirable.' Then the Prince orders the execution of Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf. According to the accounts I have heard, they cut off his head and then gibbet him. Afterwards they set fire to his body. I myself was acquainted with Áḳá Mírzá Ashraf. . . . His age seemed to be about sixty. He was a man of understanding and education; a good calligraphist; and extremely courteous and amiable. . . . In every way he was a most excellent man."

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IV. Bábí Literature.

Although I have had occasion to refer to almost all the Bábí works known to me in the course of one or other of my Articles, it appears to me desirable, as a means of facilitating future studies of this subject, to recapitulate briefly the titles of these, and, in the case of such as have not been elsewhere described, to add the opening and concluding passages in the original, so that the identification of Bábí MSS. may be rendered easier.

A. Works of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the Báb.

1. زيارت نامه. The *Ziyárat-namé*, containing prayers for the visitation of the tombs of the Imáms. Composed probably before A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844). Passages which appear to be translations of portions of this work are given by Mírzá Kazem Beg in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866, série vi. tome 8, pp. 500–502. Of this work I possess a copy written for me at Kirmán.

Begins:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله ربّ العالمين و انّما الصلوة على محمّد رسول الله و خاتم النبيين و انّما السلام على آل الله و آل آل الله بما شاء و اراد انّه لا اله الّا هو الحق (الحقّ) المبين و بعد اذا اردت زيارة حبيب الله او احد من ائمّة الدين طهّر اوّلاً جسمك الخ

Ends:

اختم ثنائى عليكم بما نزّل الله فى كتابه حيث قال و قوله الحق لمن عرف حقّكم فى ملكوت الامر و الخلق سبحان ربّك ربّ العزّة عمّا يصفون و سلام على المرسلين و الحمد لله ربّ العالمين *

2. تفسير سورهٔ يوسف. The *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf.* Described by Baron Rosen (*Manuscrits Arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, St. Petersburg, 1887, pp. 179–191). A

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MS. of this work also exists in the British Museum Library, numbered Or. 3539.

3. The longer Arabic *Beyán*. A MS. which may be a copy of the work in question is described with extracts by Dorn (*Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. de St. Pétersbourg*, Dec. 22nd, 1864). See also Rosen (*MSS. Arabes*, etc., p. 180, note), and Gobineau *et Relig. Philos.* etc., pp. 311–312).

4. The shorter Arabic *Beyán*. This has been translated by Gobineau into French (*Relig. et Philos.* pp. 461–543). He calls it '*Biyyan*' (page 312) and '*Ketab-e-hukkam*' (كتاب احكام؟).

5. The Persian *Beyán*. Described by Rosen (*MSS. Persans*, etc. pp. 1–32) with copious extracts, and table of contents. Contains eight واحد each divided into nineteen باب, and ten باب of the ninth واحد. Rosen's exhaustive and detailed description, which is based on two MSS., renders further notice unnecessary in this place. A copy of the same work, written in A.H. 1299 by نبيل and numbered Or. 2819, exists in the British Museum. Another copy is in my own possession. All copies end at Váḥid ix. ch. x. Composed by the Báb while a prisoner at Mákú (A.D. 1847–1850).

6. دلائل سبعه. The *Seven Proofs*. Authorship doubtful. Written during the Báb's life about 1264–65 (A.D. 1848–49) I know of only one copy, viz. my own, made for me at Kirmán.

Begins:

بسم الله الافرد الافرد الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو الافرد الافرد
انما البهاء من الحمد على من يظهره الحمد ثمّ ادلّائه لم يزل و لا يزال
و بعد لوح مسطوررا مشاهده نموده هرگاه خواسته شود مفصّل ذكر
ادلّه در اثبات ظهورگردد الواح اكوانيه و امكانيه نتوانند تحمّل نمود

Ends:

و آن ايمان تورا كفايت ميكند از كلّ ما على الارض و كلّ ما
على الارض تورا كفايت نميكند از ايمان كه اگر مومن نباشى
شجرهٔ حقيقت امر بفناء تو ميكند و اگر مومن باشى كفايت

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میکند از کلّ ما علی الارض اگرچه مالکٔ شئ نباشی این است ظهور معنئ این آیه در مقام رسول اللّه در ظهور قبل و هم چنین ظهور بعد و هم چنین ظهور من یظهره اللّه و هم چنین الی آخر الذی لا آخر له بمثل من اوّل الذی لا اوّل له مشاهده کن و قل ان الحمد للّه ربّ العالمین و استغفر اللّه ربّک فی کلّ حین و قبل کلّ حین و بعد حین * تمّت *

Other works mentioned in the Bábí history as having been composed by the Báb: Commentaries on the سورة البقرة, the سورة الکوثر, and the سورة العصر: treatise on نبوّت خاصّه.

B. Poems of Ḳurratu'l-'Ayn.

The text of one ghazal attributed to '*Jenáb-i-Ṭahiré*' has been given above: another ascribed to her authorship beginning:

لمعات و جهک اشرقت و شعاع طلعتک اعتلا
زچه رو الست بربّکم نزنی بزن که بلی بلی

has been discussed. There remains the *maṣnavi* poem beginning:

هو المحبوب

در تغنّی آی ای طیر عماء — در شرار انداز اوراق ثناء
آدمی را سوی جنّت باز آر — در مقام سرّ وحدت باز آر

and ending:

چون سخن گفتی زحق ای خوش سخن
باش خاموش و دمی خود دم مزن

Other poems doubtless exist, and might be obtained by careful search.

C. Bábí History.

A MS. of this numbered Or. 2942 exists in the British Museum. It contains ff. 177 (pp. 354). My MS. obtained at Shíráz contains pp. 374. For description of it, see my first article (*Journal R.A.S.* July, 1889, p. 496).

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Begins:

بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحیم خورده بینان خردمند بفراست در یافت کنند و دانشمندان بصیر بعین یقین بینند و هوشمندان خبیر بنور کیاست و دانش دانند که در امر مذهب و دین ابداً تبعیّت و تقلید شایسته و جائز نبوده

Ends:

بقیّهٔ احوالات این سلسله که مشعر بر چگونگئ احکامات و سنن ایشان و بعضی مطالب عالیهٔ عرفان و شمّهٔ از مراتب محاسن و اخلاق و آداب و صداقتی که از ایشان مشهود آمد و برأی العین مرئی گردید اگر خداوند بخواهد و اجل امان بدهد در دفتر دوّم ذکر میشود با بیانی کآن بود نزدیکتر ازین کنایات دقیق مستتر بو که فیما بعد دستوری رسد رازهای گفتنی گفته شود *

D. Works of Mírzá Yaḥyá, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel.

Of none of these have I seen copies, and beyond the brief notice of the '*Livre de la Lumière*' by Gobineau (*Rel. et Phil.* pp. 312–313), and the description of a MS. which appears to be a specimen of the work, as well as of sundry other Ezelí writings, by M. Clément Huart (*Journal Asiatique*, 1887, viii. série, tome 10, pp. 133–134), I know of no information about them.

E. Works of Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí, Behá.

1. ایقان. The *I'ḳán* (Assurance), a controversial work written A.H. 1278 (A.D. 1861) by Behá before he put forward his claim to supremacy. This important work is probably the commonest of all the Bábí writings, and is generally the first book placed in the hands of the inquirer. It is fully described by Rosen (*MSS. Persans*, pp. 32–51) with copious extracts. A copy numbered Or. 3116 exists in the British Museum. Another copy is in my own possession. The work has also been very carefully lithographed

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in India. Almost every Bábí in Persia who has any books at all has this.

2. لوح نصیر. One of the earliest Epistles written by Behá after putting forward his claim. The only copy I know of in Europe is one made for me at Kirmán.

