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JOURNAL
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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Jodhpur Inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka.* By
MUNSHI DEBIPRASĀD OF JODHPUR.¹

THE stone which bears this inscription was discovered, about two years ago, in the wall which surrounds the city of Jodhpur, near the Merta gate. It was probably brought from the neighbourhood, when the fortifications of Jodhpur were completed, during the reign of Bakht Singh, about the middle of last century. As is shown by the fact that in the present position of the stone the lower lines of the writing are uppermost, little or no notice was then taken of the inscription which it contains.

This inscription consists of twenty-two lines of writing, which cover a space of about 2' 10" broad by 2' 1½" high; and it is nearly throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The engraving is carefully done, and shows great skill on the part of the artisan (Kṛishṇeśvara, a son of the goldsmith Vishṇuravi) by whom it was executed. The size of

¹ Munshi Debiprasād has furnished with his paper a rubbing of the inscription from which his text has been verified by Prof. Kielhorn. Prof. Kielhorn has also re-written Munshi Debiprasād's introductory remarks.

the letters is between $\frac{5}{8}$ and $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī; they closely resemble those of the Pehoa inscription of Mahendrapāla,¹ and may confidently be assigned to some time between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the tenth centuries A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *om namo Viṣṇave* at the beginning, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the whole is in verse. In respect of orthography attention need only be drawn to the occasional use of the sign of the *upadhmaniya* before a following *p*, and to the fact that the letter *b* is nearly everywhere denoted by its own proper sign, not by the sign for *v*. The language offers some serious blunders, both as regards the construction of the sentences and the employment of grammatical forms.

The inscription is a *Prasasti*. It was composed by the order of the prince *Bāuka*, and its object is, to relate the origin of the *Pratihāra* (or *Parihāra*) clan, of which the prince was a member, to record the names and deeds of Bāuka's ancestors, and to celebrate his own victory over a prince *Mayūra*.

The Brāhman sage *Harichandra* had two wives, one of the Brāhman caste, and the other, whose name was *Bhadrā*, a Kshatriyā (v. 7). The descendants of the Brāhman wife were *Pratihāra* Brāhmans, while those of the Kshatriyā were *Pratihāras* who drank spirituous liquor (v. 8). *Bhadrā* had four sons, *Bhogabhāṭa*, *Kakka*, *Rajjila*, and *Dadda*, who possessed themselves of and fortified *Māṇḍavyapura* (where evidently the inscription originally was put up, vv. 9-10). *Rajjila*'s son was *Narabhāṭa*, also called *Pellāpelli* (v. 11); and his son was *Nāgabhāṭa*, whose capital was the town of *Meḍantaka* (v. 12). To *Nāgabhāṭa* his wife *Jajjikādevī* bore two sons, *Tāta* and *Bhoja*, the elder of whom, retiring to the hermitage of *Māṇḍavya*, left the government to his younger brother (vv. 13-15). *Bhoja*'s son was *Yaśovaradhana* (v. 16); his son, *Chanduka* (v. 17); and his son, again, *Śīluka* or *Śiluka* (v. 18). This chief fixed the

¹ See *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i. p. 244.

boundary between the countries of *Stravaṇi* (?) and *Valla*; defeated *Bhaṭṭikadevarāja*, the ruler of the *Vallamaṇḍala*; and founded a town at *Tretātirtha*, where he also made a tank and built a temple to Śiva Siddheśvara (vv. 19–20). Śiluka's son was *Jhāṭovara* (v. 21), and his son, *Bhillāditya* (v. 22); the former, in his old age, went to the Ganges, and the latter retired to and died at Gaṅgādvāra (Haridwār). Bhillāditya's son was *Kakka* who not only acquired fame by fighting with the *Gauḍas* at *Mudgagiri*, but was also versed in grammar, logic and astronomy, and composed poems in all languages (vv. 24–25). To him his wife, the *Mahārājñi Padmini* of the Bhaṭṭi (?) clan, bore the chief *Bāuka* who had this inscription put up (v. 26), and who (in vv. 27–31) records of himself that he routed and slew a certain *Mayūra*, when that prince's army, after having defeated *Nandāvalla*, had come as far as *Bhūakūpa*.—The inscription is dated (in l. 21) on the fifth of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 4 (apparently of the chief's reign).

The chiefs, of whom this inscription treats, must have lived during the eighth and ninth, and perhaps the first half of the tenth century A.D. None of them have yet been met with in other inscriptions; and the only suggestion which can be made is, that *Bhaṭṭikadevarāja*, the opponent of Śiluka, is probably identical with the Bhaṭṭi chief *Deorāj*, of Jaisalmer, who is recorded¹ to have been born in Vikrama-samvat 892 = A.D. 835–836.—Of the localities mentioned, *Māṇḍavyapura* clearly is Mandor, the ancient capital of Mārṅwār, near Jodhpur; and *Mudgagiri* Monghyr, the chief town of the district of the same name of Bengal. *Meḍantaka* may be the town Merta, in Mārṅwār. The rest have not been identified.

¹ See Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, vol. ii. p. 234.

TEXT.

L. 1.

श्रीं नमो विष्णवे ॥

य[स्त्रिन्विश]न्ति भूतानि यतस्सर्गस्त्रिती मते ।

स व × पाचाद्गुधीवेशो निगर्गुणस्सगुणश्च यः ॥¹—[1.]

गुणा × पूर्वपुष्पायां की[र्त्तने] तेन

2.

पश्चितैः ।

गुणकीर्त्तिरनञ्जनी स्वर्गवासकरी यतः ॥—[2.]

अतः श्रीवाचको धीमा² स्वप्रतीहारवक्ष्या³ ।

प्रशस्ती लेखयामास श्रीयशोविष्णुमान्वितान् ॥—[3.]

स्वधात्मा रा-

3.

मभ[द्र]स्व प्रातिहार्यं कृतं यतः ।

श्रीप्रतिहारवक्ष्योयमतसोन्नतिमाप्नुयात्⁴ । (॥)— [4.]

विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्रास्त्र × पत्नी भद्रा च च[न्नु]या⁵ [1*]

ताभ्यान्नु [ये सु]ता जाताः [प्रतिहा]राश्च तान्वि-

¹ Metre of verses 1-26: Śloka (Anushtubh).

² Read धीमान् .

³ Read °वंश्यान् .

⁴ Read श्रीप्रतिहारवंशी° .

⁵ Read चक्षिया .

4. दुः । (१)—[5.]
 बभूव रोहिण्यङ्गो^१ वेदशास्त्रार्थपारणः ।
 द्विवः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः प्रजापतिसमो नृपः ॥—[6.]
 तेन श्रीहरिचन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विवात्मजा ।
 [द्वि]तीया चतु-^२
5. या [भ]द्रा महाकुचगुणान्विता [॥*]—[7.]
 प्रतीहारा द्विवा भूता ब्राह्मणा येभवंत्सुताः ।
 राज्ञी भद्रा च यात्सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः । (१)—[8.]
 चत्वारवात्मजास्तस्यां जाता भूधरवच-
6. माः ।
 श्रीमाग्भोगभटः कञ्जो रञ्जिनी इह एव च । (१)—[9.]
 माण्डवपुरदुर्गेशिखेभिर्निजभुवायिते ।
 प्राकारः कारितकुङ्को विद्विषां भीतिवर्जनः । (१)—[10.]
 समोषां रञ्जिवाज्जातः
7. श्रीमान्नरभटः सुतः ।
 येकायेकीति नामाभूद्वि[तीयं] तस्य विक्रमेः [॥*]—[11.]
 तस्या[न्नरभ]टाज्जातः श्रीमान्नरभटः पुतः^३ [॥*]
 राजधानी खिरा यस्य महये[उत्त]कं पुरं । (१)—[12.]
 राज्यां श्री-

^१ This may also be read °रङ्गो. Munshi Debiprasād's rendering is 'of the Rohilladdhi clan.' The exact sense of the word is not apparent.

^२ Read चचिया.

^३ Read सुतः.

8. अञ्जिकादेव्यास्ततो¹ जाती महागुणौ ।
 द्वी सुतो तातभोजास्त्री सोदर्यौ² रिपुमर्हणौ ॥—[13.]
 तातेन तेन लोकस्य विसुसंचसजोवितं ।
 बुधा³ राज्यं लघोर्धातु[ः*] श्रीभोज-
9. स्वयं च⁴ संखितस्नात[ः*] शुचं धर्म⁵ समाचरन् ।
 माण्डव्यस्नात्रमे पुच्छे नदीनिर्झरशोभिते ॥—[15.]
 श्रीयश्रीवर्जणस्नात्पुत्रो विख्यातपीरुषः ।
 भूतो नि[ञ]-
10. भुजस्नातिः समखीवृतकण्टकः ॥—[16.]
 तस्नाच्च चण्डुकः श्रीमाग्पुत्रीभूत्पृ[ञु]विक्रमः ।
 तेजस्वी त्वागशीलस्य विद्विषां युधि दुर्जरः ॥—[17.]
 ततः श्रीशिशुको जातः पुत्रो दुर्जारविक्रमः [।*]
 येन
11. सीमा कृता गित्वा स्त्रवथीवह्नदेशयोः⁶ ॥—[18.]
 भट्टि[क]देवराज⁷ यो वह्नमण्डलपाणकं⁸ ।
 नि[पा]त्य त[त्स]यं भूमौ प्राप्तवान्⁹ च्छन्नचिह्नकं¹⁰ ॥ [19.]
 पुष्करिणो कारिता येन चैतातीर्थे च पत्तनं ।
 सि-

¹ Read °देव्यां ततो.

² Read सोदर्यौ.

³ Read बुद्धा.

⁴ Read च.

⁵ Read धर्म.

⁶ This is quite clear in the impression.

⁷ The *akshara* in brackets looks like कं, altered to क.

⁸ The last *akshara* looks like कः, altered to कं.

⁹ Read प्राप्तवार्हृत्त्र°.

¹⁰ Here, again, the last *akshara* looks like कः, altered to कं.

12. वीचरो महा[दे]वः कारितकुङ्कमंदिरः । (॥)—[20.]
 ततः श्रीश्रीसुकाञ्जातः श्रीमाञ्जा[टी]वरः¹ सुतः ।
 [चे]न राजसुखं भुङ्क्त्वा² भागीरथ्यां कृता गतिः । (॥) [21.]
 बभूव सत्ववापसाङ्गिष्ठादित्यस्यपोम-³

13. तिः ।
 यूना राज्ञं कृतं येन पुनः पुत्राय दत्तवान् ॥—[22.]
 बङ्गादारं ततो गत्वा वर्षाष्टादश स्थितः ।
 अतो चानश्वं⁴ कृत्वा स्वर्गलोकों समावतः ॥—[23.]
 ततोपि अयुतः कङ्कः

14. पुत्रो जातो महामतिः ।
 यशो मुद्गरिरो ज्ञानं येन गौडी[:*] समं रथे ॥—[24.]
 [ततो ?] व्याकरणं त[च्छ्रो] ष्योतिःशास्त्रं कथान्वितं ।
 सर्वभाषाकवित्वञ्च विघ्नान्तं सुविणयणं । (॥)—[25.]
 [भङ्गि ?] व-

15. ऋषविशुधायां⁵ त[द]शात्कङ्कभूपतेः ।
 श्रीमत्पत्निन्यां⁶ महाराज्ञ्यां जातः श्रीवाचक[:*] सुत
 इति⁷ ॥—[26.]
 गन्दा[व]हं⁸ ग्रहत्वा रिपुबलमनुष्यं भूषणूपप्रयातं
 कृष्ण भ-

¹ Read श्रीमाञ्जा°.

² Read भुङ्क्त्वा.

³ Read सत्ववापसाङ्गा°.

⁴ Read °श्वं.

⁵ Read °वंशविशुधायां.

⁶ Read श्रीपत्निन्यां.

⁷ Read सुतः.

⁸ Possibly the reading is गन्दावेहं.

16. पा¹ स्वपचां द्विज[नृ]पकुसुवां सत्यतीहारभूपां ।
 धिरभूतेकेन तस्मिन्प्रकटितयशसा श्रीमता वाउकेन
 स्फूर्णहृत्वा मयूरं तदनु नरमृगा चातिता हे-
17. [ति]शिव ॥²—[27.]
 कस्तान्मस्य प्रभयः ससचिवमनुजं त्वज्य राण³ सुतंनः
 केनेकेनातिभीते दशदिशि[तु] वसे⁴ सन्म्य चात्मानमेकं ।
 धियांशुत्कान्मपुष्टं चितिन-
18. तचरणेनासिहसेन शत्रुं
 हित्वा⁵ भित्वा रमशानं छतमतिभयदं वाउकान्येन
 तस्मिन् ॥—[28.]
 नवमण्डलनवनिचये भये हत्वा मयूरमतिगहने ।
 तदनु
19. [ह]ता[सि]तरंगा⁶ श्रीमद्वाउकनुसिंचेन⁷ ॥⁸—[29.]
 सार्धार्धे × प्रगलन्निरक्तसुषिरैर्वाङ्गो रूपादाग्निके⁹
 रत्नेषोपरि सन्नितीर्विरचितं श्रवणं फेत्कारसत्वाकुक्षं¹⁰ ।

¹ Read भयास्वपचां द्विजनुपकुसुवां सत्यतीहारभूपां .

² Metre of verses 27 and 28: Sragdharā. The general sense of these verses is quite clear, but the construction is faulty in them, and they contain gross grammatical mistakes.

³ Probably the intended reading is राणः .

⁴ Read वसे (?).

⁵ Read हित्त्वा भित्त्वा .

⁶ This seems to be the actual reading, but it yields no sense.

⁷ Read °सिंचेन .

⁸ Metre: Āryā.

⁹ What the writer meant was probably प्रगलद्रक्तसुषिरैः; read वाङ्गरूपादाङ्गिके° .

¹⁰ Read फेत्कारिसत्त्वा° .

20. यच्छ्रीवाचकमच्छवायरचितं प्राक्छसुसंघाकुले
 तत्संस्तुत न कस्य सम्प्रति भवेन्नासोन्नमश्चेतसि ॥—[30.]
 ननु सम[र*]धरायां वाचके नृत्तमाने
 श्वतनु-
21. शकलान्नेष्वेव विन्यसपादे ॥ (1)
 [श]ममिव हि गतास्ते तिष्ठ तिष्ठेति गोता-
 न्नयगतनृकुरंगाश्चिन्नमेतत्तदासीत् ॥¹—[31.]
 संवत्² ४ चैत्रसुदि ५ ॥ ॥
22. उत्क्रोर्षा च हेमकारविष्णुरविसृजुना कृष्येश्वरेण ॥

¹ Metre: Mālinī.

² Read संवत्. The following ४ is, in the original, preceded by two dots, resembling the sign of *visarga*, and followed by a single dot. Munshi Debiprasād would read the whole ०४०, but there is really only one numeral figure, which is ४. The date is preceded by the figure of a disk, and followed by that of a conch-shell.

ART. II.—*Two Legends from the Brhaddevatā in an old MS. of Sadguruçisya.* By A. A. MACDONELL, M.A.

THE following two passages of the Brhaddevatā occur in a fourteenth century Poona MS. of *Sadguruçisya*, which I collated for my edition of the *Sarvānukramanī* and its commentary. The MS. is described in pages xii. and xiii. of the introduction to that edition. It is there termed P 1, but below referred to simply as P. These two extracts were not printed in my edition, because they occurred in none of the other MSS. of *Sadguruçisya*, and were at the same time too long to incorporate in the notes. I now edit these old Vedic myths both as containing matter of some interest and as likely to be of use to a future editor of the *Brhaddevatā*.

I follow the readings of the Poona MS. as far as is possible with due regard to mistakes and occasional omissions of syllables or words. I have collated with it several MSS. of the *Brhaddevatā*. Those designated M 1, M 2, M 3 are recent copies, their respective dates being 1861, 1845 and 1864 A.D. They are closely related, M 2 and M 3 being almost identical in their readings. They belong to Prof. Max Müller, and were lent to me by him several years ago for collation with MSS. of *Sadguruçisya*. I have also collated a MS. (B.) of the *Brhaddevatā*, presented to the Bodleian Library by Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is an incorrect MS. bearing no date, but, apparently, about two centuries old. Lastly, I have used the late Rājendralāla Mitra's edition of the *Brhaddevatā* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, completed in 1891. This edition, judged by the comparatively few critical notes, seems to be based on six MSS., designated क ख ग घ ङ च. But as absolutely no information is supplied as to the age, quality, and mutual relations of

these MSS., the critical value of the edition cannot be regarded as much greater than that of a single MS. I refer to it as R. By the occasional various readings of R 1 etc. are meant those of the MSS. referred to in Rājendralāla Mitra's critical notes as **ख** etc.

There is no statement in P. that these stories are derived from the Br̥haddevatā. The first is introduced with the words: 'In another commentary an ancient teacher also says' (भाष्याकारे-पि वृक्षाचार्यो-ष्याह), and the second with 'In this connection there is a story' (अचेतिहासः).

I. THE STORY OF AGNI AND HIS THREE BROTHERS.

(Rigveda, X. 51-53.)

विश्वानरे गृहपती यविष्ठे-पी च पावके ।

वषट्कारेण वृक्षेषु अपी च सहसः सुते¹ ॥ १ ॥

अपाकमत² सौचीको भयादपिरिति श्रुतिः ।

स प्राविशिदपक्रम्य अतूनपो वनस्यतोन् ॥ २ ॥

ततो-सुराः प्रादुरासन्नष्टे⁴-पी हव्यवाहने ।

अपिमेवान्वेषन्त⁵ देवा हत्वासुरान्मुधि⁶ ॥ ३ ॥

¹ अपी च स सुते -- P; अपी च सहसः सुतो R; भानुवर्गी सह सुतो M₁₋₃, R₂₋₃ (सुते R₅), °वर्गो सह सुते B.

² अयन्नामत P; अपपक्वाम B, R; अभिचक्वाम M₁₋₃, R₁, 3, 4, 6.

³ P, M, R₁, 3, 4, 6; देवेभ्यः सौचीको-पिद् B, R.

⁴ नयो P.

⁵ R; अपिमेवान्वेषन्त P; ते-पिमेवान्वेषन्त M₁₋₃; ते-पिमेवान्वेषन्त B.

⁶ मूधे B.

तं तु दूराद्यमक्षयं वक्ष्यन्वान्वपञ्जताम्¹ ।
 उभावेवं² समादाय देवानेषामभिव्यग्मनुः ॥ ४ ॥
 वृद्धा देवारस्त्रिणमृशुरपि हृत्वाणि गो वह ।
 वरान्मृहाद्य चाक्षत्तश्चिचभानो भवत्स³ नः⁴ ॥ ५ ॥
 प्रत्युवाच तदापिस्त्रान्विष्टे⁷-भूत⁵ यथाच माम्⁹ ।
 तत्परिष्टे शुषन्तां तु ह्रीं¹⁰ पञ्च जना मम ॥ ६ ॥
 शास्त्रामुखः¹¹ प्रणीतश्च पुत्रो मृहपतेश्च यः ।
 उत्तरो दक्षिणश्चापिरेते पञ्च जनाः स्युताः ॥ ७ ॥
 मनुष्याः पितरो¹² देवा असुरा राक्षसाश्च¹³ ।
 चास्त्रीप्रमन्ववावेतानाहनुः पञ्च वै जनान् ॥ ८ ॥

¹ चाभ्यपञ्जताम् B.

² उभौ विवं B.

³ P; वन् B; वरं M, R.

⁴ चात्मानः B; मत्तश्च R.

⁵ वक्ष्यस्व (?) P.

⁶ B and M₁ add the line देवयानां सुगां पथः कुक्ष्य सुमनाः स्वयम्.

⁷ P; प्रत्युवाचाय तानपिर्विष्टे the rest.

⁸ M₃, R₃; कृत P; भुत M₂; देवा M₁, B, R.

⁹ यथात्त माम् P; यथाकामात् M₂₋₃, R₃; यदाच माम् M₁;

यदात्त माम् R; यदह मा B.

¹⁰ ह्रीं R₁, 4.

¹¹ शास्त्रामुखः R; शास्त्रामुखः B.

¹² पशवो B.

¹³ P; देवा गन्धर्वोरगराक्षसाः B, R, M₁₋₃; B and M₁ add the line गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा यक्षराक्षसाः, which is evidently based on the explanation in Nirukta III. 8: गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसि. All but P enumerate six classes instead of five.

निषादपक्षमान्वर्णाभ्यन्वते शकटाद्यनः ।

अश्विनो यजमानश्च शकपूषिसु मन्वते ॥ ९ ॥

[¹होताध्वर्युस्तथोद्गाता² ब्रह्मा वेति³ वदन्ति तान्⁴ ।

चक्षुः श्रोत्रं मनो वाक् च प्राणश्चेत्यात्मवादिनः ॥ १० ॥

मन्वर्वाप्सरसो देवा मनुष्याः पितरस्तथा ।

सर्पाश्च ब्राह्मणे शिव⁵ श्रूयन्ते ह्यीतरैर्यजे ॥

ये चान्ये पृथिवीजाता देवासान्ये-च यज्ञियाः]⁶ ॥ ११ ॥

आयुरस्तु च मे दीर्घं हवींषि विविधानि च ।

अरिष्टिः पूर्वजाणां च भ्रातृणामध्वरे-ध्वरे ॥ १२ ॥

प्रयाजास्त्रानुयाजाश्च⁷ घृतं सोमे पयः⁸ पशुः⁹ ।

महेवत्यानि¹⁰ धी सन्तु यज्ञो महेवतो-स्तु च¹¹ ॥ १३ ॥

तस्य¹² चीणि सहस्राणि नव चीणि शतानि च ।

चिंशतिशिव¹³ देवानां सर्वानेतान्वरान्ददुः ॥ १४ ॥

¹ The following five lines occur in B, M₁ and R₂ only.

² M₁; च उद्गाता B, R₂.

³ M₁; ब्राह्मणे तान् B, R₂.

⁴ वदति तान् M₁; वदाति तान् B, R₂.

⁵ M₁, B, and R₂ all read ब्राह्मणाशिव.

⁶ अयज्ञियाः M₁, च यज्ञियो B, R₂.

⁷ P omits अनुयाजाश्च.

⁸ R; but R₂-3, as well as M₁-3 and B read च दः.

⁹ सोम वयः पशून् P.

¹⁰ P, R₁, 4, 6; महेवत्यानि M₁, 3, R₂; महेवत्या नु M₂, R₃.

¹¹ महेवतस्तुचः M₂-3. M₂-3, B, and R₂, 5 add the line तवापे
यज्ञ इत्येतत्प्रत्यर्धिं स्विष्टकृञ्च सः.

¹² तस्य M₁-3, R₁, 3-6.

¹³ P; चिंशशिव तु R, M, चिंशशैवास्तु B.

¹⁴ P B; सर्वानेव M₁-3, R.

ततो-पिः सुमनाः प्रीतो विश्वेदेविः पुरस्कृतः ।
 विधुषात्नानि¹ यज्ञेषु चक्रे ह्येषमतस्त्रितः² ॥ १५ ॥
 धातुभिः सहितः प्रीतो दिव्यात्मा³ इत्यवाहनः ।
 तस्माच्च देवहार्वासोषेदो⁴ मांसं च मुग्मुक्षुः ॥ १६ ॥
 सुमन्धितेजनं स्यादु⁵ युक्तं रजतकाद्यने ।
 रोमाच्च काश्याः शिश्रासु⁶ कुश्याः कुर्मा⁷ वस्रासवा⁸ ॥ १७ ॥
 चत्वाच्च शिवाप्यवका⁹ मज्जा सिक्ततश्चर्कराः¹⁰ ।
 असृक्¹¹ पित्तं च विविधा¹² धातवो वैरिकादवः ॥ १८ ॥
 एवमपिच देवाश्च सृष्टिर्महदिति चिभिः ।
 समूदिरे¹³ परे त्वयादेःसृष्टे¹⁴ तु तां सु ते¹⁵ ॥ १९ ॥

¹ P, R; विधुषात्नानि M₂₋₃; विधुमानानि M₁; विधुमानि B.

² ह्येषम R, B.

³ दिव्यात्मा B.

⁴ M, R; महो P, B.

⁵ P, M; स्यादुः B, R.

⁶ च B.

⁷ कुर्म P.

⁸ P; वस्रानि च the rest.

⁹ P, B; शिवसास्त्रेष M₁₋₂, R; शिवसासु M₃.

¹⁰ P, M; मज्जा सिक्ततश्चर्कराः B; मज्जा सिक्ततश्चर्कराः R (but R₂ has °श्चर्कराः and R₃ °श्चर्कराः).

¹¹ असत् P.

¹² M; विवि P, विविध B, °ध R.

¹³ P omits the first Pida of this line.

¹⁴ P, B; °ष्ट्रे M, R.

¹⁵ B, R, M₁; तां सृते P; सृतां ते M₂; सृतां सु ते M₃.

Translation.

Vaiçvānara, the lord of the house, and Pāvaka, the youngest Agni, and Agni, the son of strength, having been struck down by the Vasat-call, Agni Saucika departed in fear, so the Veda states. Having departed, he entered into the seasons, the waters, the trees. Then, when Agni, the oblation-bearer, had been lost, the Asuras appeared. The gods having slain the Asuras in fight, looked about for Agni. Him Yama and Varuṇa espied from afar; and both of them went to the gods taking him with them. On beholding him the gods said to him: "Agni, bear our oblations; and thou shalt receive boons from us, o brilliant god, (if thou but) favour us." Then Agni answered them: "As you have all here said to me, so will I act; but let the five kinds enjoy my offering;" (The fire at the entrance of the house, the Prāṇita, the Gārhapatya, the northern and the southern fire—these are recorded to be the five kinds. Yāska and Aupamanyava say that men, manes, gods, Asuras, and Rākṣasas are the five kinds. Çākaāyana considers them to be the (four) castes, the Nishādas being the fifth. Çākapūni, however, thinks they are the (four) priests, and the institutor of the sacrifice. [These (four) priests) they call the Hotr, the Adhvaryu, the Udgātr, and the Brahman. The psychologists consider them (the five kinds) to be eye, ear, mind, speech, and breath. According to Vedic authority they are in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Gandharvas (and) Apsarases, gods, men, manes, and serpents) "and whatever other holy sons of earth or divine beings there may be]; let me enjoy long life and manifold sacrifices, and let my elder brethren have safety at every sacrifice. Let the initiatory and the concluding rites, the ghee, the milk in the Soma libation, (and) the victim have me as their deity, and let the sacrifice have me as its deity." To him the three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine gods gave all these boons. Then Agni, well-pleased, rejoicing, honoured by all the gods, shaking his limbs, unweariedly performed the office of Hotr at sacrifices, accompanied by his

brethren, rejoicing, the divine-souled oblation-bearer. To him accrued bone, the Devadāru tree, fat and flesh, bdellium, the fragrant tejana grass, sinew, semen, silver and gold, hair of the body and of the head, kāṣa and kuṣa grass, fingers and nails, and also entrails, the avakā plant, marrow, ground sugar, blood and bile, (and) various minerals such as red chalk. Thus Agni and the gods conversed in the three hymns beginning 'Mahat' (X. 51-53). But in the hymn addressed to Indra following that (and beginning) 'tām su te' * * *

Notes.