Begins:

هو البهیّ الابهی بنام خداوند یکتا عزّ توحیده و تفریده قلم اعلی لا زال بر اسم احبّای خود متحرّک و جاری و آنی از فیوضات لا بدایات خود ممنوع و ساکن نه و نسیم فضلیّه از مکمن احدیّه بر کلّ اشیا در کلّ حین در هبوب بوده و خواهد بود

Ends:

کذلک حرّک لسان الله الملک الغریز العلیم لتسکن فی نفسک و تفرح فی ذاتک و تکون من الصابرین و المتوکّلین * تمّت *

3. الواح سلاطین. Letters from Behá to the Kings, written probably about A.D. 1869. These are altogether different from the Epistle described by Rosen (*MSS. Arabes*, pp. 191–208): the latter would seem to be by a different writer (see above, pp. 954–958). They are as follows:

(i) لوح ناصر الدین شاه. The Epistle to Náṣiru 'd-Dín Sháh, King of Persia. Carried from Acre to Teherán by a young Bábí called by his co-religionists بدیع, who was put to death in consequence by the Sháh. A copy numbered Or. 3115 exists in the British Museum.

Begins:

هو الله تعالی شانه بالعظمة[1] و الاقتدار یا ملک الارض اسمع نداء هذا المملوک انّی عبد آمنت بالله و آیاته و فدیت نفسی فی سبیله و یشهد بذلک ما انا فیه من البلایا التی ما حملها احد من العباد و کان ربّی العلیم علی ما اقول شهیداً

Ends:

و الحمد لله مالک یوم الدین و نسئله تعالی بان یجعلک ناصراً لأمره و ناظراً الی عدله لتحکم علی العباد کما تحکم علی ذوی قرابتک و تختار لهم ما تختاره لنفسک انّه لهو المقتدر المتعالی المهیمن القیّوم *

[1] MS. العظمة.

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(ii) لوح ملك پاريس. Epistle to Napoleon III.

Begins:

ان يا قلم الاعلى تحرك على ذكر ملوك اخرى فى هذه الورقة المباركة النوراء ليقومنّ عن رقد الهوى و يسمعنّ ما تغرّد به الورقاء على افنان سدرة المنتهى و يسرعنّ الى اللّه فى هذا الظهور الابدع المنيع قل يا ملك الباريس نبئ القسّيس بان لا يدقّ النواقيس تاللّه الحقّ قد ظهر الناقوس الافخم على هيكل اسم الاعظم و تدقّ اصابع مشيّة ربّك العلى الاعلى فى جبروت البقاء باسمه الابهى كذلك نزلت آيات ربّك الكبرى تارةً اخرى لتقوم على ذكر اللّه فاطر الارض و السما فى تلك الآيام التى فيها ناحت قبائل الارض كلّها و تزلزلت اركان البلاد و غشّت العباد غبرة الالحاد الّا من شاء ربّك العزيز الحكيم

Ends:

كذلك سلّطت عليهم الاوهام جزاء اعمالهم فانظر فى قلّة عقولهم يتّبعون ما لا ينفعهم بمنتهى الجدّ و الاجتهاد و لو تسئلهم هل ينفعكم ما اردتم تجدهم متحيّرين ولو ينصف احد يقول لا و ربّ العالمين هذا شأن الناس و ما عند هم دعهم فى خوضهم ثمّ ولّ وجهك شطر اللّه هذا ما ينبغى لك ان استنصح بما نصحت من لدن ربّك و قل ان الحمد لك يا اللّه من فى السّموات و الارضين *

(iii) لوح رئيس. Epistle to 'the Chief,' written to some Turkish or Persian official; to whom I am not sure.

Begins:

بسمه الابهى ان يا رئيس اسمع نداء اللّه الملك المهيمن القيّوم انّه ينادى بين الارض و السماء و يدع[1] الكلّ الى المنظر الابهى و لا يمنعه قباعك و لا نباح من فى حولك و لا جنود العالمين.

[1] For يدعو.

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Ends:

اى ربّ قد اخذتنا رعدة الظمأ وعندك كوثر البقا و انّك انت المقتدر على ما تشاء لا تحرمنا عمّا اردنا ثمّ اكتب لنا اجر المقرّبين من عبادك و المخلصين من بريّتك ثمّ استقمنا فى حبّك على شأن لا يمنعنا عنك ما دونك و لا ينصرفنا عن حبّك ما سويك[1] و انّك المقتدر على ما تشاء و انّك انت العزيز الكريم *

(iv) لوح پاپا. Epistle to the Pope.

Begins:

ان يا پاپا ان اخرق الاحجاب قد اتى ربّ الارباب فى ظلّ السحاب و قضى الامر من لدى اللّه المقتدر المختار ان اكشف السبحات بسلطان ربّك ثمّ اصعد الى ملكوت الاسماء و الصفات كذلك يأمركم القلم الاعلى من لدن ربّك العزيز الجبّار

Ends:

طوبى للّذين عرفوا النور و سرعوا اليه اذا هم فى ملكوت يأكلون و يشربون مع الاصفياء و نريكم[2] يا ابناء الملكوت فى الظلمة هذا لا ينبغى لكم الّا تخافون من اعمالكم تلقاء النور ان اقبلوا اليه ان ربّكم الجليل قد شرف بقدومه دياره كذلك نعلمكم سبيل الّذى اخبره الروح انى اشهد اللّه كما اشهد له كما انّه كان لى شهيدًا انّه قال تعاليا لاجعلكم صيّادى[3] تعالوا ان اجعلكم صيّاد الانسان و اليوم نقول تعالوا لنجعلكم محيى العالم كذلك قضى الحكم فى لوح كان من قلم الامر مسطوراً *

(v) لوح ملكه. Epistle to the Queen of England.

Begins:

يا ايّتها الملكة فى اللوندره ان استمعى نداء ربّك مالك البريّة من السدرة الالهيّة انّه لا اله الّا انا العزيز الحكيم ضعى ما على الارض ثمّ زيّنى رأس الملك باكليل ربّك الجليل انّه قد اتى فى العالم بمجده الاعظم و كمل ما ذكر فى الانجيل

[1] For سواك. [2] For نراكم. [3] Probably صيّادىّ.

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Ends :

ثمّ ايّدنى يا الهى على ذكرك بين إمائك و نصرة امرك فى ديارك ثمّ اقبل منّى ما فات عنّي عند طلوع انوار وجهك انّك انت على كلّشئ قدير والبهاء لك يا من بيدك ملكوت ملك السموات و الارضين *

(vi) لوح ملك روس. Epistle to the Emperor of Russia.

Begins :

ان يا ملك الروس ان استمع نداء اللّه الملك القدوس ثمّ اقبل الى الفردوس مقرّ الّذي فيه استقرّ من سمّى بالاسماء الحسنى بين ملأ الاعلى و فى ملكوت الانشاء باسم اللّه البهى الابهى ايّاك ان يحجبك هواك عن التوجّه الى وجه ربّك الرحمن الرحيم

Ends :

لا تكن من الّذين كانوا ان يدّعوا له باسم من الاسماء فلمّا اتى المسمّى كفروا به و اعرضوا عنه الى ان افتوا عليه بظلم مبين و انظر ثمّ اذكر الايام الّتى فيها اتى الروح و حكم عليه هيرودس قد نصر اللّه الروح بجنود الغيب *

4. لوح اقدس. "*The Most Holy Tablet.*" The chief sacred book of the Bábís who follow Behá. A MS. of this work numbered Or. 2820 exists in the British Museum. It contains a short commentary on some of the more difficult passages, especially the very obscure section relating to inheritance. Of this work I possess three MSS., two from Shíráz, and one from Kirmán. They are all written with care, and present comparatively few variants.