The three hymns which the above myth is intended to illustrate are, like X. 98 (to which the second story refers), of a dramatic character. The first consists of a dialogue in alternate verses between Agni and Varuṇa; in the second Agni and the gods converse; and in two verses of the third Agni is represented as speaking in answer to the prayers of his worshippers. The traits of the legend contained in these three hymns are as follows. Agni, tired of performing the sacrifice as his elder brothers (pūrve bhrātaraḥ) had done, and afraid of being forced by the gods to continue his functions, flees and hides himself in the waters. Varuṇa and the other gods having thereupon searched for him in the waters and plants, Yama at length discovers him. In return, for carrying the sacrifice to the gods, Agni asks for and receives as a boon from the gods, the initiatory and concluding libations, the nutritious part of the sacrifice, the fat of the waters, the vitality of plants, and the whole sacrifice. The 3339 gods then appoint Agni as their priest, and honour him, besprinkling him with ghee and strewing grass (barhis) for him. In X. 53, Agni says he will devise a hymn by which the gods may conquer the Asuras, and invites the holy eaters of the sacrifice and the five kinds to partake of his offering. The Taittirīya Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa add the following details. The elder brothers of Agni were three in number. They perished while carrying the oblation, being struck

down by the *vasat* call. Agni, through fear of a similar fate, hid in the waters, and dwelt in trees, plants, and beasts. When the gods found him, he consented again to carry the oblation on condition of their granting him the boon that whatever fell outside the enclosure at the sacrifice should be the share of his brothers. Agni, reflecting that his former brothers had perished because they had bones, resolved on shattering bones. Those bones which he shattered became the Pūtudru (=Devadāru) tree, while the dead flesh became bdellium.

It will be observed that the *Brhaddevatā* version of the story practically contains only features borrowed from the above sources. The only exception is the incongruous enumeration in verses 17 and 18, which, however, is probably suggested by the second line of verse 16.

The passages from the TS. and the ÇB., above referred to, will be found in Ludwig's *Rigveda*, vol. v. pp. 504-5. I may also refer to Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 203, note; Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii. p. 47 and pp. 87-89; Geldner and Kaegi, 70 *Lieder des Rigveda*, p. 106; Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 394.

Verse 1. The writer of the *Brhaddevatā* being evidently familiar with the passages in the later Veda which state that the elder brothers of Agni were three in number, I have understood their three names to be indicated in Pādas 1, 2, and 4. That the elder brothers of Agni were slain by the *vasat-kāra* is mentioned in ÇB. I. iii, 3, 14. The emendation 'sahasah sute,' seems to me undoubtedly to represent the original reading of the BD. The corrupt readings given in the critical notes are easily to be explained from copyists not understanding the Vedic word 'sahasah.' 'Sute' would then easily become 'stute.' In fact the syllables 'su te,' at the end of verse 19, in this very extract appear in one MS. as 'stute' and 'tu tām' in another as 'stutām.' 'Sute' is, however, still preserved by P. The reason for this word being

used in combination with 'sahasāḥ,' instead of the 'sūnuḥ' or 'putraḥ' of the RV., is clearly metrical. The words 'vasāḥkārena vrkṇesu' are borrowed from the BD. by the Sarvānukramanī (cp. my article on the Ārsānukramanī in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 113). The fact that they are there followed by 'bhrātrsu,' and that one of the various readings here is 'bhrātrvargau,' suggests that the author of the Anukramanī may have had some such reading as 'bhrātrsv agnau sahasṣute' before him. The collation of additional MSS. of the BD. would no doubt throw light on this point.

- v. 2. The BD. and the Ārsānukramanī, where the word also occurs, are the sources from which the Sarvānukramanī borrows the epithet 'saucika.' That Agni fled in fear is stated in TS. II. vi, 6 and VI. ii, 8, ÇB. I. ii, 3, besides RV. X. 51, 4 and 6. His entering the waters is mentioned in TS. II. vi, 6, ÇB. I. ii, 3, and RV. X. 51, 1. 'Rtūn' would refer to the generative power ascribed to Agni. By the side of 'waters' and 'trees' we should rather expect 'beasts' (paçūn), as TS. VI. ii, 8, 4 states that Agni hid in trees (vanaspatīsu), plants (osadhīsu), and beasts (paçusu). The RV. (X. 51, 3) only mentions 'waters' and 'plants.'
- v. 3. Reference is made to the Asuras in RV. X. 53, 4, where Agni says he will compose a hymn enabling the gods to overcome them. The verb 'aichāma' in RV. X. 51, 3 suggests that the original reading of the BD. may have been 'anu-ava-aichanta' instead of 'anu-ava-aiksanta.'
- v. 5. The line 'devayānān sugān pathaḥ kurusva sumanāḥ svayam,' added by B. and M 1, is simply a modification to suit the metre of RV. X. 51, 5, 'sugān pathaḥ krñuhi devayānān, vaha havyāni sumanasyamānaḥ.'
- v. 6. With regard to the reading 'viçve 'brūta,' it may be noted that in RV. X. 52, 1, Agni, addressing the gods, uses the vocative 'viçve devāḥ' and the

imperative 'brūta.' Five words of the second line are taken direct from RV. X. 53, 5: 'pañca janā mama hotram jusantām.'

- v. 7. 'Çālāmukhya' designates the domestic fire standing at the entrance of the house. 'Pranīta' doubtless means the Āhavaniya fire, which is 'brought forward' from the Gārhapatya. The term is otherwise applied to the holy water brought forward from the house of the Gārhapatya fire to the north of the Āhavaniya (see Eggeling, SBE. vol. xii. p. 9). 'Putro grhapateh' is, of course, an artificial designation of the Gārhapatya fire.
- v. 8. The explanation of the five kinds here attributed to Yāska does not agree in the first particular with the statement of the Nirukta. Yāska, moreover, says that 'some' (eke) hold this opinion, while the view here put down to Çākaṭāyana he expressly asserts to be that of Aupamanyava. Here is one of several instances in which the ascription of opinions to Yāska in the Brhaddevatā is in conflict with the statements of the Nirukta. This fact led A. Kuhn (in *Indische Studien*, vol. i. p. 103) to surmise that a Devatānukramanī may also have been attributed to Yāska. Such contradictions are all the more noticeable as the Brhaddevatā closely follows the authority of the Nirukta, often borrowing its opinions almost verbatim, sometimes even without acknowledgment (cp. *Indische Studien*, vol. i. p. 106).
- vv. 10-11. Though they do not occur in P, these five lines have been added in brackets, as being of some interest. The first line is obviously an interpolation, being merely a gloss on the preceding one. With the enumeration in the *v.l.* of the third line may be compared the Dvandva compound 'deva-gandharva-mānusa-uraga-rāksasāh,' in Nala I. 29. The reading of the MSS. 'brāhmanāç caiva' is clearly wrong. Brāhmanas are not mentioned in the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmana (III. 31), which explains the

meaning of 'pañca janāḥ.' Their inclusion would also make an aggregate of six instead of five. (The Gandharvas and their wives, the Apsarases, count as one class). The mistake, no doubt, arose from 'brāhmase' occurring between the two plural forms 'sarpāḥ' and 'ṛūyante,' and the frequent mention of Brāhmans in enumerations of superior beings. The fifth line is evidently an adaptation of the second Pāda of RV. X. 53, 5, 'gojātā uta ye yajñiyāsah,' which follows 'pañca janā mama hotram jusantām.' It must, therefore, be meant for the continuation of Agni's speech after the parenthesis (7a to 11a). 'Gojāta' has been changed to 'prthivijāta,' 'go' being understood to have its later meaning of 'earth.'

- v. 12. The words 'āyur astu ca me dīrgham' are only a slight modification of 'Agneṣ ca dīrgham āyur astu,' RV. X. 51, 8. 'Aristi' is, of course, safety from the vasat-call, which is regarded as a thunderbolt, e.g. in ÇB. I. iii, 3, 14. This boon, referring to his brothers, is different from that claimed for them by Agni in TS. II. vi, 6, VI. ii, 8, and ÇB. I. iii, 3, viz. the share of the sacrifice falling outside the enclosure.
- v. 13. The boons asked for and obtained by Agni in RV. X. 51, 8-9 are almost identical with those here stated. They consist in long life, the Prayājas and Anuyājas, the whole sacrifice, the fertility of waters, the nourishing part of the oblation, and the vitality of plants. 'Ghrtam apām' is, no doubt, here represented by 'ghrtam.' 'Some payah' is probably suggested by 'ūrjasvantam haviṣo bhāgam,' and 'paçuh' perhaps by 'puruṣam ausadhīnām,' through misinterpretation of these words. The evidence of the MSS. favours the reading 'Some ca yah paçuh.' But I cannot see what would be the sense of 'the victim in the Soma sacrifice.'
- v. 14. The authority for 3339, as the number of the gods, is RV. X. 52, 6 (=III. 3, 9). 'Triṃṣac caiva,' the

reading of all the MSS. except P. is, doubtless, the original one of the BD., the RV. having 'trīṃśac ca.' vv. 16-18. There is nothing in RV. X. 51-3, suggesting the enumeration contained in these verses. Five of the first six, *vis.* 'asthi,' 'devadāru' (=pūtudru), 'māmsa,' 'guggulu' (=gulgulu), and 'sugandhi-tejana,' are, however, mentioned in TS. VI. 2, 8, 4. The remainder of the enumeration probably emanates from the imagination of the writer. The word 'kūrmāh' I suppose to be artificially used to express 'hands' or 'fingers,' because it is followed by 'nakhāni,' 'nails,' and the preceding four words, 'romāni, keçāh, kāçāh, kuçāh,' go in pairs. The term is sometimes used to describe a position of the fingers, making the hand resemble the back of a tortoise. The word has evidently been employed to jingle with those which precede it: 'kāçāh, keçāh, kuçāh, kūrmāh.' 'Ávakā' is the Vedic name of a kind of swamp grass, later called 'çavala' (the reading of M and R).

The compound, 'sikata-çarkarāh,' corresponds exactly, in sense, to the German *Sandzucker*. 'Sikatā' has been metrically shortened to 'sikata' (not otherwise quotable), just as 'çarkarā' itself often is for the same reason.

II. THE STORY OF DEVĀPI AND ÇANTANU.

(Rigveda, X. 98.)

आर्ष्टिषेयो¹ हि² देवापिः शन्ननुश्चापि कौरवी³ ।

भारती⁴ कुषु लेतो राजपुत्री बभूवतुः ॥ १ ॥

¹ °ण P.

² B; तु M₁₋₃, R; omitted by P.

³ P; कौरव्यक्षिप शन्ननुः M₁₋₃, R; कनीयांक्षिप शन्ननुः B, R₂.

⁴ P, R₂, 5; भारती B, M₁₋₃, R₁, 3, 4, 6.

ज्येष्ठस्योसु देवापिः कनीयाथैव ब्रह्मणुः ।
 स्वर्गदोषो रावपुत्रसु षड्विंशसुतो^१-भवत् ॥ २ ॥
 राज्ञेन षड्विंशामासुः^२ प्रजाः^३ स्वर्गं गते कुरी^४ ।
 स मुहूर्तमिव आत्वा प्रजासाः प्रज्जभाषत ॥ ६ ॥
 न राज्यमहमर्हामि नृपतिर्वो-सु ब्रह्मणुः ।
 तथेत्युत्थाभविषंसाः^५ प्रजा राज्याय ब्रह्मणुम् ॥ ४ ॥
 ततो-भिविष्टे कौरवे वचं देवापिराविशत् ।
 न ववर्षाच^६ पर्यन्वस्यन्निगृह्णे इतं समाः^७ ॥ ५ ॥
 ततो-भ्यनच्छहेवापिं प्रजाभिः सह ब्रह्मणुः ।
 प्रसादयामास स्वर्गं^८ तस्मिन्धर्मव्यतिक्रमे ॥ ६ ॥
 द्विद्विच वचं राज्ञेन प्रजाभिः सहितकदा ।
 तमुवाचाच देवापिः प्रहं प्राज्ञविशितं खितम्^९ ॥ ७ ॥
 न राज्यमहमर्हामि स्वर्गदोषोपहृतेन्द्रियः ।
 राजत्वं पातयिष्यामि^{१०} बुष्टिकामेज्जचा^{११} स्वयम् ॥ ८ ॥

^१ P, R; तु षड्विंशसु B, M₁₋₃.

^२ षड्विंशाम P.

^३ प्रजासं - प्रजासं तु राज्ञे B.

^४ P, M₁₋₃; कुरी B, R.

^५ षड्विंशसु P.

^६ च P.

^७ राज्ञे हादच वे समाः B.

^८ तस्मिन् P; वचं B, R, M₁₋₃.

^९ P, M₁; तु प्राज्ञविशितं B, R₁, 3, 4, 6; प्राज्ञविशितं B, 2, 5.

M₂₋₃.

^{१०} P; पातयिष्यामि ते राजन् M₁₋₃, B, R.

^{११} षड्विंश B, षड्विंश P.

ततस्तं तु पुरी-धत्त आर्त्विज्यायापि¹ कौरवः² ।
 स चास्य चक्रे कर्माणि वार्षिकानि³ यथाविधि ॥ ९ ॥
 बृहस्यते प्रतीत्यग्निभरोजे⁴ चैव⁵ बृहस्यतिम्⁷ ।
 ततो-स्य स⁶ ददौ प्रीतो वाचं देवीं⁹ तथा च¹⁰ सः ॥ १० ॥
 अग्निभस्यतसुभिर्देवाज्जगौ वृष्यर्धमेव¹¹ तु¹² ।
 अपिं च सूक्तशेषेण कर्मैर्द्रं सूक्तमुत्तरम्¹³ ॥ ११ ॥

¹ °धत्ताविद्यायाप्य P.

² P; स कौरव B; स शन्तनुः M₁₋₃, R.

³ वार्षिकानि P.

⁴ RV. x. 98, 1.

⁵ B, R; प्रतीकस्त्रि P; प्रतीत्यितद् M.

⁶ M₁₋₃, B, R₁, 4, 6; चैवं R; पर P.

⁷ B, M₁, and R₂, 5, add the two lines: द्वितीययास्य सूक्तस्य
 बोधिते जातवेदसा । आस्ये ते शुमतो (मतिर् B, R₂, 5) वाचं दधामि
 सुहि देवताः ॥

⁸ P; ततः सो-क्षे M₁₋₃, R₁, 3, 4, 6; इति सो-क्षे B, R₂, 5.

⁹ P, B; देवीं R, M₁₋₃.

¹⁰ P, M₁; तु B, R.

¹¹ B, R, M.

¹² R, M; च B; वृष्यधमामिति P.

¹³ M, B, R; राजे शुभाम् P.

Translation.

Rtisena's son, Devāpi, and Çantanu belonged to the race of Kuru. Now these two were brothers, the sons of a king, among the Kurus. The elder of the two was Devāpi, and the younger was Çantanu. The (elder) prince, the son of *Rtisena*, was affected with skin disease. The Kuru (his father) having gone to heaven, the subjects offered him the sovereignty. Having reflected for a moment, he replied to them: "I am

not worthy of the sovereignty; let Çantanu be your king." "So be it," they said, and installed Çantanu to rule over them. The Kuru prince having been installed, Devāpi then returned to the forest. Then Parjanya shed no rain in that realm for a hundred [twelve] years. At length Çantanu, accompanied by his subjects, repaired to Devāpi, sought to win his favour in view of their transgression of duty, and, in conjunction with his subjects, sought to invest him with the sovereignty. Him, as he stood bowing low with folded hands, Devāpi addressed: "I am not worthy of the sovereignty, my faculties being impaired by skin disease. I will, however, preserve your kingship by myself performing the sacrifice for rain." Thereupon, being appointed by the Kuru prince his domestic priest for the conduct of sacrifice, he duly performed for him the rites productive of rain, and worshipped Brhaspati with the verses beginning 'Brhaspate prati' (RV. X. 98). Then he (Brhaspati), being pleased, bestowed on him divine speech, by means of which he, in four verses, sang the praises of the gods for rain, and (the praises) of Agni in the remainder of the hymn. The following hymn (beginning) 'kam,' is addressed to Indra.

Notes.

The hymn of the Rigveda to which this tale refers contains, like several others, a dramatic element, the first four verses being a dialogue between the singer Devāpi and the god Brhaspati. All the information to be gathered from the hymn itself, as to Devāpi and Çantanu, is to the following effect. Devāpi, a seer (*ṛsi*), son of *Rstisena* (*Ārstisena*), being chosen domestic priest (*purohita*) to act as *hotṛ* (*hotrāya*) for Çantanu, prays to Brhaspati to cause Parjanya to rain (*vrsāya*) for the benefit of Çantanu. Brhaspati promises to place brilliant speech in his mouth (*dadhāmi te dyumatim vācam āsan*), and grants his prayer for rain; whereupon the celestial waters are released in torrents by Devāpi.

The bare statement of the Rigveda that Devāpi was the domestic priest of Çantanu and successfully prayed for rain, we find expanded in Yāska (Nirukta, II. 10), in a passage which, if written in verse, would be equivalent in length to four çlokas and a half. The additional features in Yāska's narrative are the following. Devāpi and Çantanu were brothers, and belonged to the race of Kuru. Çantanu, the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, while Devāpi betook himself to penance. Thereupon it did not rain in Çantanu's kingdom for twelve years. Brāhmins explained the cause of the drought from the fact that Çantanu had passed over his elder brother in the succession. Çantanu, accordingly, offered the throne to Devāpi, who, however, would only accept the post of domestic priest to Çantanu.

A comparison of the text of the Nirukta brings out clearly that the above passage from the Brhaddevatā is based on Yāska's version of the story. The wording is frequently identical, while the expansion—amounting, in length, to more than double that of Yāska's version—to suit the exigencies of metre, is, in some cases, quite obvious. Thus, all the words of Yāska's first sentence—'Devāpiç cĀrstisenah Çamtanuç ca Kauravyau bhrātarau babbūvathuḥ,' have been retained, as far as the metre permitted, in the same order, while the additional words, inserted to eke out the second line, especially 'kurusu,' are superfluous. Again, the sentence 'tataḥ Çamtano rājye dvādaça varṣāni devo na vavarsa,' is doubtless the original of verse 5 b, though all the MSS. except B, which reads 'dvādaça vai samāh,' have the curious alteration 'çatam (!) samāh.'

The expression 'sa Çamtanuḥ kaniyān' is expanded to a whole line in 2a. Yāska's words, 'çiçikṣa rājyena,' are borrowed, and his compound, 'varṣa-kāma-sūktam' no doubt suggested 'vr̥ṣṭi-kāma-ijyā' in the Brhaddevatā. Such being the case, there can be no doubt that the reading in P, 'rājatvam pālayisyāmi,' is younger than that of the rest, 'yājyisyāmi te (=tvā) rājan,' because the latter corresponds to Devāpi's words in the Nirukta 'purohitas te 'sāni yājyāni ca tvā.'

It will, moreover, be observed that the *Brhaddevatā* adds a new feature. The elder brother's supersession is accounted for by the fact that he was suffering from skin-disease (*tvagdosa*), and consequently considered himself unfit to accept the sovereignty.

The same reason is assigned for *Devāpi*'s exclusion in the *Udyoga-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the same expression (*tvagdosa*) being used. This trait reappears in the *Mataya Purāna* (XLIX. 39), where *Devāpi*, the eldest of three sons (the other two being *Çantanu* and *Bāhlika*), not of *Rstisena*, but of *Pratīpa*, is rejected from the succession because he is leprous (*kusthin*).

That the old version of the story is to some extent obscured in the *Mahābhārata* is shown by the fact that the patronymic *Ārstisena* has become dissociated from *Devāpi* in the *Çalyaparvan*. *Ārstisena* is there spoken of as an eminent *Rsi*, who, by great austerity, acquired *Brāhmanhood* at the same place of pilgrimage where this distinction was attained by *Devāpi*. A similar dissociation of an epithet in a late stage of a myth I have pointed out in my article on *Trita*, in the *J.R.A.S.* 1893, p. 485-6. *Trita Āptya*, who is a god in the *Rigveda*, appears in the *Avesta* as two distinct men named *Thrita* and *Āthwya*.

The above-mentioned and other passages bearing on the legend of *Devāpi* in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas*, besides the text and translation of *RV. X. 98* and of *Nirukta, II. 10*, will be found collected in *Muir's Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. pp. 269-78. Cp. *Ludwig's Rigveda*, vol. iii. pp. 192-5 (§ 44), and vol. v. p. 551; also *Weber, Indische Studien*, vol. i. p. 203.

ART. III.—*Short Vocabulary of Red Karen.* By BERNARD HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S.

THE subjoined list of words is founded mainly on those of B. H. Hodgson, but certain omissions and additions have been made, with the object of showing only those words in common use which experience teaches are not easily altered or changed in the times of "storm and stress" through which most of the wilder tribes of Burma are passing, or which they have undergone at some previous stage of their history. In few parts of the world, indeed, has tribal conflict been more incessant than amongst the Mongoloid hillmen of S.E. Asia, or the conditions more favourable for the disintegration of old and the formation of new languages and dialects,—hence the multiplication of the latter so frequently remarked on by philologists.

The Red Karen vocables now given have been kindly furnished me by the Rev. A. V. B. Crumb, of the American Baptist Mission, at Toungoo, Lower Burma. Mr. Crumb has not written the words in the English character, according to the usual scientific system of notation, and, indeed, states that there are sounds in Red Karen which cannot really be taken down in any known system of writing. On this point I would differ from him, but it is only fair to add that he has himself greatly simplified the process of final transcription of the words by taking the trouble to write them in the Sgaw Karen as well as in the Roman character. This double rendering of words in new languages and dialects is, undoubtedly, a great safeguard against their incorrect transcription, and many

errors and incorrect philological deductions might have been saved had all observers taken the same pains as Mr. Crumb to insure accuracy.

Before discussing the Vocabulary now given, a few words as to the Red Karens themselves may not be out of place. These people (whose English name is a translation of the Burmese *Kayin-ni*—alluding to the colour of their turbans) inhabit the mountains and plateaux east of the British district of Toungoo, their country being bounded on the north by the Shan States and on the east by Siam. Until recently the great majority of them enjoyed independence under a king or Saw-pa, to whom, however, little or no taxes were paid, the royal revenues being chiefly drawn from a very lucrative trade in teak with Moulmein. A few years ago, however, consequent on a frontier dispute, a British column entered the Red Karen country, deposed the Saw-pa (one Saw La-Paw), and set up his son Saw Law-I in his stead, on his undertaking to render allegiance to our Government. The latter this year successfully took up cudgels with Siam on Saw Law-I's behalf in a dispute about the boundary line, and Saw Law-I paid an amicable visit to the Chief Commissioner at Rangoon, so that until their next rebellion the Red Karens may be reckoned amongst the loyal subjects of the Queen.

There are as yet no reliable estimates as to the total numbers of this people, though rough approximations have been by the various Government officials who have visited their country. Some of them have now enlisted in the new Karen battalion which it is being attempted to form at Toungoo. The success of this battalion is, it may be remarked, still doubtful, as the Karens, equally with the Burmans, are extremely averse to the strict forms of discipline enacted in our army. They are inclined to take life very casually—in fact, as B. H. Hodgson put it with reference to some other sub-Himalayan tribes, they don't like to be *fashed* about anything. Possibly the formation of a body of Karen irregular troops, to be employed chiefly in outpost work and as skirmishers, might meet with a

certain measure of success, provided it were officered by Europeans well acquainted with the Karens, and who knew at least the Sgaw dialect thoroughly. In regard to fighting capabilities the Red Karens are apparently superior to their congeners, and are well able to hold their own against the neighbouring tribes.

From the point of view of ethnology and folk-lore they are a most interesting race, whilst the written tablets treasured by them, concerning which I hope to make a subsequent communication, should shed some light on their previous history and civilization, such as it is. For the rest, there seems little doubt that, together with the other Karens and the Toungthus, they immigrated into Burma from N.E. Tibet or N.W. China in comparatively recent times, *i.e.* within the last 1000 years.

It appears from what Mr. Crumb writes that, besides the Red Karens proper, there are three other principal Karen dialects in the hills east of Toungoo, namely, those of the We-wās, the Prēs (sometimes called Breeks), and the Padaungs. The missionaries have decided, however, not to reduce any of these to writing, but are using Sgaw-Karen everywhere in the schools, and are encouraging its use generally, so that as the country becomes Christianized there seems little doubt that this variety of Karen will eventually supersede the others, in spite of there being no Sgaw-Karens native to these hills.

In transcribing the words sent by Mr. Crumb I have, where the words in Roman and Sgaw Karen letters differed, generally followed the latter, as Mr. Crumb is undoubtedly more at home in this method of writing native words. At the same time there were several doubtful cases, particular with regard to the transliteration of the Red Karen guttural corresponding with the Sgaw Ω (γ), *e.g.* $h\gamma\ddot{o}$ in "be silent" would seem to be almost better written $\chi\ddot{o}$, but as it is possible that the sonant γ may in Red Karen follow h proper, equally with p or t , I have left it as it stood. (It may be noted here that in the Karen dialects γ and χ are gutturals and not palatals,

being formed well back in the mouth). The vowels have values usually attached in the accepted system of transliteration; but the vowel sound, as in the English word 'air,' is represented by *ë*, and that in 'awe,' by *â*.

Mr. Crumb styles Red Karen a dialect of Sgaw, but a short study of the words given will show that this is certainly not the case. Though it is probable that at one time the present different sub-divisions of Karen formed one language, yet, as might be expected from their isolated positions in the mountains, the Red Karens have conserved the old language to a considerably greater extent than their brethren in the plains. Indeed, considering the manner in which the Sgaws and Pwos have been interspersed with and broken up by the Burmans, it is surprising their languages still present such a close resemblance with that of their Red Karen brethren as this list of words shows.