Begins :

بسمه الحاكم على ما كان و ما يكون انّ اوّل ما كتب اللّه على العباد عرفان مشرق وحيه (وجهه .Kirman MS) و مطلع امره الّذى كان مقام نفسه فى عالم الامر و الخلق من فاز به قد فاز بكلّ الخير و الّذى منع انّه من اهل الضّلال و لو يأتى بكلّ الاعمال

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Ends:

يا اهل المجالس فى البلاد ان اختاروا لغةً من اللغات ليتكلم بها من علي الارض و كذلك من الخطوط ان الله يبيّن لكم ما ينفعكم و يغنيكم عن دونكم انّه لهو الفضّال العليم الخبير هذا سبب الاتّحاد لو انتم تعلمون و العلة الكبرى للاتفاق و التمدّن لو انتم تشعرون انّا جعلنا الامرين علامتين لبلوغ العالم الاوّل و هو السّ الاعظم نزّلناه فى الواح اخرى و الثانى نزل فى هذا اللوح البديع *

These comprise the chief Bábí writings with which I am acquainted. Besides them there are numerous short epistles written to different private individuals, generally believers; sometimes, as in the case of the لوح شيخ باقر, to enemies and persecutors. Numerous Bábí poems by نبيل, روحا, نعيم, etc., also exist. Of some of these I possess copies which I hope to publish subsequently.

V. Transliteration.

Considerations into which it is needless to enter having induced me, though somewhat against my own inclinations, to employ only the Roman character in the earlier part of this article, reserving the Arabic type for the last pages, it is necessary to add a few words of apology and explanation.

Transliteration of Arabic is especially unsatisfactory, involving as it does not only disputed questions of pronunciation, but also the necessity of supplying vowel-points, which are not as a rule given in the texts, and are sometimes doubtful. As I have no knowledge of spoken Arabic, I have, in the transliteration of all Arabic passages, followed in the main the system laid down by my former teacher, the late Professor Palmer, in his *Arabic Manual*, which appears to me at least as good as any other. In only one point am I conscious of a certain amount of irregularity, viz. in the transliteration of the *fatḥa*. This is usually represented by *a*; but in certain words which occurred continually throughout the article, and in which *e* seemed to me more accurately to indicate

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the current pronunciation, I have allowed the latter to stand, even when the word occurred in a passage cited in the original, *e.g.* بها is written *Behá*, not *Bahá*; بیان *Beyán*, not *Bayán*.

As regards the Persian, I knew of no system which I was prepared to adopt in its entirety. Those employed in France and Germany seemed unsuitable by reason of the more complicated representation of the consonants rendered necessary by the peculiarities of those languages, while those devised in England have usually been constructed with the view of indicating the pronunciation of Persian as spoken by natives of India.

So far as concerns the consonants, I have followed the system laid down by Forbes in his Persian Grammar with the following exceptions:

(1) ث is represented by *ṡ* instead of *s̱*.

(2) ع is represented by ' instead of '.

(3) ظ, ض, and ذ are alike represented by *ẓ*. It would no doubt have been better to distinguish them as Forbes has done, but since they occur for the most part in words which will be immediately recognized by any one with a knowledge of the language, it appeared to me unnecessary to introduce further complications into the typography, especially as the total amount of transliterated Persian in the article is but small.

(4) و is usually represented by *v*, sometimes by *w*.

As regards the vowels, those which are long are marked with an acute accent, and the *majhúl* sounds of *o* and *e* peculiar to India are discarded. When *e* is used, it represents *fatḥa*, which, however, is usually transliterated *a*, with the exceptions above specified; at the end of words *é* represents ه pointed with *fatḥa*, and sometimes with *kesra*, e.g. *ché* for چه.

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ART. XIII.—*The Early Pallavas of Kánchípura.* By the Reverend T. FOULKES, M.R.A.S., etc., Retired Senior Chaplain, Madras Establishment.

THE remarkable Pallava inscription edited by Professor G. Bühler in the first number of the "Epigraphia Indica" very appropriately inaugurates that new publication, not only because it is the earliest copper-plate muniment which has hitherto been discovered in India, presuming the argument for its date in this present paper is sound, but more especially because its contemporaneous evidence stamps the rule of the Pallavas in Southern India at that early time with historical certainty. Moreover, it supplies authentic materials for an outline sketch of the condition of the Pallava region of the Dakhaṇ at this period of its ancient history, and its political, religious, and social institutions, and of its intellectual and literary advancement.

This document is a renewal of a previous grant of a garden made by an earlier king, Bappa, whose name has already appeared in the inscriptions of the Pallavas, to several Brahmans of various ancestral lineage in certain specified shares, and free from all taxes; to which was now added a new grant of a piece of land in a neighbouring village for a threshing-floor, and of another piece for house-sites, together also with four cultivating labourers, and two other agricultural serfs attached to the soil; this endowment being created for the increase of the merit, longevity, power, and fame of the donor's family and race. The grant was issued from Kánchípura, the modern Conjeveram, 46 miles south-west from Madras, and it is dated on the fifth day of the sixth fortnight of the rainy season in the year eight of the donor's reign. The grantor is the righteous supreme great king of kings of the Pallava race, Śivaskanda-varman, a

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member of the spiritual guild of the ṛishi Bharadvája, and an offerer of the Agnishṭoma, Vájapeya, and Aśvamedha vedic sacrifices. The entire body of the inscription is in an old form of Prákrit; but a short benediction in Sanskrit is added at its close, and the king's name on the seal is also written in its Sanskrit form.

With regard to the date of the grant, Professor Bühler remarks that "it is impossible to say how the donor is connected with the other Pallava kings known from the śásanas as yet published, or to fix the period when he reigned;" but he derives an argument for a tentative early date from the circumstance of its being written in Prákrit. There are, however, in addition to this language-clue, two other clues to its date incidentally embodied in its statements. One of them is of a very general character, and, like the language-clue, merely suggests in a vague way some very early date; but the other will, I think, supply the key to certain definite limits of time within which its date must fall:

(1) King Śivaskanda-varman had offered the horse-sacrifice (aśvamedha), a sacrifice which Samudra-gupta, about A.D. 365, boasts of having revived after it "had been long in abeyance."[1] Nobody will maintain that this present Pallava grant is of later date than the fourth century A.D., and so it follows, howsoever indefinitely, from that boast, that Śivaskanda-varman lived "long" before Samudra-gupta.

(2) The second clue is derived from the circumstance of the date of the grant being stated in the peculiar form of the serial fortnights of the year of three seasons, spring, summer, and winter; and to follow it up, I proceed to trace the dynasty of kings by whom this special system of dating was adopted, and the period of time in which it was used.

With regard to the Pallava inscriptions which have hitherto been published, I find that out of the fifteen documents attributed to the kings of this race, only five of them exhibit their dates, the rest being either without date originally, or their dates have been obliterated or lost.

[1] Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XXI. (N.S.), p. 619.

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Four of these five are dated uniformly on the lunar days of the waxing and waning lunar fortnights of the twelve lunar months in the serial years of the king's reign; and the fifth,[1] my grant of Pallava-malla, omits the months and days, and has simply the regnal year of the king. This method of dating by lunar fortnights, lunar months, and regnal years may therefore be regarded as the established system of the Pallavas during the period which these inscriptions cover, namely, from the fourth century[2] downwards, and probably somewhat earlier.

The inscriptions of the Chálukya kings during the same period are similarly dated for the minor divisions of time, but in them the continuous era of Śáliváhana is used for the years, in the place of the regnal years of the kings.

It is to be observed here that the lunar fortnights of these two systems are of a quite different character from the solar serial fortnights of the system of our present Pallava grant. I must also add that, with one solitary partial exception to be noticed presently, no trace of this latter system has hitherto been met with of so late a date as the fourth century A.D. We may therefore proceed to examine the period before that date, in order to discover at what time this peculiar method of season-fortnights was used as a formal division of time.

The dates of the inscriptions of the early Guptas have the same minor divisions of time as the Chálukya grants; but for the years they use an era of their own in the place of that of Śáliváhana. For this group we have examples in the inscriptions of Chandra-gupta, Skanda-gupta, and Budha-gupta.[3] There is, however, an irregularity in the method of this series. Buddha-gupta's grant adds the week day; one of Toramána's[4] is dated like the above four Pallava grants; and one of Skanda-gupta's[5] uses the days of the lunar fortnights of the serial lunar months of the year of

[1] Indian Antiquary, vol. viii. p. 273; Salem Manual, vol. ii. p. 355.
[2] See the heading to plate xxiv. of Burnell's South Indian Palæography.
[3] Journ. Bomb. Asiat. Soc. vol. viii. p. 124; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. pp. 21–23, 137. See Prinsep's Essays (Thomas), vol. i. pp. 249, 250, 340.
[4] Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. p. 23.
[5] Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. vii. p. 124; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. ii. p. 137.

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three seasons, being in this respect a cross between the usual Gupta method and that of the Indo-Scythians in one direction, and that of the present Pallava grant in the other direction. These Gupta inscriptions thus belong to the transition period when the older system was working out and the newer system working in.

Ascending beyond the Guptas into the Satrap period, we still find the same minor divisions of time as in the Gupta and Chálukya documents; the years of the Satrap inscriptions are expressed in the continuous series of an era which was probably their own. The inscription of Gonophares adds to this the regnal year of this ruler. Instances of this group occur in the inscriptions of Nahapána, where the month and day are omitted, Usavadáta, Rudra-dáma, and Rudra-sena.[1]

We come next to the period of the Indo-Scythian kings, ranging on both sides of the epoch of the Christian era. Eighteen inscriptions of this group belong to the magnificent finds of Sir Alexander Cunningham at Mathura.[2] They are respectively dated on the 4th, 5th, 11th, 12th, 16th, 20th, and 30th days of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of the three seasons, Gríshma, Varsha, and Hemanta. Here we find an approach to the system used in our present Pallava grant, but with these important differences: (1) that the Indo-Scythian system uses the whole-month days, from one to thirty, of the serial *months* of the three seasons, while our Pallava grant uses the days of the serial *fortnights* of those seasons; and (2) that it uses the continuous years of a Samvat era, whereas this Pallava grant uses the regnal year of the king. Another point of distinction may also be noted, namely, that all these Indo-Scythian inscriptions are written in the Sanskrit language, although, as must also be borne in mind, the coins of this dynasty have Prákrit legends.[3] Their

[1] Early History of the Dekhan, pp. 13, 17, 19; Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, pp. 33, 52; *ib.* Reports, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16, 40, 43, 129; vol. iv. pp. 24, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103.

[2] Archæol. Surv. Rep. vol. iii. p. 30ff.; with Professor Dowson's paper on some of these inscriptions in Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. Vol. V. (N.S.). p. 182ff.

[3] For some examples, see the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vásudeva in Archæol. Surv. Western Ind. vol. ii. p. 31.

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coins, like their lithic inscriptions, are dated in the three seasons of the Samvat years, with the addition in some instances of the whole-month days and the months of the Macedonian Calendar.

There remains one more group belonging to this early period to complete our review, namely, the inscriptions of the reigns of the Andhrabhritya kings. Four inscriptions of this class occur at Kánheri, near Bombay, of the times of Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi, Sákasena, Máḍhariputra Sirisena, and Gotamiputra Śrí-yajṇa-Śátakarṇi.[1] Four more occur at Kárle, at the head of the Bórghát leading up from the Bombay coast to the plains of the Dakhaṇ, belonging to the reign of Pulumáyi.[2] Six other inscriptions belonging to this king's reign occur at Násik,[3] another at Amarávatí,[4] and another at Nánaghát.[5] One of the reign of Śrí Śátakarṇi occurs on the southern gateway of the Sánchi tope.[6] Násik has also one of the reign of King Kṛishṇa,[7] two of the reign of Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi,[8] and one of Śrí-yajṇa Sátakarṇi.[9] There is another inscription of the last-named king in the Madras Museum, which was found at Chinna-Ganjám, I presume, on the sea-shore in the Kistna District.[10] One of the time of Háritiputra Sátakarṇi has been found at Bánavási,[11] on the route of the great western ford of Harihara on the Tungabhadra, and one of Máḍhariputra Purisadatta, if it belongs to this group, at Jagayyapett,[12] on the route of the great

[1] Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. v. pp. 47, 56; vol. xii. p. 408; Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, p. 61; vol. v. pp. 75, 79, 82.

[2] Arch. Surv. Western India, No. 10, pp. 34, 36, 37; vol. iv. pp. 24, 25, 92, 107, 112, 113.

[3] Journ. As. Soc. Bomb. vol. v. pp. 42, 56, 153; vol. vii. pp. 48, 50; vol. xiii. p. 308; Cave Temples, p. 267; Arch. Surv. Western India, vol. iv. pp. 107, 108, 110.

[4] Arch. Surv. Southern India, No. 3, p. 27; vol. i. p. 100.

[5] Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bomb. vol. viii. pp. 236, 237.

[6] Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, pp. 264, 266

[7] Early Hist. Dek. pp. 12, 17; Cave Temples, pp. 26, 275, note; Arch. Rep. Western India, vol. iv. p. 98.

[8] Arch. Rep. Western India, vol. iv. pp. 104, 105.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 114.

[10] Epigraphia Indica, vol i. p. 95; see also Mr. Robert Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, vol. i. p. 83; and Mackenzie's Manual of the Kistna District, p. 206.

[11] Arch. Rep. Western India, No. 10, pp. 100, 101.

[12] Arch. Rep. Southern India, No. 3, p. 55; vol. i. p. 110.

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eastern ford of the lower Kṛishṇa at Bezváḍa. All of the inscriptions of this group are dated *precisely like the present Pallava grant*, namely, on the days of the serial fortnights of the three seasons in the regnal years of the kings, and without any continuous era; like it also, all of them are written in the Prákrit language.

The following Table exhibits the details of the inscriptions of this group, so far as they affect the present enquiry:

King.	*Locality of Inscription.*	*Day.*	*Fortnight.*	*Season.*	*Regnal Year.*	*Language.*
Kṛishṇa	Násik	...	...	...	...	Prákrit
S'rí Sátakarṇi	Sánchi	...	...	...	...	Do.
Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi	Kánheri	...	5	Grísbma	...	Do.
Do.	Násik	1	2	Varsha	14	Do.
Do.	Do.	5	4	Varsha	24	Do.
	2nd date	10	6 or 2	Hemanta	24	Do.
Pulumáyi	Násik	4	4	Hemanta	2	Do.
Do.	Do.	8	4	Hemanta	2	Do.
Do.	Kárle	1	4	Hemanta	4	Do.
Do.	Do.	...	..	Hemanta	5	Do.
Do.	Násik	1	5	Grísbma	6	Do.
Do.	Kárle	1	5	Grísbma	7	Do.
Do.	Násik	13	4	Grísbma	9	Do.
Do.	Do.	13	2	Grísbma	19	Do.
Do.	Do.	7	...	Grísbma	22	Do.
Do.	Kárle	2	3	Hemanta	24	Do.
Do.	Amarávatí	...	..		...	Do.
Sirisena	Kánheri	10	6	Grísbma	8	Do.
Sákasena	Do.	10	5	Grísbma	8	Do.
Do.	Do.	..	...		...	Do.
S'ríyajṇa Sátakarṇi	Násik	1	3	Hemanta	7	Do.
Do.	Kánheri	5	1	Grísbma	16	Do.
Do.	Chinna Ganjam	5	4	Hemanta	27	Do.
Háritiputra Sátakarṇi	Bánavási	1	7	Hemanta	12	Do.
Purisadatta	Jagayyapett	10	8	Varsha	20	Do.

It may be well here to summarize this part of the subject: The division of the year into three seasons is of very ancient date in India, being common both to Vedic times and to the period of the early Buddhists. It can be traced downwards, as the above notes show, through the surviving monuments of each succeeding dynasty of kings down to the early Guptas, during whose ascendency it appears to have passed away. But each of these dynasties had its own separate method of arranging the minor subdivisions of the seasons:

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(1) The Vedic Bráhmans and the early Buddhists used this measure of time as a mere secondary distribution of their lunar year of twelve months, with the serial days of their demi-lunations, together with the regnal years of the kings.

(2) The Indo-Scythians used it in combination with the years of a Samvat era, and with a subdivision of the three seasons into serial months of apparently thirty days each.

(3) The Skanda-Gupta variation differs from the Indo-Scythian system by dividing the serial lunar months of the three seasons into demi-lunations, thus reverting from the solar to the lunar chronological method.