A comparison of it with Sgaw and Pwo is interesting philologically, as showing the tendency of the latter (1) towards diphthongs instead of simple vowels (other than the 'neutral vowel'), and (2) towards simpler sounds generally, the Red Karen, although possessing no final consonants, being markedly more difficult to pronounce. Both these differences show the greater decrepitude, so to speak, of the Sgaw and Pwo, and emphasize the fact that languages, as well as people, can be aged by circumstances.

The differences from the Sgaw and Pwo in the actual roots or stems are greater amongst the verbs than amongst the nouns, which is indeed the case with almost all languages and dialects of the Tibeto-Burman stock. I believe this is due not so much to the evolution of new stems, but to the specialisation or generalisation in meanings of words possessing in the original hive or home allied and somewhat indefinite meanings. A comparison of the words under this head in some of the leading languages or dialects would doubtless prove an interesting study in sematology.

The Red Karen numerals show clear traces of a time when 5 (the number of the fingers) was the highest figure

known to them. It is evident also that, as in the cognate languages, there are numeral auxiliaries.

So far as this vocabulary shows the composition of the sentence, the post-position of the negative particle *tō* (Sgaw *ta*), in contradistinction to the order observed in Sgaw, is noticeable. It can, indeed, I think, be predicated of these languages where the parts of speech are as yet, so to speak, still inchoate, and where one word can be used indifferently as noun, adverb, verb, adjective, or preposition, that the fixity in grammar and ideology observable in the Aryan languages is unknown, and need not be looked for. This has been well emphasized by De Lacouperie in his "Languages of China before the Chinese" and elsewhere. The minds of these round-headed Mongoloids do not, in fact, seem capable of the sharp, incisive, and logical grasp of facts which is so distinguishing a feature of the long-headed Aryan.

Red Karen resembles Sgaw and Pwo in the construction of the relative, so sharply in contrast with that found universally in the cognate languages.

The Karens have, undoubtedly, as De Lacouperie remarks, been subjected to influences of some language of the Mon-Annan (or Mon-Khmer) family, and it is probable that this particular construction may be due to that influence. It is curious, however, that in this point there is such a divergence between Cambodian and Annamite on the one hand, and Mon on the other. The Karens, owing to their late arrival in Burma, would naturally have been influenced only by the more northern tribes of this family.

In spite of the superficial resemblance of the Red Karen *dō* to the Cambodian *del* or *dā*, I am not inclined to consider either it or the corresponding Sgaw *lō* to be a true relative pronoun, whatever may be the case in Cambodian or Annamite. The whole construction seems, in fact, to be a peculiar prepositional one, not really similar, in spite of its appearance, to that of the relative pronouns of the Indo-European family. This view, of course, is in no way antagonistic to the fact of the Karen construction being

radically different in this respect to that of the Tibeto-Burman family proper.

As regards tones, the Sgaw transliteration would show that Red Karen possesses the same series of tones that are found in that language. Leaving the natural tone without a distinguishing mark, I have designated the others by the following numerals:—

SGAW KAREN TONE MARK.	NUMBER.
̂	1
ˆ	2
:	3
ˆ	4
l	5

Of these it will be noticed that numbers 4 and 5 are by far the most common, pointing to the conclusion that the Red Karens, like other jungle folk in Burma, are fond of low tones in talking. So far as one may judge from the written description of the Chinese system of tones, No. 1 would seem to correspond with the Shang Ping, 2 with the Hia Ping, 3 with the Shang Ju, 4 with the Shang K'ü, and 5 with the Hia K'ü.

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
Air	kēlā ⁵ ōē	This is a very common root.
Ant	tā	
Arm	ta-k'ū ⁴	See "hand." As elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman family, the distinction between 'hand' and 'arm,' or rather fore-arm, is not maintained.
Arrow	plō ⁵	
Bamboo	vē	Red Karen frequently takes ē instead of the Sgaw and Pyo ā.
Bird	t'ū ⁴	
Bitch	t'wi ⁴ myō ³	<i>Myō</i> is, apparently, a softening of <i>myō</i> =a mother. In Sgaw γ, preceded by a labial, frequently softens in the colloquial into <i>w</i> ; possibly in Red Karen it changes similarly into <i>y</i> .
Blood	θwi ⁴	
Boat	θā ⁴ klē	
Bone	tē ⁵ krwi	
Boy	prē ⁵ k'ū ⁵	
Bridge	k'ō	
Buffalo	péné	

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
Bullock	pū	<p>Cf. the Sgaw and Pwo names. It is instructive to observe how very readily new appellations for themselves and neighbouring peoples are adopted by tribes of the Tibeto-Burman family. I would unhesitatingly assert that all attempts to prove the affinity of distant tribes of this family by resemblances in name are radically unsound. It will be observed that the Red Karens style themselves <i>Mété</i>, and not <i>Kâyā</i>=man as stated by Cust.</p>
Burman	Myā ⁴	
Red Karen	Mē ⁴ tē ⁴	
Shan	Prē ³	
Chinaman	Hē ³	
Cat	tyō	<p>There seems to be a tendency in Red Karen to a sequence in vowels; if proved, this would point to a far north origin.</p>
Child	pē sē	
Cloud (rain)	kē ö ⁴	<p>Query, a variant from <i>myö</i> or <i>myö</i>.</p>
Cow	pū-mö	
Cock	shē-p'ë	
Crow	sā-vē ³	
Dah (a sword or chopper)	hī-du ⁴	

Daughter
 Day
 Dog
 Ear
 Earth
 East
 Egg
 Elephant
 Eye

p'ū-mō
 mǎ-nō⁵
 twī⁴
 k'ā lē⁴
 hē⁴.k'ū⁴
 sī t'ē⁴
 tē⁵ dyē
 tashā
 mē³ θē⁴ p'lā⁴

Face
 Father
 Field
 Fire
 Fish

mē³ θē⁴
 p'ē
 lyā, kē-lā³
 mī⁴ ū
 tē⁵

Flower

p'ō

P'la is apparently an affix, meaning 'round.'
 In other cognate languages also, 'eye' and
 'face' are merely distinguished by certain
 affixes.

The only allied word seems to be the Tounghu,
lita. Probably some particular kind of fish
 has come to be used for fish generally to
 the displacement of the usual stem *na*, etc.

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
Foot	k'yā ⁴	
Fruit	tē ⁵ θē ⁴	
Girl	prē ⁵ mā ⁵	Cf. 'boy.'
Goat	pē	Borrowed from the Mōn family.
Hair	k'ū ⁴ lö ³	
Hand	ta k'ū ⁴	It is noteworthy that Red Karen has retained the form so common amongst the Arakan hill tribes instead of the Chinese <i>su</i> of Sgaw, etc. I fancy that the Chins and Karens were neighbours in their original habitat in N. Tibet.
Head	k'ū ⁴ klā	
Hen	shē mryō ⁵	
Hog	tyā	
Horn	tē ⁵ nā ⁴	
Horse	ta θī	<i>Ta</i> prefix instead of <i>Ka</i> as in Sgaw. Cf. Southern Chin <i>si</i> .
House	hī ⁴	<i>H</i> is evidently a weakening of an original <i>K</i> . Cf. Tibetan, etc.
Husband	vā	

Iron	tā t'è
Ladder	ko b'ō
Leaf	tē ⁵ lē ⁴
Light	tē ⁵ lī
Maize	kū ⁴ k'è
Man	ū
	kā ⁶ -yā
Monkey	yā
Moon	lē
Mother	m'yo ⁵
Moulmein	vī mā ⁴ lamya ³

= a person.
 = men in general.

This word, the name of the town in Lower Burma, has been added by Mr. Crumb. It is curious to observe how the Red Karens have brought their favourite guttural into the last syllable. Cf. Max Müller on the "Clicks in S. Africa."

Mouth	kyā kū
Mosquito	p'yo ⁵ 'sī
Name	mī ⁵
Night	mā k'i
North	sī t'ya ³

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
Nose	kā p'γō	
Oil	θū	A very unusual stem.
Paddy	b'γō	
Patso (the lower garment)	hī kē ⁴	
Plantain	dī kwī θēs	
Rice (boiled)	dī	
Rice (unboiled)	h'γō	<i>D</i> has probably the usual Karen cerebral sound.
River	tyē klō	
Road	kya	
Salt	i θē ⁴	
Shoal	hē ⁴ θō k'ū ⁴	
Shoulder	pyā k'ū ⁴	
Skin	pā	
Sky	mā lē ³	
South	sī lyā ³	
Spear	ta byā	
Star	'sē ⁴	
Stomach	p'ū	
Stone	lā	
Sun	tā mā	Here again the Chin affinity is clear.

Taungya (a hill clearing)	k'ū ⁴ kiē	
Thigh	k'a ⁴ kyē ⁴	
Tiger	p'yō k'i	
Tooth	kū ⁴ k'yē ⁴	<i>K'ye</i> , the real root, is apparently borrowed from the Shan.
Tree	θg ⁴	
Vegetables	θg ⁴ tā θg ⁴ lē ⁴	
Village	dō	The sequence Sgaw θawē, Pwo tauē, Red Karen dō, and Taungthu dang, is instructive.
Water	tyē	Connects the <i>tū-i</i> and <i>tā</i> stems with the Manyak <i>dya</i> .
West	sī nō ⁵	
Wife	p'ē	
Woman	prē mǎ ⁴	
Yan	krō ⁴	
I	vā	This word, like the corresponding one in Sgaw and Pwo, has evidently suffered much from phonetic decay. Cf. modern Chinese 我, formerly pronounced <i>ńo</i> .
Thou	nē ⁵	

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
He, She, It We	a, prě'sk'u, prě's mǎ, ⁴ atě's nō ⁵ pě ⁵	The same remark applies to <i>a</i> as to <i>ed</i> . Possibly borrowed from one of the Mōn family of languages.
Ye	θi	
They	yē θi	
My	vā	
Thy	nē ⁵	
His, Here, Its	a, prě'sk'u, prě's mǎ, ⁴ atě ⁵	The same form as the nominatives. <i>Yē</i> in <i>yē</i> <i>θi</i> =your, apparently an error.
Our	pě ⁵ dū	
Your	yē θi	
Their	yē θi	
One	tǎ ⁵ p'ǎ ⁴	P'ǎ is clearly a numeral affix, possibly used for round things.
Two	nō ⁵ p'ǎ ⁴	
Three	θō p'ǎ ⁴	
Four	lwi ¹ p'ǎ ⁴	
Five	nyā p'ǎ ⁴	
Six	θyō θyā ³	
Seven	θyō θyā ³ ta p'ǎ ⁴	θyā ³ apparently = a pair.

Eight	lwi' θyá ³
Nine	lwi'-θyá ³ ta p'lá ⁴
Ten	shē
Eleven	shē ta p'lá ⁴
Twelve	shē nö ⁵ p'lá ⁴
Twenty	nö ⁵ 'sö
Thirty	θö 'sö
Forty	lwi' 'sö
Fifty	nyā 'sö
Hundred	ta yē ⁴

Of Dö (d probably cerebral) corresponds with the Sgaw lö.

To	dö
From	dö
With	rö
In, On	akū, ak'ū ⁴
On, Upon	ak'ū ⁴ dö tya ³ nö ⁵
Now	k'ö nyā
Then	työ nö ⁵ ta p'yo
When	p'ë (a k'ë p'ë)

K'ö evidently means 'time.'
 Cf. Sgaw, tü nü ta sä.
 K'ë, another form of k'ö.

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
To-day	ta nō ⁵ ayē	
To-morrow	shē pō rō	
Yesterday	mā hē nū ³	
Here	dō-ayē, pē ayē	
There	pē nō	
Where	pē tē	
Above	dō akū ⁴	
Below	dō alē ⁵	
Between	a sã ⁵ kū	
Without	ō ⁴ tō ⁴	
Outside	aklã	
Within	dō akū	
Far	yē ⁵	
Near	p'ū ³	
Little	p'itū	
Much, Many	ē	
Houses	hī ⁴ ta hē ⁴	
How much	bā tē ⁴	
		The construction of the prepositions is the same as in Sgaw.
		Tō, the negative particle, ó=to be.
		(This word is inserted here to show the plural affix.)

Thus	p'ū ayē k'ō
How	p'ū lié ⁴
Why	bé ⁴ tē tē ⁴
Yes	mā
No	tō ⁴
Or	mā mā ¹
Which	dō a

Who	ū dō
A good man	ū ryā

He is good	a ryā
He is bad	a hā
He or it is cold	a kē rō

The same construction as in Sgaw; but I do not consider *dō*, any more than *tō*, to be a true relative pronoun. The peculiar construction, however, so different from that of the other cognate languages is, doubtless, as De Lacouperie remarks, due to Mōn influence.

It will be observed that the word for 'good,'—there are no real adjectives in the Tibeto-Burman family,—is affixed.

I have adopted the verbal form purposely, as qualifying words in this family are really verbs and not adjectives in our sense of the term.

ENGLISH.	RED KAREN.	REMARKS.
He or it is hot	kū	
"	θi θö ⁴	
"	myē	
" ripe	'sū	
" sweet	shē ⁴	
"	sour	
" bitter	k'ë ⁴	
" handsome	tyō	
(He) is straight	sā	
" crooked	ka ⁴	
" black	lā ⁴	
" white	bū	
" red	lī ⁴	
" green	θyō	
" long	t'ū	
" short	p'yo ⁴	
" smart	θē p'lā ⁴ 'sū ⁴	

It is interesting to observe how very wide-spread this stem is. In the Tibeto-Burman family the words for 'sweet,' 'sour,' etc., vary greatly, but almost everywhere the words for 'bitter' are variants of this root.

(He) is rough	θwē
" flat	ru ^s du ^s
" fat	b'u ⁴
" thin	kryā ^s
" weary	θē prā
" thirsty	θē ō
" hungry	θē ē ⁴
(He) eats	ē ⁴ tē ^s
" drinks	ō tē ^s
" sleeps	ō ⁴ myē
" awakes	θē nē ^s tya ^s
" laughs	nyē ^s
" cuts (taungya) ¹	pā
" weeps	nō
" speaks	hi bē ⁴
" is silent	ō ⁴ hyō ⁴
" comes	hya
" goes	syō
" gets up	i-t'ā ⁴

Tē probably = the Sgaw tā.

Corresponds probably with the Pwo sēn.

¹ The temporary clearing, which is the usual form of cultivation amongst the hillmen in India and the Far East, sometimes called *jūm*.

REMARKS.

RED KAREN.

ENGLISH.

(He) sits down	ō ⁴ n̄yā	
" walks	syō	
" runs	klyā	
" gives	dyē	
" takes	pyē n̄i	
" seizes	pū n̄i	
" strikes	mū	
" thrusts	sha nō	
" kills	mē ⁵ θyē	
" builds	sā tyā	
" brings	hyē sã ²	
" ties	sã klã	
" takes away	sã ² kya	
" lifts up	sã ² tyā	
" puts down	b'ē ⁴ lyā ⁵	
" carries (on the shoulder) yā		
" hears	n̄i h̄yō	
" understands	θē nē ⁴	
" tells	dyā 'sō ⁴	
It rains	k'ē sū ⁴	

Sgaw, m̄d θi.

I give	vā dyē	The negative is affixed, not prefixed as in Sgaw.
I gave	vā dyē hā	
I shall give	vā ka dyē	
I can give	vā dyē syā	
I do not give	vā dyē tō ⁴	
I did not give	vā dyē mā ³ tō ⁴	
I should not give	vā tō dyē tō ⁴	
Do not give	dyē tē ⁵ mē	
A man who gave	ū ta prē ⁵ dö adyē tē ⁵	
A man who does not give	ū ta prē ⁵ dö adyē tē ⁵ tō ⁴	

ART. IV.—*The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort Tārā 'the Saviouress,' illustrated from the Remains in Magadha.* By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., M.R.A.S.

THE present paper brings the much despised Mahāyāna form of Buddhism fully home to the very cradle-land of Buddhism in India, and invests it with unexpected importance in the history of Indian Buddhism.

No one has yet realized the vast extent to which Mahāyāna and Tāntrik Buddhist remains cover India; nor sufficiently realized the leading part played by the Mahāyāna in Indian Buddhism during its most popular period.

These facts only dawned upon me when I found myself with official duties traversing the interior of the Buddhist Holy Land, after having studied 'Southern Buddhism' in Ceylon and Upper Burma, and 'Northern Buddhism' in Sikhim, British Bhotan, and latterly in Japan. On coming to Magadha, and following in the footsteps of the famous traveller Hiuen Tsiang, it was quite a revelation to find in the Buddhist Holy Land itself so much of the Lāmaist pantheon, including forms hitherto believed to be Tibetan in origin, represented in the hoary Buddhist images strewn over the old ruins throughout the country, or collected by pious Hindū hands at Brāhmanical shrines. Nearly every village throughout the Buddhist Holy Land contains old Mahāyāna and Tāntrik Buddhist sculptures, and I have also seen these at most of the old Buddhist sites visited by me in other parts of India.

Hitherto most of these allegorical images, strange and fantastic in form, have lain unrecognized and unheeded even by the Archæological Survey Department, in the

belief that they were uninteresting Hindū images, as many of them are worshipped as Brāhmanical gods at village shrines. Yet these neglected images, unlike Hindū idols, often possess artistic merit; and have only to be interrogated to yield a rich harvest of information regarding a most important, though obscure, phase of image-worship and theistic Buddhism, as yet but little studied. And they especially afford information for that dark period of Indian Buddhism subsequent to Hiuen Tsiang's visit.

The keys to unlock the mysteries of these allegorical images of extinct Indian Buddhism lie with the Lāmas, the jealous custodians of Indian Buddhist lore, tradition, and practice. Chinese Buddhists cared little for the symbolism and ritual of Indian Buddhism, and the Japanese, though much more materialistic, obtained their Buddhist symbolism through China, and have made it hopelessly chaotic. At the principal Buddhist centres in Japan I found both priests and artists generally ignorant of the most rudimentary symbolism, even such as is known to every lay Buddhist in Tibet. The Japanese Manual of the Buddhist Pantheon, entitled *Butsu-zō-dsui*, contains few forms of strictly Indian type, and even its own canons are not adhered to by the Japanese artists, who, I found, formed the images much according to individual caprice, and were often careless about the sex of the image, the number of its hands, or the symbols with which they invested it, or the left or right hand side, etc., etc. But what, indeed, can be expected from an artistic gleeful people whose piety sits so lightly on them that they take the greatest liberties even with their own Penates, 'the Seven Gods of Luck,' whom they represent in endless irreverent postures?

The Lāmas, on the contrary, craving after symbolism, seized upon every detail of the externals of Indian Buddhism, and rigidly stereotyped these as canons which they now slavishly follow to the minutest detail. And the profoundly accurate and scholarly nature of the Lāmaist translations of Sanskrit Buddhist books has excited the

admiration of all Sanskrit scholars who have looked into this subject—Csoma Körösi, Prinsep, Burnouf, Wassilief, Max Müller, Rhys Davids, etc. So that, in the absence of Indian sources of information, since it is clear that the Tāntrik and Mahāyāna features of Lāmaism were imported largely *en bloc* from Indian Buddhism, and received at the hands of the Lāmas but few important additions, it is to the Lāmas that we must chiefly look for the traditional explanations of the details of Indian Mahāyāna and Tāntrik Buddhism. And the novelty of the present paper in bringing much of the so-called 'Northern' Buddhism home to the Buddhist Holy Land, has been mainly obtained by utilizing Lāmaist sources of information. Here I would note that the use of the term 'Northern' Buddhism seems responsible for much of the existing confusion in Indian Buddhist history; as its loose use as a synonym for the Mahāyāna leads to the fact being so frequently forgotten that the Mahāyāna, not only in its origin, but even in its fully developed form, is as truly an indigenous *Indian* form of Buddhism as the Hinayāna itself.

In the present paper I deal only with my material bearing upon the genesis and worship of the Great Bodhisattva Avalokita—the key-stone of Northern Buddhism—and his *Śakti* Tārā, the Saviouress; and the illustrations are mainly drawn from the lithic remains in Magadha.

Avalokita, it will be remembered, is a purely metaphysical creation of the Indian Buddhists, who, in attempting to remedy the agnosticism of Buddha's idealism, endeavoured to account theistically for the causes lying beyond the finite, and so evolved the polytheistic Mahāyāna form of Buddhism: a polytheism which paradoxically is coupled with a nihilistic mysticism. In its materialistic features, and the easier '*conveyance*' offered by it to Nirvāṇa, The Great *Vehicle*, or Mahāyāna secured ready popularity, and latterly its polytheism swung round almost into pantheism, single objects being separated out of the all-pervading Unity and treated almost as essentials in themselves. Thus

the metaphysical Bodhisattva Avalokita ultimately became so expanded as to absorb most of the attributes of each of the separate Buddhist deities, stretching out to the infinite and embracing most all of them. His different modes were concretely represented by images of different forms and symbols; and in the Tāntrik development his more active qualities were relegated to female counterparts (*Saktis*), chief of whom was Tārā.

On the general history of Avalokita, the best published summary is that by Dr. Eitel in his *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*. On the general history, therefore, my notes are here restricted to those points on which the Tibetan accounts differ from the Chinese accounts summarized by Dr. Eitel; though I also utilize the data given by Buniyo Nanjio, often different from, and apparently more reliable than, that of Eitel, for fixing approximately the dates in the development of these cults. But as regards the Indian forms, and the genesis of Avalokita's and Tārā's images forming the main topic of this paper, scarcely anything has been published; and even the corresponding forms found in the 'Northern' Buddhism of Tibet, China, and Nepal, have, with the exception of a very few,¹ remained hitherto undescribed.

Avalokita is primarily regarded as personified pity. The Tibetan translation of Avalokita is *sPyan-ras-gzigs*² (pronounced Ché-ré-si), meaning 'the se-er with bright eyes,' or 'the se-er clad with bright eyes'; and as he is essentially celestial and his shrines are especially situated on hills—his especial shrine being on Mount Potala in Southern India³—the name *Avalokiteśvara* is paraphrased into 'The Lord who looks down from on high.' His other common

¹ For Nepal, Pandit BHAGVANLĀL INDRĀJĪ in *Archæological Surv. Rep. of Western India*, No. 9, Bombay, 1879. For China and Tibet, PANDER'S *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, Berlin, 1890.

² Tibetan names are Romanized as in Csoma de Kőrös' system, where the silent consonants are italicized; while the pronunciation is given orthographically in the Lhāsa dialect according to the 'Hunterian' Oriental system which is practically identical with that of Monier-Williams, where the vowels are generally sounded as in Italian.

³ H. TSIANG'S *Si-yu-ki* (BEALE'S transl.) ii. p. 232; also J.R.A.S. (N.S.) XV. p. 339.

titles being 'The Great Pitier'—*Mahā Karuṇa*, and 'The Lotus-handed'—*Padma-pāṇi*.

The extant literature throws little light on the precise mode and time of Avalokita's appearance in Buddhism, and on the development of his legend. His worship probably dates from the Mahāyāna epoch of Kanishka's Council in the first century A.D., but only a strict search for the earliest of his dated images is likely to determine this point.

The Lalita Vistara, or Romantic Biography of Buddha, translated into the Chinese in 221 A.D.,¹ is usually stated to contain no reference to Avalokita; but in the introductory chapter in the list of the great Celestial Bodhisattvas, is specified Mahākaraṇa, a common title of Avalokita, and also Dharaṇiśvararājā, a common title of Mañjuśrī. Rājendra Lāl Mitra gives the word as 'Mahakaruna-chandri,'² but Baniyo Nanjio states³ that R. L. Mitra's edition is not very accurate; and the Tibetan text, I find, gives 'snying-rje-chher-sems,' which may be translated 'The Great Souled Pitier.'⁴

In the Lotus of the Good Law (*Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*),⁵ which was translated into Chinese in 265 A.D.,⁶ Avalokita forms a chief topic as one of the greatest Bodhisattvas.

In 400 A.D. Fa Hian found Avalokita and Mañjuśrī popular objects of worship, and so did Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. Both Fa Hian and the Lotus of Good Law mention Mañjuśrī before Avalokita; but this does not necessarily imply the subordination of Avalokita to Mañjuśrī even at that period; for Mañjuśrī is the expressed inspirer of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, and as personified wisdom and the propagator of The Law, he even now is first invoked in many Mahāyāna books and

¹ BANIO NANJIO'S *Catal.* p. 51.

² *Bibliotheca Indica*, n. 455, p. 2, Calcutta, 1881.

³ B. N. *Catal.* p. 51.

⁴ The modern Tibetan Mahākaraṇa is 'thugs-rje' where thugs, while more honorific has identically the same meaning as 'snying.'

⁵ See BURNOUR'S *Lotus de la bonne Loi* and KERN'S transl. in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxi. p. 4.

⁶ B. N. *Catal.* pp. 44-45.

services; and he is first named in reciting the Lāmaist *Trimurti*, though the Lāmas consider him inferior to Avalokita, who is given the central position in the *Trimurti*.

Subsequent to the seventh century the only information regarding the worship of Avalokita and other celestial Bodhisattvas in India is found in stray passages in Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton's Survey of Bihār,¹ and other Indian Archæological Reports,² on some images and paintings believed to belong to Tāntrik Buddhism, but of which no serious identification was attempted. The remaining literature on the subject consists chiefly of Georgi's and Csoma Körösi' and Schiefner's and Schlagintweits' notices on the prominence of Avalokita in Lāmaism and his incarnation in the person of the Dalai Lāma; Hodgson's notes on his identity with Padma-pāṇi,³ and the blending of Sivaic and Buddhist symbolism in Nepalese Buddhism; Burnouf's extracts from the Nepalese Sanskrit Scriptures;⁴ and the curious confusion amongst the Chinese and Japanese in regard to his sex as summarized by Eitel.⁵

In order to form a distinct conception of Buddhist mythology, it should be borne in mind, as will presently be shown, that the Indian Buddhists formed the Images of their deities generally upon the model of a Brāhmanical god possessed of somewhat similar attributes; but so altered the appearance of the god, according to a well-defined conventional canon, that there never is any difficulty in distinguishing a Buddhist image, even of the most Tāntrik type, from a Brāhmanical or Jaina image. And the Name of the Buddhist deity is usually quite unknown to Brāhmanic mythology. The Buddhist pantheon is elaborately graduated, and the manifold forms of the same deity are concrete

¹ *Eastern India*, i. 1838.

² Gen. CUNNINGHAM'S *Archæol. Surv. Repts.*; BURGESS' *Arch. Surv. Rep. West India*; ANDERSON'S *Arch. Catalogue, Indian Museum*. This last work has most fully recognized the Buddhist nature of many of the Indian images in the Calcutta Museum.