(4) The Andhrabhrityas divided the three seasons into serial solar fortnights running throughout each season, and without reference to any months.

Down to the appearance of this new Pallava grant, this last method of distributing the three seasons appeared to be confined to the usage of the Andhrabhrityas; we now learn that it was used by the Pallava kings of Kánchípura, also in that period of their history to which this grant belongs.

These facts having been thus ascertained, I will now resume my argument. It may be fairly presumed that a grant dated after so peculiar a method may rightly claim to belong to the period when that method is known to have prevailed. On this principle this new Pallava grant is to be assigned to the period of the rule of the Andhrabhrityas, namely to some time between 73 B.C. and 218 A.D.[1]

But we can arrive at a more definite approximate date within this period by another method. The Andhrabhritya inscriptions in which this system is used by kings whose dates can be ascertained, are those of Gotamiputra Sátakarṇi, Pulumáyi, Sirisena, and Śrí-yajṇa Sátakarṇi. The first and the last of these names occur on the lists of the kings of this dynasty in the Váyu, Mátsya, Bhágavata, Brahmáṇḍa, and Vishṇu Puráṇas; and the other two names, though omitted in the Váyu, are given in the other four Puráṇas

[1] See Early History of the Dekkan, p. 29.

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with slight variations of form. The Váyu, Mátsya, and Brahmáṇḍa give the number of years of each king's reign; and from these numbers as given in the Váyu Puráṇa, and assuming, on grounds derived from other data, that the first king of this list began to reign in B.C. 73, the commencement of the reign of Hála, the seventh of the Váyu list, falls in A.D. 77. This name, Hála, is, on the high authority of Hemachandra's dictionary, a synonym of Śálivâhana; and the epoch of the era of Śálivâhana, which is generally prevalent in Southern India, is A.D. 78, or virtually identical with the commencement of his reign according to the data of the Váya Puráṇa. Calculating from this date, Gotamiputra Śátakarṇi began to reign in A.D. 133, according to the number of years in the Váya Puráṇa; or in A.D. 121, according to those of the Mátsya; or in A.D. 134, according to those of the Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa; and Yajṇaśrí Śátakarni's accession fell in A.D. 154 according to the Váyu, or in A.D. 184 according to the Mátsya; or in A.D. 196, according to the Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa; while Pulumáyi (Pulimat, Puloman), and Sirisena occupied intermediate dates. By a calculation from a different set of materials Professor Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion that "Puḷumáyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130."[1] We must not expect to arrive at the exact dates through any data at present available; it is enough to be able to say for the present that the chronological system which is used in the Pallava grant now under examination prevailed in the Dakhaṇ throughout the second century A.D.; and to some date in or about this period I propose, on these grounds, to assign this grant of Śivaskanda-varman.

A question may very properly arise here whether there are any good reasons, independently of this grant, for placing the Pallavas in the Southern Dakhaṇ at this early period, and in such extensive power as this grant indicates. I think the answer of those who have followed the rapid

[1] Early Hist. Dek. p. 21.

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resuscitation of these long-lost kings during the last few years,[1] will be that there is nothing at all startling in this discovery, since each successive accession of materials bearing upon their early history has made for this conclusion. Kánchípura, from which the Pallava king issued this present grant, was known to Patanjali in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, and the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon contain an early reference to the Pallavas which makes them the most considerable Buddhist power in India at that same period,[2] while their geographical environments in the passage referred to require them to be placed in the Southern Dakhaṇ.

Assuming the correctness of the identification of the Pallavas with the pauranic Pahlavas, and of the Pahlavas with the Parthians, there are good historical grounds for supposing that Parthian colonies established themselves in the Dakhaṇ at a very early period. From the time of the separation of Bactria from Syria in the middle of the third century B.C., the tendency of the Bactrians, forced by the pressure of their western and northern neighbours, was to extend themselves southwards into India, and the Parthians, after their conquest of the Bactrians about a century later, followed up their successes by overrunning the Indian provinces of Bactria. The natural effect of this latter movement was to press the conquered Indo-Bactrians still further southwards and eastwards into India, with the concurrent tendency on the side of the Parthians always to follow up the retreat of their vanquished foes. After another interval, the Indo-Parthians were themselves forced out of their possessions in Afghanistan, the Panjab, and Upper India by the Scythian invasion, and their only possible refuge then was in the south. We can follow the footsteps of the refugees, by means of the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas, as far as the upper basin of the Godávarí and the northern

[1] See my previous paper on the Pallavas in this Journal, Vol. XVII. (N.S.), p. 183, etc.

[2] B.C. 165, according to Turnour's calculations. See Upham's Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 152; Turnour's Mahawanso, p. 171.

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coast of the Konkans; and when these substantial materials fail us in tracing their further progress southwards, the very natural conjecture arises that some one of the more enterprising of the defeated Parthian generals would adventure at the head of his remaining troops into the wide plains of the Dakhaṇ and carve out for himself a kingdom there, or, perhaps, enter into the service of the existing rulers of the Dakhaṇ as an auxiliary defensive ally, having some frontier province committed to him for the payment of his troops, and with the ultimate inevitable result of establishing his own independent rule there. At this point of our tentative theory we are met by the Ceylonese records showing the great growth of the power of these Parthian colonists at a sufficiently early time, whatever dates may hereafter be attached to the early kings of Ceylon. Then, for the early years of the Christian era, this new Pallava grant places us anew on the firm ground of history, and the vivid glimpse which it affords of the firmly-established power of the Pallavas, and of their institutions at that time, and their permanent character, is sufficient for the present to carry us through the succeeding interval down to the time of Fah Hian's visit to India, whose great 'Kingdom of the Dakhaṇ' I ventured to claim for the Pallavas several years ago.[1] An outline of this kind, pending the discovery of more definite materials to fill in the details, quite consistently prepares us for the next succeeding historical appearance of the Pallavas in Sir Walter Elliot's Vengi copper plates of Vijaya Nandi-varman and the subsequent inscriptions of the Chálukyas, at whose arrival in the Dakhaṇ they found the Pallavas in possession of its western districts, as far at the least as the vicinity of Badámi in the middle basin of the Krishna, and of its eastern districts as far north at least as Rájahmahendri in the lower basin of the Godávarí, and with their capital still at Kánchípura, where Śivaskanda-varman of our present grant reigned several centuries before.

The incidental statements of this grant furnish materials

[1] Ind. Ant. vol. vii. (1878), p. 1; vol. viii. p. 167.

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for an outline sketch of the condition of the Pallava dominions in the reign of Śivaskanda-varman; and if the argument of this paper is as sound as I believe it to be, and his reign fell at any time about the end of the first century A.D., or the beginning of the second, that picture will apply to a sufficient time earlier to cover the period when that condition was being developed.

(1) The power of the Pallavas was well established at that time. Śivaskanda-varman is styled "supreme king of great kings," a title which implies paramount authority over other rulers subject to him; and the circumstance of his having offered the horse-sacrifice, which involved a claim and a challenge to supremacy, indicates his own personal appreciation of his great power. His predecessor, immediate or otherwise, King Bappa, was wealthy enough to make donations to the Brahmans of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, whatever the multiple of exaggeration may be, and many millions of gold coin.

(2) They reigned at Kánchípura, a sacred old capital city which had already risen to fame in the reign of Aśoka, in the third century before the Christian era.

(3) The Pallava king was assisted in his government by "ministers" of state and "privy councillors"; and his throne was surrounded by "royal princes."

(4) Their dominions were very extensive; for, adopting the terms of Professor Bühler's translation, they embraced "countries" governed by "prefects," distributed into "provinces" administered by their "lords," and subdivided into "districts" under the superintendence of their "rulers."

(5) Their fiscal arrangements included "custom houses" and "officers" of customs, and "spies" or itinerant superintendents of revenue. They had also some kind of forest department with its staff of "foresters."

(6) They maintained a standing army, the brigades of which were commanded by "generals," and its minor groups of rank and file had their non-commissioned officers or "naicks."