³ *Lang. and Lit. of Nepal and Tibet*, supplemented by KEHN in his *Der Buddhismus, etc.*, and in *Amsterdam Roy. Soc. Jour.* 1888, and as regards Java by Dr. J. GRONEMAN in *Dutch Asiatic Soc. Jour.* for 1893.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

personifications of his or her different modes, or different attributes, somewhat analogous to the Roman deification of the moral qualities *Virtus*, *Pax*, *Fortuna*, etc. The titles of Avalokita, and Tārā, and some other of the chief divinities, are extended to reach the mystic number of 108, but only a few of these are separately delineated.

Avalokita, being a purely mythological creation, is seldom, like Buddha, represented as a mere man; but is invested usually with monstrous and supernatural attributes.

The earliest images of Avalokita yet found by me date only to about the fifth century A.D., but they clearly show that Avalokita's image was modelled after that of the Hindū Creator, *Prajapati* or *Brahmā*; and the same type may be traced even in the monstrous images of the later Tāntrik period. This observation is important with reference to the original functions attributed to the god Avalokita as a *Lokēvara* or 'Lord of the World,' and *Prajapati* or 'Lord of animals' and active creator of the Universe, both being titles of *Brahmā*. Though the ordinary function of Avalokita is more strictly a preserver and defender like Vishṇu, his image, excepting the presence of a lotus which is common to *Brahmā* and many other Hindū gods, has nothing in common with that of Vishṇu; nor did he seem to be in any way related to Surya or Solar myths.

The earliest forms of Avalokita's image represent him in active mood, *vide* Plate II. fig. 1, in standing posture with four arms, and these carry three out of the four ordinary insignia of *Brahmā*, namely, a Lotus (symbolic of purity and divine birth, and often bearing a book, the 'Veda' of *Brahmā*), a Rosary (emblematic of pious repetition of the Scriptures), and a jug of life-giving Amṛita (the Life-giver and Creator); and the fourth hand is in 'the bestowing attitude.'

When represented in strictly human form with one pair of hands, the ordinary forms show the right hand holding a lotus, and the left is in the 'bestowing' or in the 'blessing' attitude, often with a rosary superadded, and occasionally also the jug. This is the typical *Padma-pāṇi*, or Lotus-

holder, which is also a title of Brahmā; and variants of this title are Padma-hasta, P—kara, Kamala-pāṇi, K—hasta, K—kara. This form is found represented at nearly every Buddhist site in India. The Buddhist artists, in representing the God Brahmā himself as an auditor and servitor of the Buddha, give him the same form as this type of Avalokita, but add three more faces, and he is given a red complexion, while this form of Avalokita is white.

Another standing single-handed form (? without the Lotus-symbol) is Avalokita as 'The Defender from the Eight Dreads,' usually executed as a painting, as in the Ajanta fresco identified and fully described by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, pp. 9-10.

A less common form of the same type, with six arms, as in the photograph exhibited, is called 'Avalokita of Paradise' (Sukhāvātī Avalokita).

In all of these the god is represented as a Lokesvara or Loknatha, in the form of a handsome prince with hair plaited up into a high jewelled chignon, the later images replacing this by a crown (*mukuta*), and amid the hair is usually seated a figure of his spiritual father, Amitābha Buddha. He stands upon a lotus thalamus in an easy, graceful posture, and usually below his right hand, which is 'the bestowing attitude,' there kneels a hungry emaciated figure, with a long proboscis, 'the Queen of the Pretas,' drinking the nectar flowing from the bestowing hand of 'The Great Pitier.'¹

In the Tāntrik type of these forms Avalokita is attended by several forms of Tārā, usually the typical and so-called 'Green' Tārā and Bhrikuti, and other divinities as in Plates II. and III. When representing the wealth-god Amogha-vravritāvalokita, Plate II. fig. 3, he is attended by the wealth divinities Vasubhadra and Nāgas.

The four-handed sedent form, and the most common form in Tibet, seems to be of somewhat later origin, and is much less common in India, though I have noticed several

¹ For Avalokita's descent into the preta world and hell, see *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, translated into Chinese in the tenth century, A.D.; Burnouf's *Intro.* pp. 220, etc.; and Eitel's *Dict.*

specimens at Bodh Gaya, and in the interior of Magadha (see Plate II. fig. 2), and in the Calcutta Museum, some of which date, probably, to the eighth or ninth century A.D. This sedent form represents Avalokita in a less active and more meditative mood; more in the normal *Dhyāni* state of Brahmā. He is white in colour, with the front pair of arms joined in devotional attitude, while the other pair bear aloft Brahmā's insignia, the left bearing a lotus, and the right a rosary. This devotional attitude of the hands also seems identical with that named *Brahmananjale*,¹ and peculiar to Brahmā when repeating the Vedas. And in many of the Tibetan images of this form this front pair of hands are made to clasp a *jewel* symbolic of the *maṇi* in his mystic mantra, 'Om mani, etc., and it is interesting to note that in the Indian sculptures his right-hand attendant is Prince Manidhara clasping a jewel, see Plate II. fig. 2 (a).

When in the latter Tāntrik period the powers of Avalokita became multiplied, and his forms increased, many arms are given to certain forms which bear, amongst other weapons, the remaining implements of Brahmā, namely his sceptre, his bow (*Parivita*), his axe or mallet (*Drughana*), and the Veda.

The polycephalic aspect of Brahmā only crops out in Avalokita's image in the very latest Tāntrik stage, and I have not yet found any polycephalic images of Avalokita in India. A figure of the eleven-headed Avalokita (Kwan-yin) in the Baisō Temple at Akasaka, in Japan, is said to have been brought from India to China by the Ceylonese pilgrim, Amōgha, and thence to Japan in 743 A.D. by Kwanshin Daishi,² but there seems nothing to support this bare legendary tradition. However, in Lāmaism, Nepalese, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism, such monstrous forms are very common, and here, again, I think the relation to the Brahmā type is very evident.

In the legends of Northern Buddhism it is related how Maha Karuna, the 'Great Pitying' Lord Avalokita, looked

¹ APTE'S *Sanskrit Dict.* p. 611.

² CHAMBERLAIN'S *Handbook for Japan*, p. 20.

down during his meditations on our world of woe, and was so saddened by the sight that his head split into eleven pieces. And one of his most popular forms represents him accordingly with eleven heads. No one seems to have attempted accounting for so curious a number being arrived at, and the Lāmas have no theory on the subject. But this seems to me probably only another coarse reversion to the Brahmā type. Brahmā, with his five heads, corresponding to his five-fold world of meditation, on his heads becoming 'split,' there resulted ten pieces (according also to Brāhmanic mythology, Brahmā produced ten *prajapati* sons), and the extra or eleventh head of Avalokita is always that of Buddha Amitābha, his spiritual father, who ordinarily is figured amid Avalokita's hair. Another possibility is, that as Avalokita was the patron of animals, and latterly introduced into each of the five worlds of re-birth, the five may have reference to these worlds; though this is unlikely, as those 'Northern' Buddhists who possess this polycephalic form account these worlds to be *six*. It is also possible that this eleven-headed form was instituted in Tibet to incorporate an eleven-headed deity already existing in the Bonpo, or pre-Lāmaist pantheon, but if this is so, it is remarkable to find this form so widespread, not only in Lāmaism, but in Nepalese and Chinese Buddhism, and also in Japan, where Lāmaist influence is almost unknown.

The form of Avalokita with a thousand eyes, which is usually associated with the eleven-headed form, is merely a concrete materialistic expression of the name Avalokita—'the Keen Looker'—and the number 'a thousand' has no precise numerical signification, being merely expressive of multitude; but unlike the thousand-eyed god of Brāhmanic mythology (Indra), Avalokita's extra eyes are on his extra hands, most of which are stretched forth to save and help the wretched and the lost. The eye, which is ever on the outlook to perceive their distress, carries with it a succouring hand, altogether a most poetic symbolism. And a form of Avalokita's Charm is a print of a hand with an eye in the palm (as in the print exhibited).

The other chief forms of Avalokita's image are of the type of Siñhanada or 'The Roaring Lion,' Plate I., Lokeśvara, and Halahala; and in the Tibetan history named the Mani-*ḅkha-ḅbum* it is stated that Sarvanivarāṇa Viśhkambin is a reflex of Avalokita.

The detailed descriptions of Avalokita's images from the Tibetan translations, by Zhalu and Tārānātha from the Sanskrit are given in the appendix to this paper. These images, like, indeed, all other Buddhist images, may conveniently be grouped into the three types of—

- I. *Non-Tāntrik*, from first century, A.D.
- II. *Early Tāntrik*, from sixth century, A.D.
- III. *Later Tāntrik*, from tenth century, A.D. onwards, embodying the *Kālacakra* creations.

During the Tāntrik period several images of the essentially non-Tāntrik forms have *Śaktis* allotted them as attendants. Thus, in the list appended, Nos. 1 to 6 are non-Tāntrik in type, Nos. 7 to 16 are early Tāntrik, and Nos. 17 to 22 late Tāntrik form of Avalokita's image.

The Lāmas, strictly following the Indian Buddhists, never confuse the sex of Avalokita, nor the etymology of his name so as to translate the *īvara* (lord) by *vara* (voice), as do the Chinese, and following them the Japanese. The transfer of Avalokita's attributes to the female Kwanyin, seems, as surmised by Beale and others, to have arisen by this confusion of homonyms, for the majority of the Chinese forms of Kwanyin are clad in Chinese dress and attributes, and sit in un-Indian attitudes. The confusion is also in great measure between Avalokita, and his *śakti* Tārā.

The grafting of the Avalokita-incarnation theory upon the Dalai-Lāmas at Lhāsa does not deserve the antiquity usually accorded it. From a study of Tibetan history, I am of opinion that the fiction which credits King Srongtsan Gampo and the Dalai Lāmas with being the incarnations of Avalokita dates no farther back than 1640 A.D., and was the invention of Ngag-wang Ló-tsang, the first Grand Dalai Lāma. I have not space here to detail my reasons for this

belief. I can only now say that I believe that this crafty Grand Lāma, in order to consolidate his freshly acquired rule and that of his order in the Priest-Kingship of Tibet, did himself invent the theory of his being the incarnation of Avalokita, the president and protector of the creatures in each of the six worlds of re-birth, and also the Controller of Metempsychosis, the Dread Judge of the Dead, before whose tribunal all mortals must appear. Posing in this way as the God-of-Gods incarnate, he built himself a palace-temple on a hill near Lhāsa, which he named Potala, after the mythic Indian residence of his divine prototype 'The Looking-down Lord,' whose symbols he now invested himself with. And he invented legends magnifying the powers of Avalokita, and wrote amongst others fictitious histories, as I believe the *Mani-bkah-hbum*,¹ a work which is usually treated as historical, and dated a thousand years earlier, and attributed to Srong-tsan-gampo, whose autobiography it claims to be. Eitel states² that Avalokita is 'the first male ancestor of the Tibetan Nation'; but the Tibetans have no such belief. Their first male ancestor they believe to be a monkey, but it has not led to the monkey becoming in any way a totem. They regard Avalokita merely as having especially patronized them in having, for the general good of the world, incarnated himself in their country, thus making it the hub of the universe.

The cult of Avalokita brought with it organized worship, litanies, and pompous ritual. Hiuen Tsiang noted his own flower-offerings. The style of the worship for Avalokita is generally similar to that of his *Śakti Tārā*, which I illustrate presently in some detail.

His special *mantra* is the well-known six-syllabled *Om mani padme Huñ*, and his special rosary is made of Conch-shell or Crystal, as detailed in my article on Lāmaist Rosaries in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal.³ His *vija*, or mantragerm, is *Hri*, a contraction for Hridaya or (Sacred) Heart.

¹ This *Mani* refers to Avalokita as 'The Jewel' in the Tāntrik six-syllabled mantra *Omma-ni pad-me Huñ*, the miraculous history of which is a chief theme in the book here named.

² *Dict.* p. 23.

³ *li.* pt. i. p. 24.

TĀRĀ.

The introduction of the goddess Tārā into Buddhism seems to date from about the sixth century A.D., when Tāntrik ideas began to tinge Indian Buddhism. Hiuen Tsiang, in the first half of the seventh century A.D., incidentally refers to her image being worshipped at a few Buddhist shrines¹ in India; but her worship must soon thereafter have developed rapidly, for her inscribed images, dating from the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D., are numerous at old Buddhist sites throughout India, and in Magadha—the birthplace of Buddhism. Nearly every Buddhist site visited by me contains Tārā's images in a variety of forms, testifying to the popularity of her worship by Indian Buddhists. Amongst 'Northern' ultra-Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists, Tārā is the most popular of all the deities, even more so than Avalokita himself, and a large proportion of the Tibetan laity, as well as all the Lāmas, can repeat her services by heart.

The genesis of the name 'Tārā' for this great Buddhist *Mātri*, one of whose titles is "Mother of Buddha," it seems to me was probably suggested by the Hindū myth of Budha, or the planet Mercury, whose mother was Tārā; and, either by wilful or accidental confusion, the idea got transferred to Buddha, who also not long afterwards received a place in the Hindū Pantheon. And her relatively milder nature better adapted her as a female energy, or *Śakti*, to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas than her fierce counterpart in Hindu Tāntrism—the dread Durgā—who is given a much lower position in Indian Buddhism. In the *Mula Tantra* the word *Tārā* is used synonymously with 'wife' or 'queen,'² like *Devi* amongst the Hindūs.

¹ BEAL'S *Si-yu-ki*, 11. 103, 174.

² Csoma de Kőrös' Grammar, p. 193.

The Tibetan translation of the name Tārā shows that it is derived from the Sanskrit *Tāra* for *tarikā* = 'Deliveress' or 'Saviouress.' The Tibetan translation, namely, *sGrol-ma*, pronounced 'Dö-ma,' is interpreted as meaning 'The Unloosener (of difficulties),' 'The Saviouress' or 'Deliveress.' And it is to this attribute of being ever ready to help and easily approachable that she owes her popularity; for most of the other deities of 'Northern Buddhism' cannot be approached without the mediation of a Lāma,¹ while the poorest layman or woman may secure the immediate attention of Tārā by simply appealing to her direct.

She has thus the attributes of a female Avalokita, and in Tibet she is expressly regarded in her most popular forms as the *Śakti*, or female energy (or *Sanghā-prajñam-nāya*) of Avalokiteśvara, and named *spyān-ma* (=Skt. *Lochanā*), etc. Her birth story in this latter form, as related in the *Mañi-bkash-kbum* (The Hundred Thousand commands of the Mañi) and elsewhere, is that Avalokiteśvara, 'rich-in-power and the storehouse-of-pity,' on looking down upon the world, shed tears for the human beings miserably immersed in miry ignorance. The tear from the left eye falling on the earth formed a lake, on which instantly, like a lightning flash, appeared floating on a lotus flower the goddess Tārā, whom Avalokita then commissioned to soothe human suffering. And the Lāmas complete this picture by stating that 'The White Tārā' originated from the tear of Avalokita's right eye. Tārā's appearance is quite Indian, and entirely different from that of the female Avalokita, or 'Kwanyin,' of the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists—the idigenous Chinese 'Queen of Heaven.'

It may be that the invention of such a mode of birth for Tārā was partly suggested by the Brāhmanical myth of Lakshmi, to whom Tārā bears some resemblance in form and attributes, Lakshmi being also water-born (from the

¹ According to the current Tibetan saying, 'Without a Lāma in front God is not.'

froth of the ocean), and she appeared bearing a lotus in her hand. And Lakshmi, like certain forms of Tārā, has the Snake or Nāginis as attributes, apparently on account of this watery origin and association with wealth like the Nāgās. But the especial Lakshmi of Buddhism is Vasudharā.

The striking similarity between Tārā and 'The Virgin Mary' of Roman Catholicism has excited comment. Tārā bears a maternal relation to the divine Buddhas of 'Northern Buddhism,' somewhat like the Virgin to Christ, and is called 'Mother of God.' Tārā is also an intercessor, a ready hearer of prayers, easily approachable, and able and willing to relieve or soothe petty troubles. Her name, I may add, is a favourite personal name for women; and her *cija* charm, together with that of Avalokita, is used like 'The Sacred Heart,' indeed, Avalokita's *cija* literally means 'heart.'

The numerous forms of Tārā's image are concrete objective representations of the modes and titles of that goddess, thus: Sītātārā, Ugrātārā, Ratnatārā, Bhrikutitārā, Visvatārā, Pushpatārā, Dipatārā, Dhupatārā, Sragdhārā, Lochanā, etc. Some of her names are identical with those of the Jaina Yakshinis assigned to the several Tirthāṅkaras in the Tāntrik Jaina cult, which bears some analogy to the Buddhist.¹ And her titles have been extended to reach a hundred,² and even the mystic number of 108.³ Of Tārā's image over thirty specific forms are categorically described and pictured by the Lāmas, but descriptions of only three, and the pictures of two only of the forms, seem to have hitherto been published in European literature, although several of the forms are to be found amongst the Buddhist lithic remains in India.

The several forms of Tārā's image are grouped by the Lāmas into two classes, namely, those of (a) *Tārā*-proper,

¹ For detailed list of the Jaina Yakshinis see BURGESS' List from the *Ratnasāra* (Bhāg. 2, pp. 706 ff.) in *Indian Antiquary*.

² *Tārā Saṅgama*—an Upadeśa Dhāraṇī—HODGSON'S *Lang. and Lit. Nepal and Tibet*, reprint, p. 19.

³ Analysis of Kah-gyur by CSOMA DE KÖRÖS, *Asiatic Researches*, xx. p. 534.

or The Green Tārā ('Dö-jang' or Dö-ngön), comprising all the Tārās except two or three, and (b) *Sitatārā*, or The White Tārā ('Dö Kar'), consisting of the two or three only.

But this division, it seems to me, is probably another instance¹ of a mistaken or twisted translation by ignorant Lāmas striving after a coarse materialism. For Tārā's *Manual of Worship* gives her title as 'sGrol-dkar-sngon,' which, though really meaning 'The Pure Original Tārā,' is commonly interpreted by the Lāmas as 'The White-Green Tārā,' and thus held to include their presently recognized classes of Tārā's images and pictures. But the word 'dkar,' though commonly meaning 'white,' is the recognized classical word for 'moral purity.' While the word 'sngon' can only have the sense of 'original or ancient'; as the word for 'green' is spelt 'sngo' without a final *n*, and the *n* is only added to it in the Tibetan colloquial. Under such circumstances, coupled with the latter-day Lāmas' ignorance of Sanskrit, it seems probable that the title 'green' was thus applied to Tārā by a false rendering of the word 'sngon' or 'The Original.'

Following, however, the Lāmaist classification we find that the so-called *Green Tārā* (Tib.—sGrol-ma ljangs-khu or sngon-ma²) is the typical and most common style of Tārā's image both in India and Tibet, and also as the *śakti* of Avalokita. It is in this form also that the Lāmas have incarnated the Nepalese Buddhist Princess 'Bribsun,' the daughter of the Newār King, Ansu Varman, *circa* 630 A.D., and wife of Srong-tsan-gampo, the first Buddhist King of Tibet, when they canonized her for aiding in the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet,³ and it is customary for the Lāmas to regard saintly women as incarnations of this

¹ For a somewhat similar instance of Lāmaist mistaken translation, see my article on *The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life*, Jour. Bengal As. Soc. lxi. p. 154.

² sngon is Old Tibetan, and seldom used in Modern Tibetan, where sngo with an added *n* in colloquial means both *green* and *blue*; while ljang-khu is a less ambiguous word for 'green.'

³ SCHLAGENTHWEIT (*Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 66) has transposed the Nepalese and Chinese wives of Srong-tsan-gampo when speaking of them in relation to Tārā's two forms.

form of Tārā. She is represented as a comely and jewelled Indian lady with uncovered head, and of a green complexion, seated on a lotus with her left leg pendant, and holding in her left hand a long-stemmed lotus flower. From this Tārā-mother are evolved 'The Twenty-one Tārās'—sGrol-ma gnyi-shu rtsa-gchig, each of whom is specially addressed in the hymn which here follows. The details of these forms are given in the appendix.

These Twenty-one Tārās are also used amongst Tibetans for divination purposes, as detailed in my *Lāmaism in Sikkim*, p. 111.¹

Additional forms of this Tārā are: *Mrityu bāchnā Tārāni*—'The Tārā who saves from death,' a form not uncommon in Indian Buddhist sculptures (photograph here exhibited); *Khādirayana Tārā*, or 'The Sandal-grove Tārā: this refers to the Sandal-grove of the Indian Potala mountain.

In the form of the *śakti* of Avalokita, Tārā is also represented as the female 'Defender from the Eight Dreads'; and this series seems to have suggested the eight fierce Tārās of Nyi-ma sbas-pa (Suraj-gupta) [picture exhibited].

Of the white forms of Tārā, that named *Sitātārā pradhan trimandala*, or 'The Triad Group of the excellent White Tārā,' is found amongst Indian Buddhist sculptures: see Plate III. The form named 'The seven-eyed White Tārā'—sGrol-dkar spyān-bdun-ma—is seldom worshipped in Tibet, but is more commonly met with in Chinese and Mongolian² Lāmaism; and the Chinese 'Princess (Konjo) Wenching,' the chief wife of King Srong-tsan-gampo, is held to be an incarnation of this form of Tārā. And Pander notes³ that 'The White Czar' is believed by the Burāten and Mongols to be her incarnation. She has a white complexion and is seated Buddha like, with the soles of the feet directed upwards, and the left hand holding a long-stemmed lotus flower. She has

¹ Part ii. *Sikkim Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1892.

² As 'Dara-Eke.' See KÖPPEN, ii. 65.

³ *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*.—Konigliche Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin, 1890, i. 78.

seven eyes, the eye of fore-knowledge being in the forehead in addition to the ordinary facial pair, and one in each palm, and in the sole of each foot. This form, but apparently without the extra eyes, is found in India: see Plate III. *b*.

The Manual of Tārā's worship is one of the commonest booklets in Tibet, and is in the hands of nearly all laymen, most of whom can repeat her hymn and chief service by heart. The book is entitled 'sGrol-ma dkar sngon-gyi bstod-pa gzungs,' or 'The praise and spells (*Dhāraṇī*) of The Pure Original Tārā.' And in some editions she is termed 'Mother of the *Jinas*'¹ (*rgyal-yum*), also 'Mother of the Tathāgathas.' The manual extends to thirty-eight or forty pages of five lines each. The greater portion, including 'The Exhortation' and 'The Hymn,' is alleged internally to have been composed by 'The Great Vairochana-Buddha of The Ultimate Perfection,'² and usually interpreted by the Lāmas as referring to Vairochana, the first of the mythical Jina-Buddhas; but it may probably be the Indian (Kāśmir) Monk Vairochana, of the 'Great Ultimate Perfection (*Maha-utpanna*)' form of the Buddhist doctrine, who lived in the eighth century, A.D., and a notable translator of Sanskrit Scriptures into the Tibetan. An appendix is signed by Gedun Dūb, The Grand Lāma, who built Tashilunpo Monastery *circā* 1445, A.D.

Tārā's worship, like that of most of the Mahāyāna and Tāntrik deities, is divided into seven stages (Tib—Yanlag-ōdun), namely:—

- (1) The Invocation—calling her to come.
- (2) Presentation of offerings of sacred food, rice, water, flowers, incense, lamps, and music of cymbals, and occasionally a *maṇḍala* or magic-circle offering, for which there is a special *maṇḍala* manual.
- (3) Hymn in her praise.

¹ In Tibetan works the Celestial Buddhas are called *Jina*—the term Dhyani Buddha of the Nepalese Buddhists seems unknown to the Lāmas.

² *rdzogs-pahi sangs-rgyas nam par sngang-mdsad chhen-po.*

- (4) Repetition of her spell or *mantra*.
 (5) and (6) Prayers for benefits present and to come.
 (7) Benediction.

The service is chanted in chorus, and the measure used in chanting the hymn, namely trochaic in eight-syllabled lines, I have indicated in a footnote to the Hymn.

The Manual is here translated—

EXHORTATION TO TĀRĀ'S WORSHIP.

“If we worship this high and pure-souled goddess when we retire in the dusk and arise in the morning, then all our fears and worldly anxieties will give way and our sins be forgiven. She—the conqueror of myriad hosts—will strengthen us. She will do more than this! She will convey us directly to the end of our transmigration—to Buddha and Nirvāna!

“She will expel the direst poisons, and relieve us from all anxieties as to food and drink, and all our wants will be satisfied; and all devils and plagues and poisons will be annihilated utterly; and the burden of all animals will be lightened! If you chant her hymn two or three or six or seven times, your desire for a son will be realized! Or should you wish wealth, you will obtain it, and all other wishes will be gratified, and every sort of demon will be wholly overcome.”

I.

INVOCATION.

“Hail! O! verdant Tārā!
 The Saviour of all beings!
 Descend, we pray Thee, from Thy heavenly mansion, at Potala,
 Together with all Thy retinue of gods, titans, and deliverers!
 We humbly prostrate ourselves at Thy lotus feet!
 Deliver us from all distress! O Holy Mother!

II.

PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS (Sacrificial).

We hail Thee! O Rever'd and Sublime Tārā!
 Who art adored by all the kings and princes
 Of the ten directions and of the present, past and future.
 We pray Thee to accept these offerings
 Of flowers, incense, perfumed lamps,
 Precious food, the music of cymbals,
 And the other offerings!
 We sincerely beg Thee in all Thy divine Forms¹
 To partake of the Food now offered!
 On confessing to Thee penitently their sins
 The most sinful hearts, yea! even the committers of the
 Ten vices and the five boundless sins,
 Will obtain forgiveness and reach
 Perfection of soul—through Thee!
 If we (human beings) have amassed any merit
 In the three states,²
 We rejoice in this good fortune, when we consider
 The unfortunate lot of the poor (lower) animals
 Piteously engulfed in the ocean of misery.
 On their behalf, we now turn the wheel of religion!
 We implore Thee by whatever merit we've accumulated
 To kindly regard all the animals.
 And for ourselves!
 When our merit has reached perfection
 Let us not we pray Thee,
 Linger longer in this world!

¹ The polymorphism already referred to.

² Kāma, Rupa, and Arupa.

III.

HYMNS IN TĀRĀ'S PRAISE.¹

(Each separate stanza is addressed to a special one of Tārā's
Twenty-one forms—the name of the special form being
given here by me in the margin for reference.)

- (Tārā, the Mother.) Ārya Tārā! Hail to Thee!
Our Deliveress sublime!
Avalok'ta's (messenger)
Rich in power and pity's store!
- (1. Tārā, the
Supremely
Courageous.) Hail O Tārā! quick to Save!
Lotus-born of pitying tear
Shed down by The Three-World-Lord,
Grieving sad for sunken souls.
- (2. Tārā, of
White - moon
Brightness.) Hail! to Thee with fulgent face,
Bright as hundred harvest moons
Gleaming in the tribute light
Brought by hosts of sparkling stars.
- (3. Tārā, the
Golden-
Coloured.) Hail! to Thee whose hand is decked
By the lotus golden blue.
Eager soother of our woe,
Ever tireless worker, Thou!

¹ As this hymn is so popular amongst Lāmaist people in Tibet, Sikkim, etc., I give here in the Lhāsa dialect its second stanza, which is the proper commencement of the hymn, in order to show its metre.

Chhag ts'hal | Dō-mā | nyur-mā | pāh-mō |
Chen-nī | kē-chig' | log-tāng | tā-mā |
Jig-ten | sum gōn | chhu kyé | zhal-gyi |
Kē-sar | che-wā | le-nī | jung-mā | .

- (4. Tārā, the Grand Hair-piled.) Hail to Thee with grand piled-up hair,
Shrining there Tathāgata,
Victor¹ of the universe.
Thou a saintly victor too!
- (5. Tārā, the 'Hung', Shouter.) Hail to Thy 'tut-tāra-hung'²
Piercing realms of earth and sky,
Treading down the seven worlds,
Bending prostrate everyone!
- (6. Tārā, the best Three-World Worker.) Hail! adored by mighty gods,
Indra, Brāhma, Fire and Wind,
Ghostly hordes and *Gandharvas*
All unite in praising Thee!
- (7. Tārā, the Suppressor of Strife.) Hail! with Thy dread 'tre' and 'phat'³
Thou destroyest all Thy foes.
Striding out with Thy left foot
Belching forth devouring fire!
- (8. Tārā, the Giver of Supreme Power.) Hail! with awful word 'tu-re'
Banishing the bravest fiends,
Vanquishing the troops of foes,
Even by Thy merest frown!
- (9. Tārā, the Best Bestower.) Hail! O emblem Trinital!
Charming with Thy breast-posed hand,
And Thy halo dazzling bright
Enemies all puts to flight!
- (10. Tārā, the Dis-peller of Grief.) Hail! in Thy most placid mood,
Beaming brighter in Thy gems,
Gaily laughing 'tū-tu-ra'
Thou enslavest men and fiends!
- (11. Tārā, the Cherisher of the Poor.) Hail! Sole Owner of the Earth!
Rich and Mighty bend to Thee,
Quaking 'neath Thine angry gaze;
But, the poor Thou cherishest.

¹ rgyal-wa = Sanskrit *Jina*.

² This is a portion of Tārā's mystic spell, for which see p. 74.

³ Mystic spells used by wizards—*phat* = break or smash!

- (12. Tārā, the
Brightly
Glorious.) Hail! with moon as diadem,
Amitā, the Boundless Light,
Seated midst Thy plaited hair
Ever shedding glory bright.
- (13. Tārā, of the
Universal Mature
Deeds.) Hail! O Worker wreath'd in flames
Glowing as the *Kalpa* fire;
Striding out with Thy right foot
Routing all foes utterly.
- (14. Tārā, with
the Frowning
Brows.) Hail! with frown and angry eyes
Beating ground with fist and feet
Uttering the mystic '*Hung*'
Conquering the seven-fold foe.
- (15. Tārā, the
Giver of
Prosperity.) Hail! O happy Kindly One
Active soother of our woe
Spotless Thou by '*Svā-ha Om*'!
Cleansing us from foulest sin.
- (16. Tārā, the
Subduer of
Passion.) Hail! most brightly halo'd one
Glad to conquer passion's flame
You the mystic ten words coin'd
And by *Hung* all wisdom solv'd.
- (17. Tārā, the
Supplier of
Happiness.) Hail! with '*Tūre*' bent foot
Gaineth thus all knowledge germs
Meru, Mandhar, Vindhya Mounts
Stirring all the Triad Worlds.
- (18. Tārā, the Ex-
cessively Vast.) Hail! O holder of the deer
Omened deer of godly lakes
Saying '*Tā-ra*' and Thy '*Phat*.'
Purging every poison out.
- (19. Tārā, the
Dispeller of
Distress.) Hail! O Teacher of the gods
Indra, and the Kin-na-ra¹
Richly clad in gladdest cheer
Blotting out bad dreams and strife.

¹ Heavenly musicians.

(20. Tārā, the Advent of Spiritual Power.)

Hail! O brilliant clearer Thou
Clearing mist from sun and moon
By 'Tu-tāra' and 'Hara'
Stamping out the dreadful plague.

(21. Tārā, the Completely Perfect.)

Hail! O pure mirac'lous power¹
Triply potent, mild and real²
By Thy 'Tu-re' routing out
Yakkha hordes and ghosts and fiends.
We have prais'd Thy mighty spells³
Hail! to Thy Forms twenty-one!

IV.

TELLING OF ROSARY.

[Here is repeated on the rosary 108 times, or as often as possible, the *mantra* of Tārā, namely: *Om! Tā-re-tu-tā-re tu-re Swā-hā!*

The *mantra* of Sītatārā is *Om! Tā-re tu-t ā-re ma-ma ā-yur-pun-ye jna-na push-tin ku-ru Swā-hā!*

The rosary used in Sītatārā's worship is a *Bodhitse* while Tārā required either a *Bodhitse* or Turquoise one.⁴

V. AND VI.

PRAYERS FOR BLESSINGS.

We implore thee, O! Revered Victorious *Bhagavati*⁵ and Merciful One! to purify us and all other beings of the universe thoroughly from the two evil thoughts; and make us quickly attain the perfection of Buddhahood. If we cannot attain this perfection within a few life cycles,

¹ *mthu* = power, especially supernatural, and witchcraft.

² *Yang-dag* = Skt. *Samyak*.

³ *rtaa-wahi* *mgags* = root of mysticism.

⁴ But see my article, "Lamaic Rosaries," in *Jour. Bengal As. Soc.* vol. lxi. 1892, p. 24 *et seq.*

⁵ *chom-ldan-adas-ma*, pronounced 'chom-den-de-ma.'

then grant us the highest earthly and heavenly happiness and all knowledge. And preserve us, we beseech Thee, from evil spirits, plague, disease, untimely death, bad dreams, bad omens, and all the eight fears and accidents. And in our passage through this world grant unto us the most perfect bliss, beyond possibility of increase, and may all our desires be realized without exertion on our part.

Let the holy religion prosper. And in whatever place we dwell, we beg Thee to soothe there disease and poverty, fighting and disputes, and increase the Holy Religion.

And may Thy benign¹ face always beam on us and appear large like the waxing moon in forwarding our heart's desire of admission to the heavenly circle and *Nirvāna*.

Let us obtain the favourite gods² of our former lives, and gain entry into the prophesied paradise of the Three Buddhas of the past, present and future.

(Here follow ten pages of miscellaneous prayers by various, but mostly anonymous, writers.)

VII.

BENEDICTION.

Now! O! Thou! The Great Worker!
 Thou Quick Soother and Gracious Mother,
 Holding the *utpal* flower!
 Let Thy glory come.

Maṅgalam !³

¹ In contradistinction to 'fury-face' (khro-bo; Skt. *krodha*).

² Dub-bahi-lha, for description of which see my *Lamaism in Sikkim*.

³ *ḡgra-shis shok*, pronounced *Tū-shi-shō*.

APPENDIX.

FORMS OF AVALOKITA.

1. *Mahākaraṇa*, or The Great Pitier. (Zhalu.)
 Tibetan.—Thugs-rje chhen-po.
 He is white in colour, with one face and four hands (and standing).
Symbol.—The first right hand is in *vara mudrā* attitude on a lotus, and the second holds a pearl rosary. The first left hand holds a lotus flower, and the second a spyi-blugs anointing vase. He is adorned with silks and jewels.
2. *Arya Avalokita*. The Sublime A.
 Tib.—*hphags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs*.
 He is white, with one face and two hands. Described and figured by Bhagvanlāl Indrajī, *loc. cit.* No. 12.
3. ————— or Avalokita, the Dispeller of Dreams (Z.)
 Tib. — *rMi-lam-ngan-pa-bzlog-pak-spyan-ras-gzig*
 (Pronounced—Mi-lam ngen-pa dek pa-chē-rē-zi).
 This Avalokita is white and wears blue clothes.
Symb.—The right hand is in *Śaran* mudrā, and the left holds a white lotus. He has no ornaments, and has his locks of hair bound up into a cone.
4. Avalokita, the defender from the Eight Dreads. TA.
 Tib.—*sPyan-ras gzigs hjigs-pa brgyad skyobs*.
 Described by me in *Indian Antiquary*, Jan. 1893, p. 9.
5. *Sinhanāda Avalokita*, or A. the Roaring Lion. TA.
 Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs Seng-ge sgra*.
Sinhanāda is white in colour, with one face and two hands, and sits on a moon cushion on a white lion, whose head is turned to the right and face upturned. Its mane is orange-coloured, and its body adorned with jewels, and it stands upon a red lotus. His right hand is in *vara mudrā* and resting on the right knee; and the left hand rests on hinder part of the cushion.

He has three eyes. Hair in high plaits. Left leg *semi*-elevated, in the fashion of Rajalalita. Has no ornaments. He wears the Brāhmanical thread and a *dhoti* of red silk. Left breast is covered by a skin of a black deer. On his right hand is a green trisul encircled by a white snake. On left is a stemmed white lotus, bearing in its centre a skull-like petalled flower (or skull-flowers), which opens opposite his ear, and on the flower is the flaming sword of wisdom. (N.B.—In Plate I. showing one of the several fine examples of this form found in Magadha, the following additions are noticeable: (1) the surmounting Amitābha, (2) the large hair-pin and ribbons, (3) the wheel or lotus mark in sole, (4) the elaborate string of the *dhoti* or drawers, and (5) the circlet of the five Jina Buddhas outside the halo.) Compare with the Nepalese form figured by Bhagvanlāl Indrajī, No. 15 in Arch. Survey Rep. West India, vol. i.

6. *Sāgarjita A.* The Ocean-conquering A. Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-rgyal-wa-rgya-mtsho.

This Avalokita is red in colour.

Symb.—The first pair hands are joined, the lower right holds a red (pearl) rosary, and the lower of left a red lotus. Sits in half *Vajrapalaṅga*.

7. *Chayabhayā A.* or The Four-handed A. Tib.—sPyan-ra-gzigs-zhal-gchigs-phyag-bzhi (P.—Che-re-si-zhal-chik-chag-zhi).

Avalokita is white, with one face and one hand.

Symb.—The first pair of hands joined over heart, the lower right holds a ~~crystal~~ rosary, and the lower of left holds a white lotus. Sits in *Vajrapalaṅga*. On his right is Manidharaputra (Sras-norbu-hdsin-pa), and on left is 'The Mother of the Six Syllables' yum-yi-ge-drug-ma.

8. *Trimandala Avalokitesvara* or The Triad Lord A. Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-rjigs-rten-dbang-phyug-gtsa-hkhor-gsum-pa (P.—Che-re-si-jig-ten wang-chuk tso-khor-sum).

Avalokiteśvara is red in colour, with one face and two hands.

Symb.—Right hand holds a stemmed white lotus, and the left is in preaching attitude. He is adorned with jewelled ornaments and garb, and is in a standing posture, slightly inclined towards the left. On his right side mild Vajra-pani stood, and on left mild Hayagriva in standing posture with his two feet crossed.

9. *Dharmēśvara Vajra A.* Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs-rdorje-chhos dbang* (P.—Che-re-si-der-je-chhe wang).

He is white in colour, and his head is adorned with the Amitābha Jina.

Symb.—The right hand is in *vara* attitude, and the left holds a stemmed white lotus between the thumb and the ring-finger, over his heart, and the flower opens at the level of the ear. He sits with the right leg extended in half *palaṅga*. On his right is Tārā, and on left Bhrikuti. In front is Vasudharā gzhon-mu with hands joined in adoration.

10. *Śrī* (? *Kechara*) *A.* or The Worshipful Sky soaring *A.* Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs-dpal-lden-mkhah-spyod* (P.—Che-re-si-pal-den-kha-chö).

He is white in colour, with one face and two hands.

Symb. — The right hand is in *vara* attitude, and the left holds a stemmed white lotus by the thumb and ring-finger, the flower being open near the ear. He is adorned with silken garments and jewels, and is standing. On his right is Green Tārā, and on his left White Bhrikuti. In front is yellow Vasundhari with joined hands.

11. *Trimandala Amogha Vajra Mahākaruna.* Thugs-rje-chhen-pe-don-yod-rdorje-gtse-hkhor-gsum-pa (P.—Thuk-je-chhen-bo-ton-dor-tso-khor-sum).

He is white in colour, with one face and four hands.

Symb.—The first right hand is in *vara* attitude on a lotus, and the second holds a pearl rosary; the first left holds a lotus flower, and the second a

spyi-blugs anointing vase. He is adorned with silks and jewels. Tārā is on his right side, and Bhrikuti on his left. The elephantine Tshogs-*bdag-glang-sna-dwarf* is sitting under the hand which is in *vara* attitude.

12. *Sukhāvati A.* or A. of Paradise. Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs-Su-Kha-wa-ti* (P.—Che-re-si Sukha-wati).

Avalokita-Sukhāvati is white, with one face and six hands.

Symb.—The first on right is in Ba-dan-*rtse-gsum* attitude, the second holds a rosary, and the third a jewel in *vara* attitude; the first of left holds a stemmed white lotus adorned with jewels, the second a three-tipped stick, and the third an anointing vase. He stands, and is adorned with silks and jewels, and has locks of hair hanging down. Tārā and Bhrikuti stand on his right and left.

13. *Amogha Vavriṭha A.* or Amogha A. of the Sacrificial Gem. Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs-don-yod-mchhod-pai-nor-bu* (P.—Che-re-si-tön-yöd-Chho-pai-norbu).

He is white, with one face and twelve hands.

Symb.—Of the right hands one is in *mchhog-sbyin* attitude on a lotus and holds a pearl rosary, others are in preaching attitude, *sdigs-ḥdsub*, 'pointing-finger attitude,' others hold an arrow, and an eight-leaved lotus; and the left hold a book, vessel for jewels, stemmed lotus, anointing vase, bow, and *Ichugma* (red) adorned with a vajra. He is adorned with silks and jewels, and is standing. On his right is Vasundhari devi, and on his left Naga rājās Nanda and Upananda, and under the *vara* hand sits the preta rāṇi with mouth agape.

14. *Khasarpani A.* Tib.—*sPyan-ras-gzigs-Kha-sar-pa-ni* (P.—Che-re-si-kha-sar-pa-ni).

Kha-sar-pa-ni Avalokita is white in colour, and has loosely hanging locks of hair.

Symb.—His right hand is in *vara* mudra, and the left holds a stemmed white lotus over his

heart. He is sitting loosely, with the right leg pendant. Yellow basubhadra is kneeling beside him with her hands joined, and a book in her armpit. On right Green Tārā is standing in *vara* attitude and an utpal flower Andal. Brikuti of a yellowish white is standing with a Thalgo and a rod in her right hands, and a rosary and anointing vase in the left hands.

15. *Halahala A.* Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-hah-la-hah-la (P.—Che-re-si-hala-hala).

The revered *Halahala* is white in colour, with three faces. The chief face is white, the right blue, and the left yellow, and each of the faces has three eyes.

Symb.—The right hands are in *vara* attitude and hold a rosary and arrow, and the left has 'bread' of goddess, white lotus and bow. On left side he embraces the goddess hod-lden-ma, on his right side there is a three-spiked spear, bearing an entwined snake, and on left a skull, filled with different kinds of flowers.

16. *Padma A.* Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-Padma-gar-dbang (P.—Che-re-si-pe-Kar-wang).

Is red in colour; embracing yum-Gos-dkar-mo with one hand who is standing on his left.

Symb.—Holds a stemmed red lotus, and the left is in Thabs and dancing attitude, with a lotus opened over heart. Sits in *Satva-palaṅga*.

17. *A.* or the Eleven-Faced *A.* of Śrī's Mode. Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-zal-bchu-gchig-dpal-mohi-lugs.

This Avalokita is white and has eleven faces, the last of which is white, the right is green, and the left is red, and the three above these are green, red and white. The three above these are red, white and green, the angry face above these is black, and the one above and highest face, Buddha Amitābha's, with the ushnisha excrescence.

Symb.—The lowest pair of hands are joined (in devotional attitude) over the ear, the right holds a

rosary, *vara* attitude, and the next holds wheel. The left hands hold a white lotus, Rilwa-spyi-lugs (anointing vase), and arrow and bow. The remaining nine hundred and ninety-two hands are extended, in the *vara* mudra, and have an eye on each of the palms. He is in standing posture.

18. *Āntabakra A.* Avalokiteśvara of the Wish Granting Cycle. Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-yid-bzhin-ḥkborlo (P.—Che-re-si-yi-zhi-Khor-lo).

This Avalokiteśvara has the lowest face white, the angry face above this is black, and the upper one is of Amitābha.

Symb.—The right hand holds a wish-granting jewel, and the left a wheel over the heart. He is in standing posture.

19. *Ākaśarājā A.* A., or King of the Sky. Tib.—sPyan-ras-gzigs-nam-mkhahi-rgyal-po (P. — Che-re-si-nam-khar-gyé-bo).

Avalokita, the King of the Sky. This Avalokita is white in complexion. The three lowest faces are white and mild, the three next above these are yellow and smiling, the two next above these are black indigo coloured and angry, and the two above these are dark red. Each of these are possessed of three eyes, and on the top of this pyramid of faces is the face of Amitābha.

Symb.—Of the ten proper hands, the first lowest pair are joined, and the remaining hands of right hold pearl rosary, wheel, *vara* mudra, and an image of Buddha; and the left hold a lotus, anointing vase, jewel and bow and arrow in one place. Of the thirty-eight limb-hands, those on the right side hold jewel, snare, begging bowl, sword, vajra, cross-vajra and water-shell, fire-shell, yellow bow, *ḥchug-ma-yak's* tail shield, bumpa, axe, rosary, blue lotus, *gahn-dhe* and a white sun. Those on left side hold a white cloud, Rilwa vase, yellow lotus, sword, *thod-byug*,

rosary, bell, vajra, iron hook, cooling fan, *ṣprul-sku-khang-bzang*, book, wheel, body of a snake, *Dgun-hbru*, and the red Lotus Jewel. The twenty-two thousands of limbs (*nying-lag*) are all in the *vara* attitude. Each of the hands has an eye in the palm. He is in standing posture.

20. *Vajragarbha A.* A. of the Vajra Cavity. Tib.—*ṣPyan-ras-gzigs-r dorje-snying-po* (P.—*Che-ré-si-der-je-nying-po*).

This Avalokita has a white body. Of the faces the middle one is superposed fivefold, and is very angry and blue. The right is superposed threefold, and it is white, the left is superposed threefold and is red.

Symb.—The first pair of hands are blue and joined over heart; the remaining hands are white; the second pair hold a rosary of vajra and red lotus; the third pair hold a wheel and bow together; and the fourth pair hold an iron hook and fire-heap (*me-ṣpung*). He is standing in a burning fire-heap.

21. *Trailokesvara A.* Tib. — *ṣPyan-ras-gzigs-khams-gsum-dbang-sdud* (P.—*Che-ré-si-kham-sum wang-du*).

This revered Avalokita is of a red complexion, and he is a little angry, and his three eyes are open. His hair hangs down in locks.

Symb.—The right hand holds an iron hook, and the left holds a vajra snare. He is sitting in *Vajrapalāṅgaḥ*. He is naked and adorned with bone ornaments.

22. *Lokesvara* The World-Lord of the Seven Letters. Tib.—*hJig-rten-dbang-phyug-yi-ge-bdun-pa*.

Avalokita is indigo-coloured with three faces, which are black, white and red.

Symb.—The first pair of hands embrace red *Lāsyā Mātri* and hold vajra and bell; the second pair hold an upper garment of human skin; and the third pair hold Damaru and skull with blood. He has a khatamga in his armpit, and is adorned with flowers and jewels. His left leg flexed rests on *Iśvara*, and the right

extended rests on Sitā. His orange hair is adorned with Udumwara flowers, and he is exactly in Heruka's style.

THE TWENTY-ONE TĀRĀS.

1. (? *Prasura Tārā*). Tārā, the Supremely Valiant — Rab-tu *dpah-bahi sgrol-ma* (P.—Rab-tu *pā-wai dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is a *shiva*,¹ very fat and strong. Body red, emitting great light. She has one face and eight hands.

Symb.—First pair of hands, joined overhead, hold a *vagra* and bell; second pair hold bow and arrow; third pair, wheel and spear; fourth pair, sword and snare.

2. (? *Chandrojarsa Sitā Tārā*). Tārā of White-moon Brightness.—*dKar-mo-zla-mdangs-kyi sgrol-ma* (P.—*Kar-mo-da-dang-kyi dö ma*). Z.

This Tārā is whitish-purple, with three faces and twelve hands.

Symb.—First pair hands are in *mnyam-bzhog* mudra. The other right hands hold Kha-tahm-ga jewel, vajra, flower-garlands. The other left hands hold *spyi-blus* vase, utpal flower, bell, *bumpa* vase and a book.

3. (? *Gauri Tārā*). Tārā, the Yellow-coloured.—*ser-mdog-chen-gyi sgrol-ma* (P.—*ser-dok chen-gyi dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is yellow, with one face and ten hands.

Symb.—The right hands hold rosary, sword, arrow, *vagra* and rod. The left hands hold *dar-bygangs*, snare, lotus, bell and bow.

4. (? *Ushnisha vijaya Tārā*). Tārā, the Victorious Hair-crowned.—*gtsug-gtor rnam-par rgyal bahi sgrol-ma* (P.—*tsug-tor nam-par gyal-wai dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is yellow, and has one face and four hands.

¹ Zhi-wa = mild deity.

Symb.—On right side the first hand is in *vāra* mudra, and the second a rosary. The left hands hold spyibugs and a rod.

5. (? *Hunda Tārā*). Tārā, the Huñ Shouter. Hung-sgragrog pahi sgrol-ma (P.—Hung-da-dog bai dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is yellow, and has one face and two hands.

Symb.—The right is in the *Śāraṇa* mudra and the left holds a yellow lotus.

6. Tārā, the Three World Best Worker. Ljigs-rten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-bai-sgrolma (P.—jig-ten sum le nam-gye-i-dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is red, and has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The first of the right hands holds a vajra, and the second a sword. The first of the left hands is in the 'pointing' mudra, and the second holds a snare. She is sitting in the *sattvapalāṅga* attitude.

7. Tārā, the Suppressor of Strife. rGol-ba-hjoms-pahi-sgrolma (P.—gol-wa-jom pai-dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is black and has yellow clothes. She is a fierce drag-mo with hairs erect. She has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The upper hand of the right side holds a wheel, and the lower a sword. The lower of left side holds a lotus with a vajra on it, and the upper is in the 'pointing' mudra. The left foot is in extended stride.

8. Tārā, the Giver of Supreme Power. hbang-mchhog-ster-bahi sgrol-ma (P.—wang-choy-ter-wai dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is yellow, and sits on a cushion of piled up crocodiles. She has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The upper pair hold a branch of Aśoka tree and a lotus flower. The lower pair hold a jewel and a bumpa. She is sitting with her feet in half skylirung after the fashion of Rol-wa (Lalita).

9. Tārā, the Best Providence. *mchhog-stsol-bahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*chhog-tso-wai-dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is red in colour, and has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The first pair hold a vajra and bell. Her hair is in *dgah-bri-mudra*. The right hand is in the attitude of a dancer snapping with the first three fingers, and the lower left hands hold a branch of 'Ashwa-ka' (? Asoka).

10. Tārā, the Dispeller of Grief. *mya-ngan-sel-bahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*nyang-an sel-wai-dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is black, and is a fierce drag-mo, with one face and two hands.

Symb.—In right hand she holds an iron hook for resisting the eight planets. In left she holds an iron hook for driving off poverty, together with a snare. Her right leg is in extended stride.

12. Skt. (*Maṅgalā* T.). Tārā, the Brightly Glorious. *bkra-shis-snang-bahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*Ṭa-shi-nang-wai-dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is yellow, and has one face and eight hands.

Symb.—In right hand she holds a three-spiked iron hook, a vagra, and a sword; and in left hand she holds a jewel, iron hook, a rod, and a bumpa.

13. Tārā, of the Universal Mature Deeds. *Yongs-su-smin-har-mdsad-pahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*Yong-su-min-par dse-bai-do-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is red, and is a fierce drag-mo. She has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The first of the right hands holds a sword, and the second an arrow; the first of the left holds a wheel, and the second a bow. She is sitting with her right leg extended.

14. *Bhrikuti Tārā*. Tārā, of the Frowning Brows. *Khro-nyer-gyo-bahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*To-nyer-gyo-wai-dö-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is dark-indigo coloured. She has three

faces, which are all frowning and wrinkled. She is eating human entrails. She has four (¶ six) hands.

Symb.—In right hand she holds a sword, iron hook, and rod; and on left holds a skull, snare, and a Brahma's head¹ (Tshangs-mgo). Her head is ornamented with a chaplet of several human heads, and her body adorned with a tiger's skin and snakes. Reeds are growing in the eight directions.

15. Tārā, the Giver of Prosperity. *dge-legs-ster-bahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*ge-leg-ter-wai-dō-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is white, and has one face and six hands.

Symb.—In right hand she holds a rosary, rod, and one hand in *vāra* mudra; on the left she holds a lotus, rilwa (water vessel), and a book.

16. Tārā, the Subduer of Passion. *Chhags-pa-hjoms-pahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*chhag-pa-jombai-dō-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is red, and has one face and two hands.

Symb.—The right hand is in the Thugs-*d*kar-*rtse-gsum* mudra, and the left in 'pointing' mudra, holding a tree with its fruit and essence. She is sitting in the *sattvapalaṅgaḥ* mudra.

17. (¶ *Sārsiddhi* or *Sukhasiddhi* T.) Tārā, the Supplier of Happiness.² *ōDe-ba-sgrub-pahi-sgrol-ma* (P.—*de-wa-thub-bai-ma*). Z.

This Tārā is reddish-yellow, and has one face and two hands.

Symb.—Holds an orb of a moon. She is sitting in the *sattvapalaṅgaḥ* mudra.