(7) Their village lands were occupied by ryots ("free-

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holders" is a term which is inconsistent with the early land-tenures of India), who paid "eighteen kinds" of contributions to the crown, partly in kind and partly in money ("taxes"). Amongst those which were paid in kind were "sweet and sour milk," "grass and wood," "vegetables and flowers." They had also to plough the crown lands by turns with their "oxen in succession," and it was a part of their obligation to keep the roads and irrigation works in repair by a system of "forced labour." "Salt and sugar" were royal monopolies; and these not infrequently involved the ryots in "troubles."

(8) The crown had power to confer grants of land for religious uses, for "the increase of the merit, longevity, power, and fame of his own family and race," and to exempt the grantees and their grant-lands from the payment of the customary taxes.

(9) When such land-grants were made, the agricultural "labourers," and the "kolikas" or village staff, were transferred with the land.

(10) These "labourers" received for their remuneration "half the produce," according to the system of *váram*, which has survived in these parts down to the present day.

(11) The present grant consists of a considerable extent of "garden" land, sufficient to form an item in the income of twenty Brahmanical families, together with a detached threshing-floor and a site for houses in the neighbouring agraháram where these grantees dwelt. The produce of this garden was divided amongst these grantees in thirty-four shares, ranging from one share to four shares each.

(12) Though these grants were intended to be perpetual "as long as the moon and stars endure," and the present grant was made as "a charter valid for a hundred thousand years," this same garden of the present donation had been "formerly given by the great king the Lord Bappa," either to these same grantees or some other Brahmans. The inference is that the grant had either been resumed by the crown in the meantime, or forfeited by the grantees; and this notwithstanding the minatory clauses appended to these grants.

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(13) The present grant was composed by a member of the king's "privy council" "in his own handwriting," and handed over to the engraver for reproduction on the copper plates; it was then personally examined ("seen") by the king, and finally issued as his "own order," with the accompanying confirmatory ceremony of the "libation of water."

(14) With regard to the literary condition of the Pallava dominions at this time, the present grant shows that this "privy councillor" and secretary was familiar with both the Sanskrit and Prákrit languages; and we may conclude from this that both these languages were cultivated at Kánchípura at this time. Professor Bühler has shown that the Prákrit of this grant "comes close to the literary Páli," a circumstance which has some significance when tracing the history of the literature of the Southern Buddhists, especially when we bear in mind the intimate early intercourse between the Pallava region and Ceylon. Moreover, since this privy-councillor was a strict Vedic Brahman, as his final benediction specially shows, we may also conclude that the knowledge of Prákrit was not confined to the Buddhists, but was a Brahmanical accomplishment also.

(15) Brahmans of the Átreya, Hárita, Bháradvája, Kaušika, Kaśyapa, and Vátsya gotras were settled in Southern India at the date of this grant, and for some time previously, dwelling together in agrahára communities, with a recognized "chief" of each community, and holding *sarvamánya* lands there under royal charters. The influence of these Brahmans at court is illustrated by the circumstance that one at least of their number was a privy councillor and the secretary of the king.

(16) This last circumstance affords a proof that the Brahmans of this place and period did not confine themselves to spiritual duties, but were employed in secular affairs also. The management of their large garden and its produce, as well as of their grain-fields which peep at us through their new threshing-floor at Ápittí, may probably enough have been committed to lay hands; but putting all

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together, it would appear that these early Brahmans of the Dakhaṇ lived in those days much as their descendants do now when they possess shares in agraháram endowed with cultivated lands.

(17) Whatever the religious condition of the subjects of the Pallavas may have been at this time, the present king was an observer of the ritual of the Vedas; he patronized the Brahmans after the example of at least one of his predecessors, and he was reckoned a member of the sacred clan of the ancient rishi Bharadvája.

(18) Both the members of this king's compound name, Śiva and Skanda, point to the Śaiva form of the Brahmanical religion as the creed of his parents when they gave him this name, or his own if it was assumed by himself. In either case it indicates the existence, and perhaps the prevalence, of this religious denomination in Southern India, and particularly at Kánchípura and its court, in these early times. This conclusion is further illustrated by the circumstance that this same name of Śivaskanda was borne by one of the Andhrabhritya kings of the pauranic lists in the second century A.D.

This formulation of the information incidentally supplied by this grant shows us that the germs of those institutions which we see in their full development in the succeeding times, had already struck root firmly thus early. It remains to be discovered what of them the Pallavas brought with them into the Dakhaṇ from their northern homes, and what of them they found already established there. For the present this fortunate find has bridged over a great gap of unknown history,—slenderly, but still surely,—a gap which a short while ago seemed to be hopeless; for the life which it has revealed to us is in full touch, on the one hand, with the dawn of the history of all subsequent South Indian life; while, on the other hand, it is in contact with the sunset of the older life set up in India by Alexander the Great and his successors. The key to the transition period seems to be now in our hands, and we may be content to wait hopefully for fuller information in similar fortunate finds in the future.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July-September, 1889.)

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II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Vol. xliii. part i.

J. Barth. Comparative Studies in Semitic Philology.

P. Jensen. On Prefixes to Nouns in Assyrian.

W. Bacher. On Eliza Levita.

G. Bühler, The Mansehra Version of Asoka's Edicts.

Sten Konow. Two Stories from the Pāli Rasavāhini (Text and German Translation).

H. Hübschmann. On Marriages of Near Relations in Persia.

2. Journal Asiatique.

Vol. xii. part. ii.

Abel Bergaigne. Vedic Liturgy.

M. de Rochemonteix. Stories from Berber.

C. de Harlez. On the I-Li.

Vol. xii. part iii.

Arthur Amiaud. Ordinal Numbers in Assyrian.

Rubens Duval. On the Patriarch Mar Jabalaha II.

J. Darmesteter. 'The Duties of a Student' (Pazend Text and French Translation).

E. Senart. Indian Epigraphy.

E. Drouin. Aramean Numismatics.

C. Huart. Turkish Bibliography.

R. Fujishima. Chinese-Sanskrit Words in I-Tsing.

3. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Vol. iii. part iii.

D. H. Müller. Notes to the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.

G. Bühler. Further Proof of the Authenticity of Jain Traditions.

S. Frænkel. On the Glosses of Bar Bahlūl.

A. Hillebrandt. Vedica.

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III. Obituary Notices.

Professor Beal.—The death is announced of the Rev. Samuel Beal, D.C.L., the distinguished Oriental scholar, and Professor of Chinese in the London University. Dr. Beal was born in 1825, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1847, being made Hon. D.C.L. of Durham in 1885. He took priest's orders, and was appointed a chaplain in the Royal Navy in 1852. Placed on the retired list in 1887, he became rector of Greens-Norton, Towcester, in 1888. After holding several curacies and various clerical appointments in the Navy in the earlier portion of his career, he was rector of Falstone, Northumberland, 1877–80, and rector of Wark-on-Tyne, 1880–88. He was appointed Professor of Chinese in University College, London, in 1877. Dr. Beal was the author of "Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims," from the Chinese, 1869; "Catena of Buddhist Scriptures," from the Chinese, 1872; "Romantic Legend of Buddha," 1875; "Five Lectures delivered at University College, London," 1876; "Dhamma Pada, or Texts from the Buddhist Canon," 1878; "Sacred Books of the East," published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford; "Buddhism in China," issued in the non-Christian series of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1881; and "Records of the Western World," an important work published in Trübner's Oriental Series, 1881.

Michele Amari.—The 'Times' of the 27th July says: "Our Naples Correspondent writes: A great man has passed away in Florence in the last week, Michele Amari, well known to foreigners as to Italians by the invaluable productions of his pen. In 1834, when only 28 years of age, he published 'La Fondazione dei Normanni in Sicilia.' In 1836, by the study of documents, he threw new light on the 'Vespers.' In 1841 he published researches into the archives of the island, under the title of 'Un periodo della Storia Siciliana nel Secolo XIII.' But the author and the book were both persecuted by the Bourbons; by orders from Naples the book was prohibited and the editor imprisoned. Amari was called

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to Naples, but knowing what it meant, he went to Paris, where he published the 'Vespers' under the real title; it was translated into English by Lord Ellesmere, and into German by Herr Schröder. Retaining his bodily strength and mental faculties to the last, Amari died just as he had completed his 83rd year, honoured and lamented by all as a true patriot and a man of great literary distinction.'" Senator Michele Amari was an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

IV. Notes and News.

The Oriental Congress at Stockholm.—The Congress has passed off with great success. The numbers in attendance were unusually large; the hospitality with which they were entertained most generous. A list of the papers read has reached the Society, but a detailed criticism is reserved until they are published in full.