¹ This refers evidently to the severed head of Daksha, the son of Brahma, which clung to Mahadeva's hands till released by bathing at Tamrilipti (Tamluk).

² The picture of this form sometimes corresponds with the 17th verse of her hymn (*v. ante*) which makes her hold 'the spotted deer of heavenly lake.' This fact, taken in relation with the probable Sanskrit form of her title as Sārsiddhi, probably associates her with Sārṇath near Benares, where the great *Dharmocakrā* stupa still exists. If this be so, then as Sārṇath is mentioned by Genl. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Rep. i. 105) as a title of Mahādeva, who is sometimes represented with a deer in his hand, the deer would seem from Tārā's hymn to be the '*Chital*' or spotted deer (*Axis maculata*).

18. Tārā, the Excessively Vast. Rab-tu-rgyas-pahi-sgrol-ma (P.—rab-tu-gye-bai-dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is white, and sits on a goose cushion. She has one face and four hands.

Symb.—The first pair are joined over the head, and hold an iron hook. Of the rest, one is in *vara* mudra, while the other holds an utpal flower bearing a bask. She is sitting in *sattvapalaṅgaḥ* with the right leg slightly extended.

19. Tārā, the Dispeller of Distress. sDug-bṅgal-sel-bahi-sgrol-ma (P.—dug-nge-sab-wai-dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is white, and has one face and two hands.

Symb.—One of the two hands holds an oven against her heart. She is sitting in *sattcapalaṅgaḥ*, with the right leg slightly extended.

20. *Siddharta Tārā*. Tārā, the Realization of Spiritual Power. dngos-grubs-ḥbyung-bahi-sgrol-ma (P.—ngothub-jung-wai-do-ma). Z.

This Tārā is reddish-yellow, and has one face and two hands.

Symb.—She holds a golden bumpa against the heart. She is sitting on *sattcapalaṅgaḥ* mudra.

21. Tārā, the Completely Perfect; also a title of the Buddha, *v. Jaeschke's Dict.* p. 469. yongs-rdsogs-byed-pa-hi-sgrol-ma (P.—yong-dsog-je-bai-do-ma). Z.

This Tārā is white, and sits on a lotus and moon, which are above a herd of white elephants, and she is slightly angry.

Symb.—She has (one face) three eyes and two hands. In the right hand she holds a spear with three spikes, and in the left a pearl rosary. She is sitting in half skyil-krung. She has a skirt (*sham-thabs*) of tiger's skin.

Other forms of Tārā :

22. (? *Pradhamsita Tārā traimandala.*) The Excellent White Tārā triad. sgrol-dkar-gtso-ḥkhor-gsum-pa (P.—do-kar-tsö-khor-sum). Z.

(This form is common in India). This Tārā has yellow Mariči on her right, holding a branch of an Aśoka-tree, and her left attendant is "The Black Fury *Ekajati*, with the one lock of hair" (Khro-mo ral-gchig ma nag-mo), holding a skull-cup of blood and a curved dagger.

Tārā is an adorned zhi-wa of white colour, with one face and two hands, and standing in slightly inclined posture.

Symb.—The right hand is in bestowing mudra, and rests on the stems of a blue utpal flower. The left hand is in the pandau-rtse gsum mudra.

23. *Mrityubachnatarani*. Tārā, the Saviour from Death. hchhi-ba-bslu-bahi sgrol-ma (P. — chhi-wa-lu-wai-dö-ma). Z.

This Tārā is a shi-wa of white colour, with one face and two hands, and seated on a moon cushion upon a white lotus. The right leg being pendant and the left flexed on opposite thigh.

Symb.—The hands rest on breast in dharma-chakra mudra, and between thumb and fore-finger of left hand is held the stem of an utpal flower. And on her right is Kurukulle, and on her left Tho-gyal Yuk-ngon chhen (Skt. Niladanta Krodha raja, "The angry King (friend) with the blue stick").

24. *Lochana* *Sita Tārā* or The Seven-eyed White Tārā. sgrol-dkar-spyan-bdun-ma.

The sgrol-ma is white, and has one face and two hands. She is sitting in *vajrapalāṅga*. She is possessed of the seven eyes of fore-knowledge. The right hand in *vāra* attitude, and the left holds a white utpal flower opened at the level of her ears. She is adorned with jewels. She has the vigour of youth, and a screen-halo of the moon's brightness.

25. Tārā, the Defender from the Eight Dreads.

Tārā is given in eight forms as the Sakti of Avalokita the capacity of Defender from the Eight Dreads (sgrol-

ma *hjiga-pa-brgyad-skyobs*), on which also are founded the eight Tārās of Nyima-sba pas-(surajgupta).

26. *Kurukulle Tārā.* *sgrol-ma-ku-ru-kul-le* (P. — Dö-ma Kuru-Kulle).

This Kurukulle has one face and four hands.

Symb.—Two right hands hold pole-axe and hammer, and the two left vajra, rod, and Aśoka flower. She sits with leg flexed up and right leg pendant, and resting on a 'water bull,' and is adorned with silks and jewels.

27. *Traimandala (Khadirayana) T.* *sgrol-ma-hjang-khu-gtso-hkhor-gsum.* Green Tārā, of the Sandal forest.

She has one face and two hands.

Symb.—Right hand holds a stemmed blue utpal in *vara* attitude, and the left is in 'the three-holy-ones-pointed-finger' (*mtshon*) attitude. She stands with the right leg slightly extended. She is adorned with silk and jewels. On her right side is yellow Marići, holding a branch of the Aśoka and a vajra; and on her left is Ral-gchig-ma black in *Krodha* fiendess' dress, holding a curved knife and skull-bowl.

ART. V.—*A Trilingual List of Nāga Rājās, from the Tibetan.*
By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., M.R.A.S.

THE Lāmas, as is well known, have preserved in very full form much archaic Indian lore, now otherwise imperfectly known or altogether lost. And a valuable feature of such Lāmaist literature is the frequent use of bilingual names, where the Sanskrit name is supplemented by a most careful etymological translation into Tibetan, thus enabling us to fix the etymology of many of the Hindū and Buddhist mythological and historical names, regarding which vague guesses are often hazarded. These Tibetan etymologies, though not necessarily the true ones, are certainly those which over a thousand years ago were the current traditional etymologies in India. And as, even apart from etymological features, categorical lists of little known personages, mythological or prehistoric, are helpful to students of both Buddhism and Hinduism, I here give a list of Nāga Rājās from the *Mahācyutpatti*, in the *bsTan-hgyur* (Tén-gyur) section of the Lāmaist Scriptures. This list, which may be compared with that in the *Vāyu Purāna*, seems to include many of the Vedic terrestrial Nāga Kings, the aboriginal enemies of the primitive Aryans, whose more direct descendants are now confined chiefly to the remote hills of Nāgpur, Chhoṭa Nāgpur, etc., etc. Tibetan literature contains much information about these Nāgas, one of Buddha's titles being 'King of the powerful Nāgas.'

The transliteration is done strictly according to Csoma de Kőrös' system, with the exception that in the Sanskrit column the ds, ts, tsh, ny, and the *Anusvāra* have been respectively

transliterated by j, ch, chh, ñ, and ñ. It will be noticed that the Tibetans always represent v by b. The English translations, forming the third column, have been mostly made from Jäschke's Tibetan Dictionary.

The terminal *o*, apparently as a Pāli vestige, seems to favour the antiquity of the source from which the original list was compiled. The supplementary list of the *Plebian* Nāgas does not show this peculiarity.

I am sorry I have been unable to compare the late Professor Minayeff's edition of the Sanskrit text of the Mahāvvyutpatti, but I could not find a copy in London.

I. NĀGA KINGS.

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	ENGLISH. ¹
1. Shaṅkha-pālo nāgarāja ³	kLu-hi rgyal-po dung-skyong	conch-shell + protector.
2. Karkotako ³	stobs kyi rgyu	by strength of + cause or matter.
3. Kuliko	rigs-dan	caste or birth + person.
4. Padmo	padma	lotus.
5. Mahāpadmo ⁴	padma-chhen-po	lotus + great.
6. Basukā	nor rgyas	wealth + vast.
7. Ananto	mthah-yas	endless.
8. Takshako ⁵	h'jog-po	depositor.
9. Barūna	chhu-lha	water + god.
10. Makaro	chhu-srin	water + monster.
11. Sāgaro ⁶	rgya-mtsho	ocean.
12. Lambuko	h'piyang-ba	to hang down.
13. Anabatapta ⁷	ma-dros-pa	not + heated.
14. Pingalo	ser-skya	a promiscuous convention, or light yellow.
15. Nando	d'gah-ba	glad.
16. Subahur	lag-bzang	hand + noble.

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	ENGLISH.
17. Nardano nāgarājā	kLu-hi rgyal-po sgra-hbyin	sound + produce.
18. Chitrākṣho	" mig-ōkra	eye + variegated.
19. Rābano	" sgra-sgrogs	sound + proclaim or bind.
20. Paṇḍur	" skya-ōseng	morning twilight.
21. Kṛimir	" srin-bu	insect.
22. Saṅkho ⁸	" dung	conch-shell.
23. Pāṇḍargo	" dkar-gsal	white + bright.
24. Kālo ⁹	" nag-po	black.
25. Upakalo	" nye-nag	near + black.
26. Giriko	" ri-bo	hilly.
27. Abalo	" stobs-med	power + not.
28. Shaṅkaro	" bde-byed	happy + action.
29. Phāṇḍi	" spyang-sre/	wolf or skill + rear.
30. Pañchalo ¹⁰	" lnga-dan	fine + person.
31. Kāliko ¹¹	" dus-chan	time + person.
32. Kiñchanako	" chhud-zod	exhaust + ?
33. Paliko	" stobs-chan	strength + person.
34. Uttaro	" lhag-mo	excess.

35. Māntago nāgarājā	kLu-hi rgyal-po glang-po-chhe	elephant
36. Edo	" lug	sheep.
37. Sāgaro	" dag-chan	poisonous.
38. Upendro	" nye-dbang	near + power.
39. Upanaro	" mi-dang-nye	man + near.
40. Eḍabarnṇo	" lug-mdog	sheep + colour.
41. Bichidro	" riḡe-ḍkra	form or region + joy.
42. Rāghabo	" rtog-pa	to consider.
43. Hastikachchho ¹³	" glang-pō chhe-hi-mtshan	elephant's name.
44. Elapatro ¹³	" e-la-hi ḍdab	ela + leaf.
45. Ambratinvo	" a-mra-hi-bu	amra + fruit.
46. Apalali	" sag-ma-med	brawny or scaly + not.
47. Champayo	" cham-pa-ḡeyes	champa + born.
48. Aloko	" khra	falcon.
49. Amokshako	" shin-tu mthar-byed.	very + end + do.
50. Sphotano	" rgyas-byed	vast + do.
51. Nandopanando	" dgab-bo dang nye-dgab gnyis	happy + near happy.
52. Huludā ¹⁴	" hu-lu-tu
53. Uluka	" gsal-mthong	clear + see.
54. Paṇḍaro	" akyho	ḡ yellowish white.
55. Chichebhako	" ḡsags-rgyas	to hoard + vast.

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	ENGLISH.
56. Arabaro nāgarājā	<i>k</i> Lu-hi rgyal-po rtsibe-ra	rib.
57. Darabāḍo	" rab- <i>bzang</i>	superior + noble.
58. Manasī	" <i>gzi</i> -chan	shine + person.
59. Shabalo	" nya- <i>chibs</i>	mussel or pearl oyster.
60. Utpalako	" ut-pala	blue lotus.
61. Barddhamānko	" <i>l</i> phel-ba-po	filled up.
62. Buddhiko	" <i>bla</i> -chan	superior + person.
63. Nakhako	" sen-mo chan	finger nail.
64. Eḍameto	" lug-dang <i>hdu</i> -ba gnyis	sheep + assembly.
65. Achyuta	" ma-nyams-pa	not + impaired.
66. Kambalāshvatara "	" kam-ba-la dang ashvar-ra- gnyis	<i>kambala</i> + <i>asvarra</i> .
67. Sudarshano ¹⁵ "	" shin-tu mthong	very + see.
68. Darikūto "	" yongs-su- <i>brtsegs</i> -pa	completely + to build.
69. Sumukho "	" <i>bzhin</i> -legs	attachment + good.
70. Udarsbamukho "	" me-long- <i>gdong</i>	mirror + face.
71. Gandharo "	" spos- <i>hdsin</i>	perfume + hold.
72. Dramadra "	" <i>hgro</i> - <i>ldang</i>	go + arise.

73. Baladebo	nāgarājū	kLu-bi rgyal-po stobs-chan	strong + person.
74. Kambalo	"	" kam-ba-la	rock + hand.
75. Shelbahur	"	" brag-lag	excessive + fear-causing.
76. Babhishapo	"	" rnam-par-/jig-byed	of the Ganges.
77. Gaṅga	"	" gang-gahi	Sindhu (= Indus).
78. Sindhur	"	" sindhu	Sita (= ? Oxus).
79. Sitā	"	" sita	Bishu (= ? Jaxartes).
80. Bakshur	"	" bishu	joy or blessing.
81. Maṅgalyoo	"	" bkra-shis	

II. LIST OF COMMONER OR PLEBIAN NĀGAS.

1. Indrasenah	d'bang-po-sde	powerful + collection.
2. Naḍah	hdam-bu	mud-worm or reed.
3. Sundarah	rab-mdees	excessively + pretty.
4. Hastikarṇah	glang-chen-rna-ba	elephant + ear.
5. Tākṣṇah	rnon-pa	sharp.
6. Piṅgala	ser-skya	yellow + brown.
7. Bidyujala	klog-ābar	lightning + burn.
8. Mahābidyutpabah	klog-ki ḥod-chen	lightning + great ray.
9. Bharukachchah	dam-pa-ādebs	holy + time or reply.
10. Amritah	bdud-rtsi chan	devil + juice + thing.

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	KHOVUR.
11. Tirthakah	mu-steg-ghan	an (Indian) heretic,
12. Baidūryaprabhah	bai-dūryahi Aod	lopiā <i>losohi</i> + light,
13. Subarnakeshah	sbor-mdog-akra	golden + hair,
14. Suryapabuh	nyi-ma-mgo	sun + head,
15. Udayana	hchhar-ba	to arise,
16. Gajashrīrāshah	ba-lang-mgo	ox + head,
17. Shvetaka	dkar-po	white,
18. Kūlakah	nag-po	black,
19. Yamah	gahin-rjo	death + noble (spirit),
20. Shramaṇa	dgo-abyong	virtue + practice,
21. Maṇḍīkah	sbal-pa	frog,
22. Mañichūdah	gtsug-na-nor-bu	crown + jewel,
23. Amoghadarśhanah	don-yod-mthomg	bonest + see,
24. Ishādihārah	gshol-mdah-dain	plough + hold,
25. Chitrāsonah	sna-tshogs sdo	sorts + collection,
26. Mahābūsha	zhags-pa chhon-po	snare + grout,
27. Kshemāṅkarah	bde-byed	happy + action,
28. Mahāphanakah	gdengs-ku-chhon po	hood + grout,

29. Gambhiranirgoshah	<i>d</i> byang-zab	voice + deep.
30. Mahānandi	chhar-egrog ^s	rain portions + proclaim or bind.
31. Binarḍita	rnor-sgra-ḥbyin	sharp + sound + give.
32. Mahābikramah	r'tsa-la chhen	expert + great.
33. Bhujaganah	lag-ḥgrō	hand + go.
34. Mahābala	stobs-chhen	strength + great.
35. Bisphurjitah	mthu-ḥgyings	ability + gape (P) or finish (P).
36. Bisphotakah	rnor-ḥjoms	sharp (P) + subdue.
37. Prasphotakah	rab-ḥjoms	excellent + subdue.
38. Meghsānbhaha	sprin-ḥbyung	cloud + born or advent.
39. Svastikah	ḍkra-shis ldan	blessed + one.
40. Barṣhadharah	char-pubi rgyun	of rain + holding.
41. Maṇikaṇṭha	mgul-na nor-bu	throat + jewel.
42. Supratishṭataḥ	shin-tu ḍrtan-pa	very + to keep.
43. Shribhadrah	ḍpal-ḍzang	worshipful + respected.
44. Mahāmaṇichūḍa	gtsug-na-nor-bu-chhen-po	crown jewel + great.
45. Mahāmaṇḍalika	ḥkyib-ḥkhor-chhen-po chan	circle + great + person.
46. Erābaṇa	sa-ḍsrung-gi-bu	earth + protector's son.
47. Indrayudhashi	ḥjahi gtsug-phud-chan	rainbow's + hair-tuft + person.
48. Ababhāsanashish	snang-ḍdan gchud phud chan	giver + plaited + hair-tuft + person.

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	ENGLISH.
49. Indrayashta	<i>d</i> bang-pohi mehrod snod	of power + sacrifice + vessel.
50. Jambudhvajah	dsambuhi <i>rgyal-mtshan</i>	<i>Jambu's</i> + victorious + banner.
51. Shritejaja	<i>d</i> pal-gyi <i>gzi brzid</i>	worshipful + shine + lustre.
52. Shashitejā	zia-wahi <i>gzi brjid</i>	moon's + shine + lustre.
53. Chumanidharah	<i>g</i> tsugs-na nor-bu-thogs-pa	crown + jewel + (?) to strike.
54. Indradhvaja	<i>d</i> bang pohi <i>rgyal-mtshan</i>	of power + victorious + banner.
55. Jyotirasa	skar-ma-la-dgah-ba	to a star + rejoice.
56. Somadarshanani	zia-mthong	moon + see.

NOTES.

- ¹ The common designation 'Nāga-king' is omitted in this column.
- ² Conf. *Nāgānanda*, P. BOYD'S translation, p. 68.
- ³ Karkotako resided, according to HODGSON (*Lang. Lit.* etc., reprint, p. 115), in the lake which traditionally occupied the site of the present Nepal Valley, and when the lake was desiccated 'by the Sword of the Mañjuśrī,' Karkotako had a fine tank built for him to dwell in, and is there still worshipped; as well as in the Cave-temple attached to the great Buddhist Shrine of Swayambhu Nāth in Nepal. A range of hills in Rajputana named 'Kārkota' seems associated with Nāgas (*Ind. Arch. Surv. Rep.* vi. p. 167). And 'Kārkota' is the name of a Kashmir dynasty mentioned in Rājā Taranginī and elsewhere, dating from the seventh century A.D.; and of a 'Kota' dynasty (*Ind. Arch. Surv. Rep.* xiv. 45).
- ⁴ Mahāpadmo is the tutelary Nāga of the Vollur lake in Kashmīr.
- ⁵ Takṣhako, one of the sons of Kāśyapa by his Nāga-wife Kadru.
- ⁶ This Sāgaro is to be distinguished from the other of the same name numbered 37 on this list. This seems to be the Sāgaro Nāgarājā who secured the golden begging bowl (Sujātā's or Nandabala's gift) of Śākya Muni, which he threw into the Nairanjan after partaking of its restorative contents when about to attain Buddhahood. See also CSOMA DE KÖRÖS' *Analysis* in *As. Res.* xx. p. 448.
- ⁷ Anabatapta, the great Himalayan Manassarovāra Lake, the source of the four great rivers—the Indus, Tsangpu, etc. See Hiuen Tsiang (BEALE'S tr.) ii. 41; and CS. DE K.'s *Analysis*, p. 448.

- ⁸ Sañkho seems the *Sankhachūda* of the Nāgānanda, *loc. cit.* p. 68; and it may also be the same name intended by Fa Hian's 'Samkassa' xvii. worshipped for rain. He is worshipped (Bühler, *Ind. Antiquary*, vi. p. 270) in a lake near Dharindha, in Lārpagman, in Kashmir.
- ⁹ Kālo, this may be the same as the 'Māhakāla nāgarāja,' referred to in Hardy's *Monachism*, p. 274.
- ¹⁰ Pañchalo. Compare 'Panchāla' in *Indian Antiquary*, vii. p. 11.
- ¹¹ Kālika. Compare Krishna's combat with the Serpent Kālika.
- ¹² Hastikachchho seems to be the Nāga's name of the lake at Hastināpura—'the Nāga or Elephant city'—of the Sudhana Jātaka.
- ¹³ Elapatro, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, *loc. cit.* ii. 41.
- ¹⁴ Huluda. Compare Cs. de K.'s *Analysis*, p. 92.
- ¹⁵ Sudarshano is evidently the 'Sudassana,' the son of Nāgarājā Dhatarat̥ha, of the Bhūridatta Jātaka, No. 547 of Fausböll's list.

ART. VI.—*Mr. Justice Telang.* By Sir RAYMOND WEST,
K.C.I.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

No death in India in the present generation has been more universally deplored than that of the Honourable Mr. Justice Kasinath Trimbak Telang. This widespread regret gives us in some sense a measure of his great worth to his country and to learning, of his personal charm, and of the influence he exercised in helping unnumbered disciples to take larger views and lead purer and nobler lives. Amid the manifold activities to which the needs of life and his public spirit led him, his high aims and his passionate desire for the moral elevation of his countrymen gave to his conversation and character a loftiness, a singleness of purpose, and a tender consideration for the weaknesses of others which, combined with his wide range of information and his penetrating intelligence, made his presence almost fascinating to all for whom he lifted the veil of his reserve. It was a reserve consistent with a polished urbanity, and even outside the veil there were ample stores to furnish forth the discussion of all common topics on the accepted lines; but his inner nature was in a great degree that of a meditative Saint enamoured of purity and holiness, and filled with longing aspirations for the progress of mankind, but especially of the Hindus, towards perfection in knowledge, wisdom, and purpose. This central light, softly shining through all his words and works, made men of all classes, Europeans and Asiatics alike, feel at home in his company; all alike felt that there could be no self-seeking or sinister purpose in his serene and purely intellectual view of any subject that arose in conversation,

A refined — perhaps somewhat over-refined — sensibility checked in a measure the outflow of his thoughts when conversing with Europeans, whose learning or capacity he respected; but when his shyness was overcome he was copious and clear as a lake-fed river. To his countrymen, and especially his juniors, he was fond of presenting the high speculative views of morality and of human relations, which occupied his own mind so much. In all his utterances there was a tone of sincerity and conviction which won attention and respect even from those who differed from him in opinion.

Such a man, so learned, so candid, gentle, and good-humoured, and with such a fertility of ideas, could not, even apart from his eminence as an advocate, fail to gain a high and honoured place in any society in which he moved. To a large section of his countrymen, Telang became an evangelist; they looked to him for guidance in all the graver occasions of national and social life. His death has left amongst them a sense of loss and loneliness hardly conceivable by the firmer fibred European. A space in this *Journal* may, it is thought, be most fittingly consecrated to a brief memorial of the life and character and labours of one who thus played so great and beneficial a part as a patriot and an apostle of progress. It is by the work and the example of him and his like that India must be regenerated, and the moral endowments of her children made nobly serviceable for the general welfare of mankind.

Telang was born in 1850 of a family of high respectability, but of no remarkable distinction. His father, still living, was long connected with one of the great mercantile houses of Bombay, and handed on to his son the treasure of an unblemished reputation. Of his mother one knows little; the feeling of the Hindus, as of the Greeks, being that a matron's best renown is to be little spoken of. We can but opine that she was gifted by nature with a quite unusual ability and sweetness of disposition, if, as generally happens, her son owed his talents and his tastes chiefly to

her. He was in his infancy adopted by his uncle Trimbak, whence his name Kasinath Trimbak Telang, when Trimbak takes the place of Bapu, the name of his father.

Young Kasinath was set to his lessons in good time, and applied himself then, as always, to study with all the patient receptiveness of his race. He ran quickly through the preparatory course in his vernacular Maratha, and after gaining such prizes as were accessible to a child, he entered on a higher course of study in the Elphinstone High School, then, as now, the principal "English" School at Bombay. Here he made rapid progress, won prizes, and almost leaped from class to class. He showed, even at this early stage, a strong liking for English literature, in which he was to find so much of companionship and happiness all through his life, but this in no way impaired his native interest in the Maratha poetry. It was, indeed, his love of this which first led him to take up Sanskrit as an auxiliary study, but Sanskrit thus taken up was soon found worthy of a complete and profound mastery for its own sake. As a recreation the gifted schoolboy played chess, and, it is said, with remarkable skill. For the strenuous games of the playground, in which English boys delight, he had little or no inclination. By habit, as well as by natural tendency, his nervous energy was turned almost wholly in the direction of intellectual effort. It seemed as if in this he was obeying a command of nature, but probably the withdrawal of nervous sustenance from his growing frame, caused by too much sedentary work, was a main cause of the delicacy from which he suffered later on, and which eventually brought his life to a premature close. He became conscious of the truth in this respect as time went on. He walked a good deal, and his handsome contribution to the gymnasium of Elphinstone College was a practical acknowledgment of the importance he had learned to attach to physical development.

At the age of fourteen he matriculated in the Bombay University, having then already attained such proficiency in Sanskrit that he was able to take it up for examination

as his second language. He joined the Elphinstone College still bearing then on its teaching the impress of vigour stamped on it by Sir Alexander Grant. Principal Hughlings was a man, not only of learning, but of great fertility of thought. His society and conversation, always at the service of a promising student, afforded young Telang exactly the stimulus and nourishment that he required. His excursive and synthetic faculty became active and powerful in full proportion to his ever-growing store of positive knowledge. Perhaps he was put to University work too soon. There is a precocity of the Hindus for which allowance must be made, but even in their case there can very seldom be the ripeness at fourteen or fifteen which fits for effective philosophical study. Telang, however, had such remarkable ability that no mental crudeness was ever observable as the consequence of his early grappling with the problems of thought and scholarship. It was in his physical strength, his capacity to sustain the wear of life, that he suffered, if at all, by assuming, while still a boy, the tasks of manhood.

Mr. Telang took the degree of B.A. of the Bombay University, in January, 1868. The liberal breadth of his studies had not perhaps been quite favourable to success in dealing with examination papers, which depends rather on accurate recollection and facility of reproduction within a narrow field, or in particular promising sections of a wide field, than on the general assimilation of a literature, the living reproduction of its spirit, which really constitutes culture. He had, like many other men who have risen to eminence, to content himself with second-class honours, but he gained special prizes and scholarships during his college course, and he was, on all hands, recognized as a youth of quite exceptional promise. He had already, as an undergraduate, entered on the study of law, and he now took up that subject more seriously. Concurrently with this he had to teach Sanskrit for a livelihood, first as an assistant in the Elphinstone High School, and afterwards as a Dakshina fellow in the Elphinstone College. With such

various calls on his attention, it is not surprising that, going up for his M.A. degree at the end of 1869, he again came out only in the second class. He, however, gained the Bhagvándás Parshotamdás Scholarship by his high attainments in Sanskrit. He had been working so hard at this subject that he had perhaps been unable to master the specific works prescribed in English—Chaucer, Shakespeare, Locke, and Ruskin presented a formidable quadrilateral to the attack of a Hindu youth of nineteen, even though he were a very Napoleon of scholarship. Telang, simultaneously with his master's degree, took that of LL.B., the examination for which, by itself, was enough to task a strong intellect; but he was now at that happy stage when, with powers fully developed and interest unsated, a true student revels among the sweets of learning, unbound as yet to any one narrow plot of ground. In order to qualify himself for the position of an advocate of the High Court of Bombay, he entered a barrister's chambers, and, in 1872, he was, after a special examination, admitted to the Bar.

Telang was now fairly launched in his professional career. He entered on it with a reputation for ability which ensured him a fair trial, and in the course of a few months his rise to a high position was almost assured. In virtue of that sympathetic faculty which he possessed in a quite unusual degree, he almost at once acquired the English tone of the Bar, and moved morally and dialectically on a platform absolutely the same as that of his "learned friends" from Europe. In argument he was perhaps, in choosing his major premises, just a little less sagacious at times than an experienced English barrister whose life has been passed in contention, and whose mental powers have gradually all been drawn to that one centre. In cross-examination he wanted the brusque over-powering readiness of a master of that art. He at first dwelt overmuch on points of dispute that he might have better left as small triumphs for the opposing counsel, or for the judge. These are the common faults of inexperienced advocacy,

and they decreased as he went on. He mastered the facts in his brief, and marshalled them clearly; and he presented his case with an engaging candour, which won the confidence of the Bench. He was subtle; sometimes inclined to make out his case by distinctions without a difference; but it was all fair logical reasoning. There was no attempt to hoodwink or mislead the court, and the observations that fell from the Bench, if not accepted and adopted, were wrestled with in a spirit of perfect good humour, and with that desire to elicit a sound result from the mass of irrelevancies which makes the English system, at its best, the perfection of forensic debate. The mingling of deference to the Bench with complete independence and tenacity of purpose was as marked in Telang as in any member of the Bar. It was combined with a pleasing voice and a persuasive earnestness, which gave even a poor case some momentary speciousness, but he would not waste time and irritate the judges by obstinate insistence on points about which their minds were made up. It was always felt—whether the thing could at once be seen or not—that whenever he pressed the Court he had a serious and, what he thought, a solid argument to present, which would have to be discussed in the judgment.

In all matters of Hindu Law Telang was, by general acknowledgment, *facile princeps* of the Bombay Bar. His thorough scholarship in Sanskrit enabled him to refer with ease to the original sources, to compare and criticize them. He was, when not retained as Counsel, on several occasions consulted by the Judges as to the right interpretation of those enigmatic texts which having been framed under archaic influences lend themselves with almost equal inexactness to antagonistic applications in the affairs of modern life. He felt very strongly that in Hindu Law, as elsewhere, life implies growth and adaptation. He hailed with warm welcome the principle that custom may ameliorate, as well as fix, even the Hindu Law, and it was refreshing sometimes to hear him arguing for “modernization,” while on the other side an English advocate, to

whom the whole Hindu system must have seemed more or less grotesque, contended for the most rigorous construction of some antique rule. He had a sense of humour not quite common amongst his countrymen, and a kindly charity for the wit of the Bench.

With these high qualifications it was natural that Telang's business should steadily increase. After but a few years of practice he felt able to decline the offer of a judicial appointment in the mofussil, yet soon afterwards he accepted a professorship in the Government Law School at Bombay. This involved no change of residence, and, lover of nature as he was, his social interests centred in Bombay. With all his learning, indeed, the incidents of rustic life and of the revenue administration were a world almost unknown to him at first hand, and he could dwell with surprise occasionally on facts which to others seemed quite of course. That he did not reject office through mere love of gain was shown by his giving up his practice for many months in 1882 in order to serve as a member of the Education Commission of that year. His final minute annexed to the report of the Commission is from some points of view the most valuable of a crushingly voluminous collection. He was then, and throughout his career, an ardent supporter of the cause of education, and especially of the higher education, amongst his countrymen. In this cause he taught and wrote; he delivered lectures, took part in Committees, and spoke and voted on the Corporation and the Legislative Council. He was for many years an active member of the Senate and of the Syndicate of the University of Bombay. The progress of events has necessitated many changes in the curriculum of the University, and many disappointed students and their friends have demanded changes that could not be conceded without mischief. Telang never allowed his sympathies to run away with his intelligence. He consistently supported the cause of genuine learning in the University against repeated attacks; and the science of the law, which has still to grow up in India, may have much to owe to his

exertions in settling the present curriculum for the degree of LL.B. When about a year ago he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, it was universally acknowledged that the honour was a fitting crown of his long and able services in the cause of his country's resurrection. He was convinced that success in the modern world was to be obtained only by adaptation to the needs of modern life, and wished his fellow Hindus to unite an inner light of divine philosophy drawn from the traditional sources, and generously interpreted, to a mastery of the physical sciences and of the means of material improvement. His own knowledge in the latter department was only that of a man of quick apprehension, whose chief and almost sole recreation was reading, enjoyed in the longer hours of leisure that a Hindu commands as compared to a European with an almost omnivorous appetite for information; but he sympathized with the efforts of his friends who, at Poona and elsewhere, sought to bring the Marathas into line with modern progress. He admired and seconded Lord Reay's energetic and successful endeavours to establish technical instruction on a practical basis, but his own natural bent was still strong towards literature and philosophy. He was most thoroughly at home amongst scholars, and during many years was a mainstay of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He enriched its transactions with acute and learned essays, and took an active part in the management of the Institution, and in the discussions at its meetings.

If these observations appear to digress somewhat from the main current of Telang's life, they do so in virtue of their close connexion with his own chief interests and occupations. He never allowed the scholar, or educationist, or patriot, to be submerged in the lawyer. He found time for manifold public services amid the calls of his profession. Yet continuous work began at length to tell on his delicate constitution, and he accepted with gladness the appointment of a Judge of the High Court, which, not without some technical difficulties, was made to him in

1889 on the death of Mr. Justice Nanabhai Haridás. During his short subsequent career his success on the Bench at last equalled that which he had achieved at the Bar. He showed himself, not only learned and able, but courteous, patient, firm, and diligent. In the field of Hindu Law he, at least, maintained the traditions of the High Court of Bombay, and his judgments will, in time to come, be referred to with no less respect than those of any of his colleagues or contemporaries. During the last year of his life his rapidly declining health, and the exhaustion consequent on a painful operation, must have made his work at times almost a torture. He could not ascend the long flights of stairs leading to his Court without assistance. Still he struggled on bravely and serenely until wearied nature could hold out no longer. He died with calm resignation as he had lived, in simplicity, benevolence, and usefulness.

In 1884 Telang was appointed a member for legislative purposes of the Council at Bombay. In this capacity, which, through successive appointments, he filled for about five years, Telang was an active and effective critic of the measures proposed by the government. Some of these, as the Act for Amending the Land Revenue Code, the Talukdar's Act, and the Hereditary Officer's Act, were of considerable importance. On all occasions he resisted excessive government action and interference with the fair play of individual will under the traditional conditions, but always with an elevation of view and a sense of responsibility, which made his very opposition an ultimate source of strength. His acquaintance with the details of "mofussil" life and administration was somewhat limited, and was more or less coloured by the channels through which it had been obtained, but, subject to this, he could face every question in the spirit of a statesman, not of a mere caviller. In the Bombay Municipal Bill of 1888 he was on thoroughly familiar ground. He contributed powerfully to its improvement and to its success. The important enactment by which primary education was made a statutory duty of the Municipality was the fruit of a half-hour's conference

in an interval of the debate between a member of the Government on the one hand, and of Telang and the Hon. Mr. Mehta on the other. As a member of the Joint Schools Committee he afterwards had an opportunity of giving effect to the provisions which owed their existence in part at least to his own labours. The Corporation has not as yet by any means risen to the height of the great function assigned to it. In comparison with other public objects education is still starved in the city of Bombay; but the spirit of Telang is alive, and there is a gradual movement towards the improved and wider instruction, which he would have gladly accepted as the worthiest memorial of his life and influence.

In the foregoing rapid sketch of the main outlines of Telang's life, but slight reference has been made to the interplay of interest and influence between him and the various members of the community, who, from time to time, took up as their special care this or that social or political movement by which, as he thought, some progress or elevation of the people might be achieved. In scholarship, in his profession, and in office, his might appear to be a life fully and worthily employed without expenditure of thought and speech on the manifold topics which arise for discussion and controversy amongst a public enjoying complete civil freedom. Yet, to record his speeches, and to describe the occasions of them, would be in a manner to epitomize the political life of Bombay for many years. He did not, indeed, meddle fussily with every small subject that came up for public discussion. He was not troubled with either envy or egotism, or overweening conceit, which it may be feared are sometimes the real though latent sources of much popular eloquence. But when a principle which he thought important was at stake, he was amongst the foremost in asserting it. Thus his maiden speech, delivered in 1872, was one in support of a movement for municipal reform in Bombay, to which effect has been given by the great Acts of that year and of 1889. This first appearance at once gained him at twenty-two the position of a leading

public speaker. His command of pure and idiomatic English showed both his natural good taste and the soundness of his academical training. His style was framed on the classic writers, and expressed his meaning with admirable force and clearness. It may, indeed, be doubted if any native orator has equalled him in lucidity and that restraint which is so much more effective than exaggeration and over-embellishment. He seldom or never rose to any great height of passion; reason always ruled his thoughts, and an abounding kindness checked the denunciation of his adversaries, with which men of a lower class are wont to season their appeals to the crowd. A sweet persuasive reasonableness, illumined by a diffused radiance of feeling, characterized his public utterances from first to last. He could speak very strongly as to measures and proposals, but he did not indulge in abuse of men, or in that confused vehemence which is common in those who have not attained to a clear conception of the bearings of a public question, or their own situation with regard to it. Calmness comes with knowledge to most men, and the turbid stream grows clear as it runs deep; but to some men moderation and balance of thought are a gift of nature; they perceive intuitively that there may be two sides even to a question on which they feel most warmly. They do not rush to the conclusion that a statesman or a government has cast off all principle, or the common feelings of humanity, in taking some course quite opposed to their own notions of policy or moral right. Telang was one of this happier class. He himself loved to contemplate a subject in all its various aspects, and he had faith in the willingness of men in authority to be moved by argument, and by a feeling of what the people strongly desired, quite apart from any fear of riot or disorder. As against any manifestation of turbulence he was always on the side of strong government. No incitement to a menacing display of physical force ever escaped him, and as a Judge he even crossed a strong native sentiment by desiring a restriction of trial by jury where juries were found unequal to the

duties cast upon them. He led his countrymen by rising superior to them in toleration, largeness of view, and in the charity which shrinks from imputing evil. His speeches were in these respects a model which those who would fain take his place and continue his work would do well to study and imitate.

A favourable opportunity for the display of Telang's powers as a political speaker was offered by the introduction, in 1876, of a Bill for transferring the cognizance of disputes in which the fisc was concerned from the Civil Courts to the revenue officers. This was from the political point of view a distinctly retrograde measure, a falling away from English principles and from the generous faith in the judiciary which statesmen like Warren Hasting and Mountstuart Elphinstone had proclaimed and practised at an earlier time. Public feeling was a good deal roused, and Telang delivered a powerful address to a sympathizing audience against the threatened decline towards a "Droit Administratif" in place of the common subjection of all persons, official and non-official, to the ordinary tribunals. The Bill was carried, in spite of all protests, as Act 10 of 1876. It deprived many persons of a dearly valued right, but they did not belong to the noisy part of the population. The revenue officers have used their immunity from judicial control with moderation, and probably no great harm has arisen beyond a general weakening of the once unbounded confidence in British justice fostered by the submission of the mighty "Sirkar" itself to the decisions of its own tribunals. How great a support to the government is an occasional defeat in the Civil Court is a truth seldom appreciated by executive officers, but evident to all who seek out the strong foundations of British rule and find them in the moral approbation of the Indian people.

Telang shared the general feeling of his countrymen as to the wider opening of the Indian Civil Service to natives, and he set forth his views very effectively at a public meeting in 1873. He looked too much, perhaps, to the

instances of exclusion, and overlooked too much the vastly greater range of government employments of which natives of India enjoy a virtual monopoly. He did not quite realize the offensiveness of Baboo rule to a Sikh or of Parsee rule to a Mahommedan. The rule of India by England implies the employment of Englishmen to some extent in the administration. Good administration requires capable men. The covenanted Civil Service is merely a means of obtaining such men. They have to be ensured definite advantages in return for exile, for a shortened term of existence, and for sacrificing their chances in life at home. These advantages are guaranteed by the constitution of the Civil Service. The reasons for it do not extend to Indians employed in their own country in performing duties which present no special temptations to abuse. These considerations were, however, set aside, or superseded, in the popular laudations of competition; and if mere success in an examination was the sufficient test, giving a right to high employment in tempering despotic government with English principles, the ground taken by educated natives was and is unassailable. Why should a first class scholar at Calcutta or Bombay be shut out from the Service which is open to a second-class scholar in London? Admit the principle, however, that a certain staff of highly qualified Englishmen is a necessary ingredient in the public service of India, and then the competitive system becomes a mere mode of selection amongst Englishmen, affording no ground for abolishing the first condition of fitness. The necessity for the employment of Englishmen in the higher posts ought to diminish, and proportionally it has greatly diminished with the progress of education and of regular government; but the inclusion in the covenanted Service of any but British-born subjects ought to be regarded as a privilege and an expensive anomaly. A British civil corps being recognized as indispensable, ought to be recruited from British sources, like a British regiment, and each, as a most costly instrument, ought to be employed as sparingly as possible. That indigenous ability is not deprived of

a fair field by the existing system is proved by such cases as that of Telang himself, and the prospects of an LL.B. of the University of Calcutta or Bombay are comparatively much better than those of a newly called barrister in England, as well as far more cheaply gained.

When such views as these were urged on Telang in conversation, he admitted the necessity of a select and generally reserved service, but he contended that his people could never be contented with a service from which they were absolutely excluded in favour sometimes of men of inferior worth. The answer was that men must needs be dealt with in classes; but it would greatly mitigate the harshness of the rule of exclusion if individual natives of distinction as public servants, or even of remarkable promise, were sometimes admitted to the covenanted Civil Service on special terms, fairly comparable to those enjoyed by the "competition-wallas." This would satisfy native sentiment better than their occasional appointment to "reserved" places at reduced salaries, and without an admitted claim to promotion. To admit men, as has been done, on a promise or understanding, that they become members of a Service and then declare them entitled only to hold particular places at the pleasure of the Government could not but provoke angry reclamations and accusations of breach of faith.

Telang opposed with great vigour and with real force of reasoning Lord Lytton's reduction in 1879 of the duties on Manchester goods. He had already, in 1877, discussed the question of Free Trade and Protection in an ably argued essay read at the Sassoon Mechanic's Institute. It is not necessary to accept the reasoning in this paper in order to acknowledge its cleverness. Its first proposition, reduced to the simplest form, is that a protective duty ultimately reduces the cost of articles manufactured under its protection. That a special protection or bounty given for a time may be justified as a necessary encouragement to an infant industry has been admitted by economists from Adam Smith downwards, but the cotton manufactures of India were already fully developed in 1877, and had the production in Bombay

of fine cloths been really profitable, it would have attained large proportions before 1877. The best justification of the duties on fine cottons was that India could not produce such goods as these, and thus the whole sum paid by purchasers in excess of the lowest necessary cost of manufacture went into the fisc and became available for the public service. If the result of the import duties had been, except quite provisionally, to induce the production of cloth at tenpence a yard which could be imported for sevenpence, India must have lost threepence on every yard thus woven instead of being bought with goods of other kinds produced at a cost of sevenpence. India did not enjoy any special advantage in the production of fine cloths, nor did it suffer under any disadvantages in the want of capital, enterprise, or skill, which would warrant the artificial fostering of that particular branch of industry at the cost of the body of consumers or tax-payers. That protection will reduce the cost of production so as to bring goods to market at a lower price than non-protection appears as a general principle to be quite erroneous. That it was necessary in the particular case, in order to foster the mill-industry of India, has been disproved by the enormous growth of that industry since the duties were abolished. It has spread into the mofussil, and it has avoided the production of the finer cloths which can be purchased with other commodities produced at a smaller expenditure of capital and labour. The policy of Lord Lytton, adopted and extended by Lord Ripon, was in truth assailable, but on quite other grounds than those chosen by the young orator.

In arguing against the contention of economists that protection involves a pernicious interference of the State with trade and industry, Telang was drawn into a much wider field of discussion than his subject demanded. The question was simply—Can the State, without mischief, interfere with the forms of industrial activity to which individuals are drawn by their own tendencies, capacities and circumstances? An affirmative answer leads us straight to communism, and an extinction of the individual enter-

prise to which social progress owes so much. A negative answer condemns subventions of a particular industry at the general cost, except when it can be seen that the result will be a general benefit. There are such cases, and, as Telang acknowledged, the Indian government had been active in making experiments in aid of private enterprise in many directions. There are even some cases, not precisely those of an infant manufacture, in which protection, by securing a large home market, enables an expensive manufacture to be carried on securely upon a scale which makes numerous improvements of detail possible, and thus leads to a permanent superiority even in cheapness, and to a command of foreign markets. Such instances are quite exceptional, and the general superiority of private intelligence, prompted by private interest, over governmental direction, cannot be questioned even in India. The proper limits of State action there are wider than in England, but these limits must ever be narrowed as the State succeeds in its purpose of forming a race of higher intelligence and energy, as well as of larger resources and more perfect organization.

It would be impossible to notice all the speeches made by Telang during the period of his full activity, but reference must be made to his powerful address at a meeting called to support the "Ilbert Bill." The reasons for that measure were never so ably presented as in this speech. When we now recall the fury excited by the project, the injudicious flourish with which it was introduced, its "shrinkage" in the Legislative Council, and the rarely disturbed sleep of the Statute in actual practice, we must be driven to recognize once more the extreme difference between expectations and results in matters of legislation.

Treating as he did on so many and such various subjects of controversy and of intense public interest, it was impossible that even a man of extraordinary endowments should not sometimes miss the exact truth. But this may be said with confidence, that Telang showed remarkable sagacity and judgment in taking up his positions, that

he maintained them with great dialectic skill, and in language of a limpid purity that would have done credit to an English-born orator. He was, in fact, an assiduous student of Bright's speeches, and, without rising to majesty, he could infuse into his own addresses on great occasions an earnestness and patriotic fervour clothed in unaffected language not unworthy of the great tribune. No word of enmity or spite, no mean imputation of base motives, ever escaped from his lips. He could address a surging crowd on a proposed Salt Tax, or Licence Tax, without being carried away by his own eloquence from the region of loyalty and moderation. He was, in fact, free from all personal envy or peevishness, and, feeling no ill-will, had none to utter. He was deeply grateful, and therefore touching and eloquent, in his farewell panegyric on Lord Ripon. He could rise with the popular feeling, but he could not sink with it below the level of his own magnanimity. His final public utterances on the Age of Consent Bill were animated by a passion for the elevation of his people, which enabled him to confront without flinching the prejudices and the censures of many of his associates. It may, indeed, be doubtful, whether in his position as a judge, which by this time he had attained, he could properly take part in a political agitation as to which public feeling was so strongly divided. Reticence and self-suppression on such occasions are, as a rule, even more expedient in India than elsewhere, since partiality and partisanship are there most recklessly imputed. But Telang's course was generally approved, and, apart from mere policy, was in all ways consonant to his high character, his learning, and his abilities. The subject was one which specially suited him. He had, as a lawyer, to deal with the construction of Her Majesty's Proclamation on assuming the direct government of India, which had been invoked as a bar to legislation for protecting child-wives against brutal ill-usage. As a lawyer and scholar both, he had to examine the injunctions of the Shastras and the authority of the commentators. As a patriot of elevated and humane views, he had to

oppose by higher and nobler considerations the petty and obstructive objections raised against the proposed reform. In speech and writing alike he showed himself equal to the occasion. He proved that neither the Proclamation nor the Religious Law sanctified a practice revolting to humanity. He could meet one of his most capable opponents with a quotation of himself that "we Marathas do not allow orthodoxy to stand in the way of our political advancement," why then, he inquired, in the way of a necessary step in civilization? He ventured to declare, "Our system is to a great extent become petrified . . . the moral conceptions which once informed it have long since vanished, and . . . we are now hugging the mere outer shell as if that were all in all." "It is the bounden duty of the Legislature," he said, "to do what it is now doing in the interests of humanity and of the worldly interests of the communities committed to its charge, and for such a purpose as the present to disregard if need be the Hindu Shastras." Again, "If in such a case . . . the British Government is to hold its hand and put forward a plea of *non possumus*, it will write itself down as unworthy of its best traditions, and will announce a principle of action that, if logically carried out, will destroy the possibility of any solid good resulting from its presence in India."

These sound and bold declarations from the most capable of Hindus in our generation, have an application extending far beyond their immediate object. Occasions arise from time to time when dormant prejudices are roused to fanaticism by men filled with envy or disordered ambition; some ambiguous words of a Shashtra are interpreted so as to support a charge of interference with religion in the necessary arrangements of peaceful neighbourhood amongst men of hostile creeds; and a bad eminence is gained for a time by the self-seeking guides who thus contrive to inflame class against class. In such cases the British Government must, as the native patriot has advised, disdain a plea of *non possumus*. Custom has introduced

infinite variations on the written law, and custom has force only as approved by the sovereign will; which may assert itself for the common good, as well directly as thus indirectly. As Telang suggests, the teaching of astronomy must not be given up in deference to the "absurdities of the Hindu Jyotish," nor must the "police regulation of Hindu and Musulman processions" be abandoned as an "interference with religious worship." His liberal views on these points are amply supported by native authority, free from any European influence. "In astronomy," says Bhāskar Āchārya, "scripture is decisive only when it agrees with demonstration." The same is true of other matters of observation and reasoning, and Misra says, "Civil law is founded on reasoning, not on revelation." There is an element of science in it—a science of social welfare and political necessity or expediency—to which the administrator may properly give effect without any violation of the spirit of the Hindu law. Native rulers have never felt themselves enslaved by texts opposed to public policy as they conceived it. The British Government is tenderly alive to the sensibilities of its subjects, but, even on Hindu principles, is bound to "cut prejudice against the grain" when a higher interest demands it. And the duty in such cases of the leaders of native thought was thus clearly defined by Telang; "I do not object to them telling the government, if they so believe, that the people will be discontented with the government measure. But in so doing they must remember that they are doing only one half of their duty. Their whole duty requires that they should tell their brethren how they misappreciate the motives, the principles, and the actions of government in the matter." Here truly was a leader whose lightest words, breathing a divine air of elevated loyalty, should have sufficed to silence and shame the crowd of obstructionists who would have rejected with a snarling fanaticism an ennobling boon held out to their effete society.

Telang's mental activity took the form of literary composition at a very early period. At nineteen years of age,

he read an essay to the Students' Literary Society on "Our Roads." This was but

"The spirit of the years to come,
Yearning to mix itself with life."

In 1870 he had begun to feel his true vocation to the pursuits of scholarship. He read an essay on "The Life of Shankarāchārya," which embodied the results so far reached of studies which were continued for many years, as evinced by his learned paper on the date of the great philosophic contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* in 1884. In 1871 he gave the Society an essay on the Muktikopani-shad. Then fairly entering the public field he in 1872 became a frequent contributor to the *Indian Antiquary*. Essays by him on various subjects of archæology and Sanskrit learning may be found in the volumes for several years afterwards. Particular reference may be made to that in 1876 on Anandgiri's Shankarāchārya, and to a review in 1884 of R. S. Visvanath N. Mandlik's book on Hindu Law. The last mentioned work has added materially to our means of forming a true comprehension of the Hindu Law as a living system, but it rests on an insufficient collation of the MSS. of the Mayūkha; it presents defects of scholarship and doubtful speculations which invited criticism. A really useful discussion of these matters would occupy more space than can be spared here, but Telang's observations may be deemed an almost necessary pendant to the work for the purposes of the lawyer who wishes to stand on sure ground. It is clear from them that in any case of difficulty reference to the original is still as necessary as ever.

Shankarāchārya's contention against the nihilist philosophy, his demonstrations of an original eternal self as the basis of all perceptible phenomena, had a great attraction for Telang's spirit. He longed for something solid and everlasting to rest upon, and shuddered at the blank vacuity offered by unaided speculation, almost as Shakespeare at the contemplation of death, which yet he recurs

to again and again as under some dread fascination. The Vedantic impress on his mind made him dwell often on those passages in Wordsworth's poetry which speak the language of an imaginative pantheism. What final views in philosophy he had adopted it may not be possible to say; probably he had not arrived at any finality, but remained to the last one of those earnest seekers after truth who thirst in vain for a knowledge and a communion with the infinite, which can be gained only from revelation. He, however, was not able to accept the message of Christianity, and the same highly sensitive and sympathetic nature which made him long for a divine hand to be held out to him in the darkness that lies beyond human reasoning bound him by ties he could not violently break to the family and friends who were so dear to him, and to the conventional practices which this union exacted.

In 1872 Telang, in a paper read to the Students' Literary Society, and afterwards published as a pamphlet, entered the lists against Professor Weber, on the subject of the originality of the Rāmāyana and its place in Hindu literature. The contention of Dr. Weber that the source of the Rāmāyana is to be found in a Buddhistic myth, wrought out in details borrowed in a large measure from Homer, is met first by an argument that the Buddhist story may just as likely have been borrowed from the Rāmāyana, as have been the original of it. In the second place, that the coincidences, so far as they are really coincidences, are but slight and probably casual. There are, no doubt, archaic notes in the Dasaratha-jātaka, such as the Sisterhood of Sītā to Rāma, which are wanting in the Rāmāyana. The Rāmāyana, too, gives incidents of the story which are wholly wanting in the Buddhist revision. The latter ignores the abduction of Sītā and the siege of Lankā. Against these indications may be set the condemnation of marriage with a sister already found in the Rig-Veda, so that the Sisterhood of Sītā must have been a mere conscious flight of fancy, at any time assignable for the composition of the Dasaratha-jātaka. The relation might as well be

invented after the publication of the Rāmāyana, as after the acceptance of the Veda. What appears most likely is that in the Folk-lore of Northern India several versions of the legend were current, and did not cease to be current through the appropriation of any by Valmiki, or another. The Arthurian legend, the story of Faust and others in modern Europe, furnish parallel examples, and in the Greek drama the more recent play might take up either more or fewer than a previous one of the manifold incidents with which a popular myth had become enriched in circulation. There was for the Brahmanical and for the Buddhist author an ample store to draw upon, and the latter, though subsequent in date, would feel less repugnance than the former to the adoption of certain details which to the former had become specially incongruous. The transfer of the scene of action to the south points, though not, perhaps, decisively, to the comparative lateness of the Dasaratha-jātaka, and, as Telang insists, it was in the highest degree improbable that a Buddhist should be adopted as a Brahmanical hero. The Buddhists parting from Brahmanism would still carry with them many of the earlier myths and traditions of their race, but the orthodox already amply supplied with legendary materials would be slow indeed to find in a Buddhist hero a subject for adoration and adoption as their own.