Indian Chess.—Professor Weber has just published, in the Introduction to Bilgner's 'Handbuch des Schachs,' the matured results of his researches into the history and details of Indian Chess, or Caturanga.

The 'Arabian Nights' in India.—In the 'Sitzungs-Berichte' of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences for July, 1889, Professor Albrecht Weber publishes an analysis of the *Samyaktva-Kaumudi*, a Jain story book (existing in several recensions), which bears a striking resemblance, more especially in its framework and introduction, to the 1001 Nights. The distinguished Professor, after discussing with his usual acumen and mastery of detail, the relation of the recensions one to another, and of the oldest form of the story with the famous Arab work, comes to the conclusion that the Indian story book must have been derived from the same Buddhist sources as the Arabian one, so far that is as the resemblance between the two extends. As is well known the Arabian Nights were probably written in Egypt about 1400 A.D., and were based on material derived from Persia. A great deal of this material again, according to Persian tradition, came

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in its turn from India. One or two Jataka stories have been traced in the 'Nights,' but no Indian counterpart had hitherto been found for the setting of the stories. Professor Weber has therefore added a new and interesting chapter to the wonderful story of the stories, the history of the migration of Folk lore. The brochure is dedicated to the memory of Michele Amari.

Mr. Fleet's 'Inscriptions of the Gupta Kings,' vol. iii. of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,' has at length appeared. A notice of this important work, by Professor Bühler of Vienna, was to have appeared in this number, but it has not reached us at the time of our going to press.

The Persika of Ktesias.—Professor Sayce has, in the 'Academy' of October 5th, an appreciative review of Mr. Gilmore's new edition of the existing fragments of this lost work. While regretting that Mr. Gilmore is not an Assyriologist, and differing from him in his estimate of the value of the work, he points out how important an aid to the study of the ancient history of Persia the new volume will certainly be.

Colonel Pentsoff.—It is reported that this Russian officer's attempt to enter Tibet from the Kashgar side has been stopped by the Chinese. In the 'Nineteenth Century' of this month there is a very interesting description of Lhāsā as it now is, chiefly compiled from the journals of Charat Sunder Das.

The Tod MSS.—Dr. Wilhelm Cartellieri, a pupil of Dr. Bühler, is at present in London consulting these MSS. at the rooms of the Asiatic Society.

'*The Jews of the Far East*, or the Jews of Extreme Eastern Diasporu.'—The 'London and China Telegraph' announces that the Rev. A. K. Clover, of Boston, is about to publish a work under this title, which will contain the original Chinese texts of the inscriptions discovered at Kai-feng-fū.

Mr. Rockhill, of the American Embassy at Pekin, the well-known Tibetan scholar, having attempted to enter Tibet from the Chinese side, has written from Chunkiang, in Sechuan, on his way back to Pekin. It is not known as yet whether he succeeded in penetrating into Tibet.

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Professorships in Germany.—Professor Jacobi, the distinguished Jain scholar, has been appointed to the Professorship at Bonn, vacant by the retirement of Professor Aufrecht. Professor Oldenberg, of Berlin, will succeed Professor Jacobi at Kiel. Professor Deussen, the author of the best book on the Vedânta, will also go to Kiel as professor of philosophy.

The Frescoes at Sigiri.—The frescoes at Sigiri have long been talked about and known as one of the sights of Ceylon, but it has been left to Mr. A. Murray, of the Public Works Department, to make himself famous by taking a copy of this ancient work of art. Never before, as far as is known, has this feat been accomplished, owing to the precipitous nature of the rock at the top of which the frescoes are painted, and to the fact that the frescoed part overhangs considerably. Nevertheless, Mr. Murray succeeded in scaling the rock time after time, and has produced what are said to be some capital sketches of the frescoes. The painting represents thirteen women—wives of one of the Tamil Kings of Ceylon—and all are said to have been painted in charming proportions. Each figure is painted three-quarter length, that is to say, down to the knees, and there is no doubt from the complexions, the dress, and the general characteristics that the women are meant to be Tamil females. This is still further shown by the ornaments which the women wear on their necks, indicating that they are married. The frescoes, it is said, are in splendid condition, and the colours have stood wonderfully well. Mr. Murray, we hear, brought a piece of the plaster on which the fresco is painted down with him, and an analysis of this reveals that a great quantity of straw was used in its composition. Thus far Mr. Murray has secured only sketches of each figure; but we understand that he has made notes of the colours employed, and has commenced to fill in the colours. When the work is completed, it will be of considerable archæological value, and we hope to hear something about it at our Museum here or before the Asiatic Society. Mr. Murray risked life and limb to get it, and the Buddhist priests warned him over again that he would be killed before he had taken a sketch of the thirteenth

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woman. He, however, has accomplished the feat, and the only explanation the Buddhists can give for the failure of their prophecy is that Mr. Murray must have scared the demons away. Whether he did or not, the fact remains that he has achieved a triumph, and one which archæologists will be very grateful to him for.—*Ceylon Times.*

The Oriental School in connection with the Imperial Institute.—The Imperial Institute has taken some initial steps towards forming an Oriental School in London. The Councils of University and King's Colleges have been persuaded to place their Oriental teaching under the management of a joint committee of the three bodies. The teaching will be conducted, as previously, at the Colleges themselves, and by the existing teachers. As, however, there are a few modifications in the new list, it is here subjoined. In the absence of a real teaching University of London, perhaps no better plan could have been devised. Division I. Classes to be held at University College, London: Sanskrit, C. Bendall; Pali, T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D.; Bengali, J. F. Blumhardt; Hindi, J. F. Blumhardt; Hindustani, J. F. Blumhardt; Tamil, J. Bradshaw; Marathi, H. Chintamon; Gujarati, S. A. Kapadia, M.D., L.R.C.P.; Arabic, C. Rieu, Ph.D., and H. A. Salmoné; Persian, C. Rieu, Ph.D. Division II. Classes to be held at King's College, London: Colloquial Arabic, Rev. Dr. J. L. Sabunjie; Chinese, R. K. Douglas; Burmese, General Ardagh; Modern Greek, M. Constantinides; Colloquial Persian, Sir Frederic Goldsmid; Japanese, F. V. Dickins, M.B., B.Sc.; Russian, N. Orloff, M.A.; Turkish, Charles Wells, Ph.D.; Swaheli, Archdeacon Farler (the Committee is in communication with this gentleman).

The seal of Jeremiah.—Professor Sayce writes as follows to the Academy of the 5th October.—" Queen's College.—M. Golenisheff has kindly allowed me to describe a very remarkable seal which he purchased last winter in Cairo, which may therefrom be presumed to have been found somewhere in the Delta. The back is flat and plain, on the middle of the obverse are two blundered Egyptian cartouches, drawn horizontally, however, and not perpendicularly. In the

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upper cartouche is the following inscription in Phoenician letters: L-SH-L-M; in the lower is another in Phoenician letters: Y-R-M-Y-H-U. The two together read *leshalom Yirmeyahu* 'to the prosperity of Jeremiah.' The forms of the letters belong to the Phoenician, or rather the Israelitish, alphabet of the seventh century B.C. It is, therefore, possible that the seal may have been discovered on the site of Tel Defeneh or Tahpanhes, where a native was allowed by the authorities of the Bulaq Museum to excavate last year; and if so we may see in it an actual relic of the great Hebrew prophet. A copy of the seal is about to be published by M. Clermont-Ganneau.

V. Reviews.

Letter to the Disciple by Candragomin.

In the fourth volume of the 'Memoirs of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society,' a journal in which many valuable contributions to Oriental literature in different branches have already appeared, Prof. Minayeff now gives us an edition of a Sanskrit poem ascribed to Candragomin, who is said to have sent it to a Prince Ratnakīrti, and to have persuaded him thereby to forsake the world. This is the account given by Tāranātha, and found also in Vairocanarakshita's commentary on the letter. (The Tibetan translation of this commentary is found in the same volume of the Sūtra division of the Tanjur as that containing the letter itself, viz. vol. 94.)

Prof. Minayeff had published before, in the second volume of the same Journal, two short hymns, one to Avalokiteçvara (with some new remarks on that personality), and one to Buddha. But the present contribution outweighs them far in interest, as Candragomin is a celebrated name in Buddhist literature, and the author of many works, amongst which the Candra-vyākaraṇa occupies a very high rank in the estimate of later, and even Brahmanical, authors. Dharmakīrti, according to Tāranātha, glories in being able to write

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in the style of Candragomin. The same Tāranātha gives us the further data:

1) That Candragomin heard Sthiramati, who is mentioned by Hiouen Thsang as dead, and one of whose works was translated into Chinese under the Northern Liāng dynasty A.D. 397–439 (Bunyiu Nanjio, Catal. p. 273);

2) That he wrote as a comment on Pāṇini the Candra-vyākaraṇa with supplements, which work is made use of in the Kāçika of Jayāditya, who, according to Itsing, died in the middle of the seventh century (Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. 1886; Max Müller, India, p. 346);

3) That he was an antagonist of Candrakīrti (in the commentary, mentioned above, of our letter, Ratnakīrti, the addressee, is called a pupil of Candrakīrti), with whom he quarrelled for seven years;

4) And finally, as mentioned above, that he lived before Dharmakīrti, one of whose works is quoted by Subandhu, who again is mentioned by Bāṇa, a contemporary of Hiouen Thsang (Vāsavadattā, ed. Hall, p. 235, preface, p. 10, and Max Müller, India, p. 308).

In a passage of Itsing, translated by Mr. Ryauon Fujishima in the Journal Asiatique, Nov.–Dec. 1888, but of which Prof. Vassilieff gives a slightly different, and apparently more trustworthy, version, some of the principal teachers are grouped in three classes: the old, the mediæval, and those nearest the present time. Sthiramati is placed in the last of these classes, but Candragomin is not mentioned in them at all. On these data Prof. Minayeff comes to the probable conclusion that Candragomin lived in the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

There is another passage from Isting which Prof. Minayeff adduces as referring to Candragomin: "In eastern India there lives a well known holy man called Ming Guan,[1] who was still alive when I was there. Some people asked him 'What causes greater damage, a poisonous drug or a poisonous spectacle?' He answered, 'There is a wide

[1] As the present writer does not know Chinese, he can only transcribe the Russian characters.

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difference between the two, a poisonous drug harms only if you eat it, but if you only think of a poisonous spectacle you burn.'" (Here again the French translation deviates in a rather unaccountable way; the name of the man is given as *Yi Youeï!*). The answer is the contents of v. 74 of the Sanskrit manuscripts (one Prof. Minayeff's own, the other the Cambridge Manuscript, Bendall Cat., p. 31). But as this verse is not found in the Tibetan translation, and is of different metre from the surrounding verses (indeed the only common çloka in the whole poem), and as these Sanskrit manuscripts are, in other respects, very defective, the reviewer would prefer to see in the above story only a further proof that this verse is interpolated. It occurs, as already pointed out by Prof. Minayeff, in vol. ii. p. 276 of the same Journal, in the Subhāshitāvali (in Böhtlingk's Ind. Spr. 6225), and is probably a verse of unknown authorship current among Buddhists and other saints. What is the meaning of Ming Guan, and would Itsing not know a man of Candragomin's importance and his works?

This letter, then, is a poem of 115 resp. 114 vv. (the Tibetan translation has two more, one between v. 63 and v. 64 of the Sanskrit text, and one between v. 69 and v. 70), in different metres, whose chief subject is the misery of being, written in a florid style with a superfluity of epithets.

After an introduction of eighteen verses in praise of 'the three Jewels' the author goes on (v. 19): "Entering this ill-smelling abode of birth, which is filled with heaps of impurity, is very narrow, and is pervaded by dense darkness, as into some hell, he has to endure great misery with crushed limbs."

Then follow verses on the misery of age, which, enfeebling all man's faculties, sets its foot on his head against his will and drives him on as a cornac the elephant by the hook of its wrinkles (v. 25). Then he will repent of what he did and did not do (v. 30), for then the messengers of Yama will take him by the hair and carry him before the judge (v. 33–34).[1]

[1] According to the Cha-gati-dīpanī (a Pāli work translated from Sanskrit, of

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Next follows in our poem the description of tortures of the Pretas (vv. 35–40); they see water from afar, but at their approach it turns into mud, the pleasing shades of the forest turn into burning flames, the sea into a waste; the clouds rain down for them not drops of water but darts and stones; even the wind burns them, even the fire freezes them; their mouth is like the eye of a needle, their belly many yojanas wide; if they try to drink the ocean dries up.[1] Verses 41–60 give the picture of the pains of hell; not the eight great hells, but only the four vestibules of hell (nirayass' ussadā) being described here; these are (1) the pit of excrements; (2) the burning coals; (3) the forest with sword-leaved trees; (4) the river Vaitaraṇī (comp. the Fr. Ep. vv. 71, 72; and especially Pañca Gati Dīpana, ed. Feer, J.P.T.S. 1884, v. 22 sq.). Prof. Minayeff quotes the Nemijātaka, of which he has published a Russian translation, and the Mahāvastu, vol. i. p. 12. A Gūthaniraya is mentioned in the commentary to the Dhammapada, ed. Fausböll, p. 408, and the same pains of hell are described in the Ashṭākshaṇa-kathā,[2] ascribed to Nāgārjuna (the Tibetan translation of which is in the same volume of the Tanjur). The difficulty of obtaining birth as a man and the 'unfavourable moments' are touched upon in vv. 61–63, the transitoriness of life in v. 65 sq., the vanity of earthly pleasures and pursuits in vv. 67–71; the sense-objects (vishaya) are described as worse than poison (visha) in vv. 72–76. But also the gods must die, and Çakra must undergo new births (vv. 77–86); here again the chief points are the same as in the Fr. Ep. v. 98 sq., also 70 sq.; the Mandākinī and the elastic ground of Mount Meru recur here (v. 79). Then follows the admonition in v. 87: "As far as you form the thought (saṃjñā) that this whole world is happiness, the worse the darkness of ignorance will grow, but as far as you form the thought of pain in

which Prof. Minayeff brought a manuscript from Mandalay) the Yamaloka-nirayā are situated above the eight principal hells, on the four corners of Saṃjīva, the uppermost of these eight.

[1] Comp. on this point also the 'Friendly Epistle' (perhaps 'Epistle to a Friend' would be more accurate) of Nāgārjuna, 'Journal of the Pāli T.S.' 1886, v. 91 sq.

[2] 'Description of the eight unfavourable moments,' see Fr. Ep. v. 64.

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regard to this whole world, so far the darkness of ignorance will grow thin."

88. "As far as meditation on pleasing objects is indulged in, so much the more will spread the flame of lust; as far as meditation on unpleasing objects is exercised, so much will the flame of lust decrease."[1]

I have translated this according to the Tibetan; in the Sanskrit, as printed here, two padas have been lost (87*c*, 88*d*), and the rest transposed.

To exert one's self in the interest of others is the true way of salvation (v. 90 sq.); for those that are overcome by thirst in the desert be thou a tree, a cloud, a pond (v. 109 sq.). Finally the author closes with the wish that all the world may obtain omniscience (v. 112 sq.).

Professor Minayeff has rendered a fresh service to the history of the variations of early Buddhist belief by the publication of this little poem. H. WENZEL.

[1] The last words in the original are not quite clear to me (shin tu rtse zhil hgyur), but must mean something to this effect.

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