The observations of anthropological inquirers, though not dwelt on by Telang, make it quite manifest that such a test as the bending of a bow might well be conceived quite independently amongst different communities. The general use of the bow would make strength and skill in using it a necessary topic for poetry almost everywhere. The abduction of women, exile, battles and sieges, offered themselves for imaginative treatment to Valmiki without any need for resorting to the Iliad or the Odyssey. That there was an Homeric poem in Sanskrit might be true; the Rāmāyana would in a manner justify the assertion; but that there was an Indian translation of Homer as stated by Dio Chrysostom and by Ælim appears wholly erroneous. This

is the substance of Telang's second argument; and it may surely be added that the legendary atmosphere, the whole mental tone of the Rāmāyana, are so different from those of the Homeric poems that no substantial influence of the latter can be traced in the Indian epic.

The other grounds on which Professor Weber relied for the late production of the Rāmāyana—the geographical and astronomical references and the literary notices of the poem, are handled by Telang with equal fairness and ability. He adds several affirmative indications of more or less strength, which support his own view that the composition of the Rāmāyana must be referred to a period several centuries before the Christian Era, and before the date assigned as probable by Professor Weber. The theory of the latter has not been generally accepted, and the criticisms of the young Hindu scholar have been confirmed by subsequent investigations both in India and in Europe.

This essay gave Telang an acknowledged and prominent place amongst Sanskrit scholars. This position he maintained and improved by his subsequent work, in spite of the distractions of increasing professional business, and of various movements, social and political, in which he became interested. In 1874 he contributed four essays to the *Indian Antiquary* and read two learned papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. To the Students' Literary Society he read a paper on Loriner's theory as to the Bhagavadgītā, which he afterwards embodied in his introduction to a metrical translation of the "Divine Lay." Of this translation itself as a piece of English verse-composition little more need be said than that it is a remarkable effort on the part of a foreigner. The subtleties of English prosody had not been mastered even by this accomplished proficient in English prose. As a faithful version the work deserved high praise; but still higher commendation is due to the prose translation printed as volume viii. of the series of Sacred Books of the East, along with the Sanatsujātiya and the Anugītā, two other episodes of the Mahābhārata. The relation of the three

to each other is learnedly and acutely discussed, and each—but especially the *Gītā*—is made to throw a valuable light on the development of Indian speculation. The *Bhagavadgītā* belongs to an age at the close, or soon after the close, of the period in which the numerous *Upanishads* were produced, which superadded to the primeval Vedic hymns and the minute ceremonial literature a mass of ingenious but hazy views about the underlying essence of divine and human existence and of the means of attaining final peace and perfection, without as yet any systematic connexion and co-ordination of the several cognate notions. “They are in the true sense of the words guesses at truth, frequently contradicting each other, yet all leading in one direction.” Comparing the *Gītā* with the “current *Yoga Sūtras*,” Telang points out that in the former there are many directions for the attainment of complete concentration of mind and indifference to mundane objects, but without orderly arrangement carried out to any great length; while in the latter there is an excess of system with definition and distinction carried to a wearisome and bewildering extreme. Important words are used in the *Gītā* in varying senses. Apparently conflicting passages are left unreconciled, and contradictions of statement as to feeling show the working of a mind still subject to fine impulses of emotion, rather than binding them in the chains of a rigid philosophy.

The style of the *Gītā*, archaic, abounding in repetitions of favourite phrases, supports the theory of its composition after the *Upanishads*, but before the early literature of philosophy, and still more prior to the maturity of classical Sanskrit. Particular words are used in senses which had become obsolete to the classical writers. Thus the *Bhagavadgītā* stands near the beginning of philosophy conscious that truth must be self-consistent, and striving to make its manifold speculations conform to the test. The tendencies to system were in the intellectual air, and the author of the *Gītā* was touched though not subdued by them. The *Sāṅkhya* phrases and the apparent reproduction, at least, in part of the *Sāṅkhya* system in the *Bhagavadgītā*

are probably to be accounted for by this, that the Sāṅkhya itself, as an ordered synthesis, was of slow development. An endeavour to express in words the notions of the successive processes or outgrowths from the primordial Prakṛiti led to more and more elaborate explanations, to balancings, conciliations, and reductions to consistency and symmetry, which resulted in a system. But the system was as yet but inchoate; the stage of approach to a clear and uniform nomenclature only had been reached at the time when the draughts of the Bhagavadgītā were made on the Sāṅkhya reservoir.

How far Indian speculation—not perhaps wholly aware of whither it was going—had advanced at this time of free thought, joined to conventional orthodoxy, is shown by what Telang says of the position of the Gītā with respect to the Vedas: “The author of the Gītā does not throw the Vedas entirely overboard. He feels and expresses reverence to them, only that reverence is of a somewhat special character. . . . The precepts of the Vedas are suitable to a certain class of people, of a certain intellectual and spiritual status. . . . But if the unwise sticklers for the authority of the Vedas claim anything more for them than this, then the author of the Gītā holds them to be wrong . . . acting upon the ordinances of the Vedas is an obstacle to the attainment of the *summum bonum*.” The Gītā regards the Vedas as chiefly, if not solely, ritualistic, and here it echoes the Chāndogya Upanishad. “They that follow after illusion enter thick darkness, they that are satisfied with liturgic knowledge a thicker darkness still.” A sage is he who knows himself as one with the universal being, and for him there is no ascent or descent by good or evil works. Both alike are to be avoided in the intense ecstatic contemplation of the universal and eternal. Where desires and motives cease the moral quality of actions fails, and thus “the perfect sage . . . may do good and evil as he chooses and be unstained; such is the efficacy of a knowledge of the self.” Thus it is that, putting away all desires and all activities,

the meditative devotee rises, the Gītā declares, above the Vedas. The Vedas, then, could not have been contemplated as containing the very highest knowledge. The Upanishads had not yet become divine; it is, at least, doubtful whether the Atharva-Veda had as yet been sanctified by antiquity.

From such indications as these, from the pre-eminence assigned to the Sāma-Veda, from the view taken of the castes, and from a consideration of the natural order of development of religious ideas, Telang arrives at the conclusion that the Gītā preceded the preaching of Buddhism. The latter was a thorough-going rejection of the sacred system which the Gītā strove to preserve—to preserve at least the soul-subduing associations connected with it—in solution, so to speak, and diffused through its philosophy, Buddhism denying the efficacy of works, wholly disapproved the will-worship of penances. It accepts caste as a condition of mundane existence which can be overcome by purity and charity, so as to open to the lowest, as to the highest, the rest from change, the calm of the state of mind known as Nirvāna—release in this life from the trammels of individuality as contrasted with the blending, in the next life, the identity with the universal being of Brahmanical philosophy. The Buddhist conception might very well be a more advanced development from a mass of ideas embodied at an earlier stage in the doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā, but it is hard to suppose the latter deduced from the former. An adversary of Buddhism would never concede so much; pronounced antagonism, in fact, afterwards petrified the Brahman creed; a trimmer would have explicitly set forth points of agreement as grounds for compromise, but of this there is no sign.

The external evidences, such as references and quotations, of the age of the Bhagavadgītā, point so far as they go to an antiquity such as may be deduced from the internal indications. On the whole the work must have been composed almost exactly as it has come down to us at least three—probably five or six—centuries B.C. Its immense and almost unvarying popularity from that time to this

can have arisen only from its special adaptation to the Hindu character, and every passage in the long discourse is full of the burden of transitory defective existence and of the desire of emancipation, first from turbulent passions and fleshly motives, and then from all activity save in an intense concentrated meditation on the "greater soul to which each soul belongs," until contemplation brings about absorption or identity, and all mere phenomena are for ever cast aside as the unfettered intelligence has at last

"Come on that which is, and caught
The deep foundations of the world."

Complete knowledge thus brings beatitude, but it has to be attained by a complete subjugation of the senses and cravings of unsublimated humanity. "When one discards the desires of his heart and finds his sole happiness in self-contemplation he is to be deemed of steadfast mind." "He seeks no pleasures, feels no affection, fear or anger, has no attachments, has no delight or disgust in life's joys or annoyances. His senses are subdued, the taste for these objects quits him who has caught sight of the Supreme." It is the man thus completely disciplined, and he alone, who attains the sanctifying knowledge which "reduces all action to ashes." This knowledge alone produces absolute tranquility as all doubt and fear vanish along with all desire. He then who through abstraction becomes detached is no longer subject to any stain of sin, and he needs no further merit. All this reasoning *in vacuo* tends to brooding indolence, and it is certain that the capacity to render useful service to our fellow men must decline by want of exercise. Beneficence and complete disinterestedness are indeed enjoined; ostentation and superfluous penance are condemned; but though rectitude, innocence and golden silence are commended the exaltation of mere musing above real exertion must lead at last to narrowness and spiritual pride in those who think they have gained the true inner light, and must unfit even noble natures for this world of mutual needs and mutual aids. The mass it must lead to

apathy and indifference, as indeed the equal meanness or illusory worth of all objects is proclaimed, and thus the way is paved for

“ a listless unconcern,
Cold, and averting from our neighbour's good.”

Telang was saved by his versatile abilities as well as by the necessities of his position, from yielding to his natural tendency to meditation. It is one marked effect of close contact with the English and British influence in India that the natives become thus as ambitious of social advancement as eager for the means of securing it as the English themselves. Wealth, title, civic and political distinction, are rewards before which the honour paid to the scholar and sage as such fades into dimness, and the present generation of cultivated Hindus want only physical robustness and public experience, or a modest sense of inexperience and reasonable limitation of practical aims, to be outwardly indistinguished from the mass of pushing intelligent Europeans with whom they mingle. But just as the national life and strife of centuries have stamped even upon the naturally characterless Englishman a certain impress of practical sagacity and energy in actual work, so the even longer prevalence of a meditative view of life as insignificant and illusory, an outgrowth at first from the character of the Hindus, has reacted upon that character, and prevented in too many cases the union of comprehensive views with a due appreciation of circumstances and an energy that refuses to be baffled by the recurring difficulties of petty details. How fully Telang sympathized with the disposition of his countrymen his written and spoken words both manifested. His success in mastering the problems of active life without ever losing touch of the speculative thought of India, in making the nurture and discipline afforded by philosophic study an instrument for furthering the present interests of his people, is a part of his life which well deserves study and imitation by all whose purposes are as high as his.

The other two episodes contained in the same volume,

the Sanatsujātīya and the Anugītā, are treated with not less learning and sagacity than the Bhagavadgītā. Nor does candour or boldness fail. The poems are referred within wide limits to the same period as the Bhagavadgītā. Their doctrine, it is shown, is substantially the same. The study of the Vedas, though an indispensable preliminary, is declared to avail nothing of itself towards final emancipation. "The Brāhmana has not yet degenerated into the mere receiver of fees and presents, but is still in possession of the truth," and the truth is a living realization of the basis of things as eternal in the past and future, and of all phenomena as merely transient and illusory, produced by the play of a boundless creative power, and to the unilluminated mind seeming real, but, in truth, only as the forms seen in dreams, since eternity implies immutability. This knowledge and the intense conviction of it once attained transcends all piety and impiety, being indifferent to all wordly honours and temptations. He who has gained it lives in the world of ideas, standing behind all unsubstantial phenomena, and thus attains, through indifference, that happiness which Plato ascribed to the just man, rising above all ignorance and perversion through the steady contemplation of the self-existent essence of goodness, virtue, and justice as universals.

The Anugītā, the third of the episodes embraced in Telang's volume, he makes out to be considerably later than the Bhagavadgītā, though still as early, probably, as the fourth century B.C. It presents indications of a considerable development of ceremonial, and it assigns supremacy to the Brahmans with a distinctness unknown to the earlier poems. Whether it preceded Jainism and Buddhism appears uncertain. The references to heretical sects and the use of such words as Nirvāna and Chakrapravartana are not conclusive. The poem professes to be a *resumé* or recollection of the earlier Gītā, but still bears the tinge here and there of a modification of thought. The position of every being in this world or a higher one is determined by his actions in a previous state. In neither

is there security. Desires lead to sin, and sin to a new birth in misery. At last comes the abandonment of a worldly life, indifference through discipline to mundane objects, and a happy eternity free from change through knowledge acquired by contemplation of the formless infinite. By austerities and intense meditation the student of the Vedas becomes conscious of the self within the self, which yet eludes complete apprehension like a figure in a dream. Such a one has conquered the triple world, lost all susceptibility to pleasure and pain, become divine, and quitted the trammels of the body for union with the boundless reality that lies beyond phenomena. These thoughts and the illusory character of sensible objects and delights form the burden of the strain throughout the poem. The effect is tiresome to a European, but the subtlety and hazy grandeur of the thoughts is immensely attractive to the Hindu. Telang, without being enslaved by the spirit of philosophical musing, yet wandered with great pleasure in the half-realized world of ontological speculation, and never probably had a more congenial occupation than in translating this volume of the Sacred Books of the East. The sound scholarship, acuteness, and admirable method of his work made the volume quite worthy of its place in the remarkable series of which it forms part. There is here, as elsewhere, the difficulty inherent in translating not merely the language but the thoughts of an early generation into the speech of a later one. Terms which have a certain range of identity yet differ widely in their whole suggestion. Centuries of thought have poured into the modern languages of Europe a wealth of associations which is wanting to the earlier tongues, and these in many cases gave expression to a whole world of notions, which we can no longer fully realize. This difficulty even Telang, with his mastery of English and his indigenous familiarity with Hindu thought, could not quite overcome. Such words as "Brahman" and "Máya" have not a precise equivalent in English, because the group of ideas of which they represent a part has never existed here. The words "faith," "devotion," and even

“knowledge” suggest thoughts coinciding only in part with the Sanskrit originals. Thus we are prevented from getting an absolutely clear and complete view of the sense of ancient books of philosophy; much less can we place ourselves at the exact standpoint of feeling which is natural for those to the manner born. Our Bible speaks in a voice that thrills the Christian with a thousand memories and traces of past emotion unknown to Hindus: so, too, the Bhagavadgītā and its like have for Hindus a meaning beyond the mere words, an influence of association which we of another race can never completely seize. Even amongst the learned of to-day an accord in words is sometimes found along with a great divergence of thought between European and Indian scholars: how much more when the voice of philosophy has to be heard across a gulf of many centuries!

In 1874 Telang was already sufficiently matured in scholarship to edit Bhartrihari's sententious Śatakas for the Bombay Sanskrit series. Ten years later he edited the play Mudrārākshasa for the same series. Both works are models of careful editing and of acute reasoning as to dates and readings. They show, in fact, a complete appropriation of the methods of European scholarship, added to a facility in following or divining the author's course of thought, references, and allusions, which to a European would be almost impossible. The argument by which he assigns the great Vedantist Śankarāchārya to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. is a remarkable feat of perspicuity.

Telang was for several years a pretty frequent contributor to the proceedings of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and on nearly all the papers read to the Society on matters connected with Indian Archæology he had valuable observations to offer. As a member of the Managing Committee he was active in promoting the interests of the institution, and after filling the office of Vice-President he was in 1892 elected President of the Society, being the first native gentleman who was thus honoured. He entered on this, as on the other high offices

attained by him, with universal approval, and he would, doubtless, have made his Presidentship an era in the history of the Society, but for his untimely death.

The last literary work of Telang's which calls for particular notice was his "Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles," which he contributed to the Proceedings of the Congress of Oriental Scholars in 1892. Many of the MS. sources on which Grant Duff's History is founded have been lost, but some have been discovered in other copies; and Telang was able to gather from these, and from other documents recently made accessible, many interesting particulars of Maratha life—social, religious, and political—under the Peshwas. We learn how the famous Council, the Ashta Pradhāna, included a Minister of Religion and Learning, and that the Maratha Rājās "considered it their duty to regulate the religious affairs of their subjects" through a Brahman Minister; and that there was an amount of actual interference in caste disputes which would now be deemed intolerable. It also appears that there were points beyond, which even a Peshwa could not go; as when Bājirao sought to have his son by a Musulman lady initiated as a Brahman.

An order, severely prohibiting the selling of Brahman girls in marriage, marks at once the point of degeneracy to which the popular practice had sunk, and the legislative competence of the Peshwa to correct the evil. That the people should have submitted to such regulation even from the low-caste Rājās of Sivaji's race, is partly accounted for by the claim set up for the family as Kshatriyas, partly by their accepted position as guardians of the Hindu religion against Mahomedanism, partly also, Telang suggests, "in the old doctrine that every king has more or less of the divine element in him," a doctrine which was extended even to the Mogul Emperor of Delhi. Such a divine right in the *de facto* ruler may be compared with the doctrine of the English Common Law on the same subject, and should not be lost sight of by those who on Hindu grounds murmur and cavil at laws and regulations made by their present rulers, after careful deliberation for the general

good. Even Musulman sovereigns in some cases brought the sanction of the State to bear on the settlement of a contention between castes, and Telang had the satisfaction of pointing out that on one such occasion the Konkan Prabhus obtained recognition as genuine Kshatriyas.

These same chronicles afford instances of a brutality in punishment revolting to modern ideas; as when a Musulman was publicly disgraced, and then trampled to death by an elephant, for keeping a Brahmani mistress. But our own notions on this subject are of such recent growth that we must not judge others by too high a standard. The frequent instances of political treachery mark a really greater debasement of moral feeling, and are indications of a general debility of character, which, infecting their conduct and policy all round, unfitted the Marathas to remain a ruling race. Responsibility did not accompany the rise to power of their successful men, and "the sight of means to do ill deeds is oft the cause ill deeds are done" in the East as in the West.

Telang was far from sharing that opinion cherished by many of his countrymen, as a ground, or excuse, for discontent that the gradual relaxation of ceremonial bonds amongst the Hindus, and the decay of purely religious, as distinguished from moral, observances is solely due to the presence and overpowering influences of a European Government. He insists on the truth that the surrounding conditions, even in the days of the Maratha power, were too strong for the dominion of rules which had their birth under quite other conditions. "Originally," he says, "the incompatibility manifested itself only in certain special instances. But once the solvent, so to say, is applied at one point, similar results sometimes follow, even at other points, though the conditions are not equally directly favourable." This is a conclusion from Indian history and experience of what has often been observed elsewhere, that a revolution of thought, a weakening of reverence cannot be confined to its immediate object; it must, like the vibrations of an earthquake, extend far and wide over

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of secular interests religion and ritual had come to occupy a smaller space in the attention even of the Brahmins, a minute acquaintance with their scriptures had become comparatively rare. Under the British rule material progress through competition has naturally diverted men's minds still more from mountains and ceremonies. Acquaintance with European science and literature has placed native scholars and their disciples at a standpoint from which the absurdities involved in many popular myths become conspicuous. The bonds of custom are in a great measure broken whenever they encounter a clear individual interest. The mundane causes of success come into ever greater prominence. An essentially secular tone of mind grows up, and as the demand for priestly intervention decreases the supply also falls off. Thus the decline of religious feeling in its former sense is a necessary concomitant of advancing activity and material welfare. No true patriot can wish the tide to turn. What remains is to collect and cherish all those influences, hallowed by tradition and human affection, enshrined in the old system, for the permanent uses of future generations in elevating their morality and enabling them to grasp the unseen and eternal with a more vivid realization of its true relations to the present in which we live.

Telang cites with evident relish the instance of the aged Brahmin counselling her grandson, the Peshwa Sayajirao, to curtail sacred ceremonies and leave the daily duties to the family priests in order to gain time for his business. As in the scenes of more active life days have become "so solemn and so solemn" that in the modern struggle for progress the people must discipline themselves to continuous exertion and indulge less in sacred disguises. Instances as those of the inevitable and ceremonial regulations that must accompany material progress and development, Telang characteristically characterizes of him

neighbouring and cognate objects. The spirit of inquiry set on foot by startling infringements of received principles, may even degenerate into a spirit of questioning and cavil without any solid reason for discarding what use has consecrated. Thus, real and great reforms are too often accompanied by excesses or vagaries, which are afterwards used to discredit them. The general central current of human affairs in any of its greater streams moves on unaffected by such eddies of unreason. It absorbs old inconsistent habits of thought, modifies or annuls them. This, as Telang shows, was as noticeable under the rule of Sivaji's successors, and of the Peshwas, as under the British rule. A new caste could be assigned to a powerful prince, defiling association could be condoned, warfare and bloodshed—the duties of a Kshatriya performed by Brahmans—could be approved and glorified, sea-voyages could be excused, and even the re-marriage of a young widow sanctioned by the most reverend authorities, while the Maratha power was at its height. Political and utilitarian considerations prevailed against mere tradition, and even the professional expositors of the sacred law could stoop to accommodate the secular needs of the age and great men's worldly purposes. In a contention between the Brahmans and Prabhus, the champions even of the former, finding the Śāstra doctrine opposed to their pretensions, could exclaim, "What does it matter what is in the Śūtras? Who looks at them? The Peshwas are sovereigns: people must act as they direct."

Some striking instances are given by Telang of the degeneracy of the Brahmans as a priestly caste, or, at least, of the decay of sacred learning amongst them, even under the Maratha rule. The corpse of the great Captain Parashrām Bhau Patvardhan had to be burned without the recitation of the proper "mantras" because the joshis of the neighbourhood could not read or utter them. On the cremation of the Swami of Dhavadasi the officiating Brahmans blundered seriously with the ritual book in their hands. It is clear from such cases that, as in the growth

of secular interests, religion and ritual had come to occupy a smaller space in the attention even of the Brahmans, a minute acquaintance with their scriptures had become comparatively rare. Under the British rule material progress through competition has naturally diverted men's minds still more from incantations and ceremonies. Acquaintance with European science and literature has placed native scholars and their disciples at a standpoint from which the absurdities involved in many popular myths become conspicuous. The bonds of custom are in a great measure broken whenever they encounter a clear individual interest. The mundane causes of success come into ever greater prominence. An essentially secular tone of mind grows up, and as the demand for priestly intervention decreases the supply also falls off. Thus the decline of religious feeling in its former sense is a necessary concomitant of advancing activity and material welfare. No true patriot can wish the tide to turn. What remains is to collect and cherish all those influences, hallowed by tradition and human affection, enshrined in the old system, for the permanent uses of future generations in elevating their morality and enabling them to grasp the unseen and eternal with a more vivid realization of its true relations to the present in which we live.

Telang cites with evident relish the instance of the aged Gapikabai counselling her grandson, the Peshwa Savai Madhavrao, to curtail sacred ceremonies and leave the daily worship to the family priests in order to gain time for practical business. As in the scenes of more active life in Europe the feast days have become "so solemn and so rare," so he perceived that in the modern struggle for existence and welfare his people must discipline themselves to more vigorous and continuous exertion and indulge less in indolence veiled in sacred disguises.

In dwelling on such instances as these of the inevitable changes in religious and ceremonial relations that must attend social and political progress and development, Telang sought in the quiet unobtrusive way characteristic of him

to soothe the impatience of his countrymen, and especially of the Brahmans, arising from their sense of being left stranded by the changing current of national life. He had gone through a period of impatience himself when, measuring the educated mass too much by his own standard of ability and generous zeal, he had fretted at the obstacles raised to their beneficent activity by an "alien government." As time went on he became more and more impressed with the feeling that what exists is no affair of mere accident; that in all states individuals must suffer more or less for the defects of their class; that the internal moral changes on which external progress depends are wrought but slowly; and that a long process of adaptation was necessary before his countrymen could, as a mass, take full advantage of the enlarged means of happiness and the more spacious life placed within their reach by British rule. Childhood and manhood, as he admitted to the present writer, cannot be enjoyed together, and as the Hindu gradually moulds his manhood on an imperial model, so will he, step by step and without any revolutionary shock, take an equal or a naturally appropriate place amongst the governing as well as the governed in her Majesty's dominions. In the mean time circumstances must be yielded to or circumvented when they cannot be overcome. The necessary conditions and accompaniments of progress must be accepted and means be found for reconciling the old with the new. The Indian bride, roughly captured, must accept her captor's life and interests as her own before she can share his glories and rule his household. In his own person Telang gave up no observance of his people or his caste except under a conscientious conviction that the change was called for in some interest of patriotism or progress. His tenderness for the susceptibilities of his family and fellows made him shrink from any violation, even of their prejudices, which was not imperatively called for, and his strong historical sense caused him to revolt at sudden transitions.

It is a matter for some regret, though not for surprise,

that manifestly disintegrating forces operating from without under British rule should have alarmed the more conservative members of the Hindu community. They were thus driven into a movement of reaction and resistance which, appealing to feelings and traditions closely interwoven with the pride of race, repelled all changes as dangerous to religious and national integrity. Thus it was that in some measure the general effect of British administration has been to render feeble the various forces which were in old times working from within the community itself as a community. We say in some measure, because the retrograde influence is but short-lived and all but impotent as compared with the stimulants to progress that abound on every side. The old system, subjected to strains which it could not bear, was crumbling away even before the establishment of British rule. What development would have succeeded on purely native lines it is impossible to say with any certainty. It would have been accepted without jealousy, but it would have been incomparably less expansive and less satisfying to the wider needs of humanity than that which may be expected from the philosophic eclecticism and the moral suasion of such men as Telang. The process would be more rapid, more complete and beneficent, were the Telangs more numerous, and were they aided by more kindred spirits amongst the European community in India. In too many instances the only alternative that occurs is the crude substitution of some European rule or idea for an indigenous one, having at least the merit of congruity and immemorial acceptance. Thus in the sphere of jurisprudence a fragment of English law is thrust by force into the Hindu system. A formula is arrived at, expressed in familiar jural terms, and development is at that point arrested by a slavish submission to a precedent, which ought to be regarded as no more than an expression of the growing customary law as it existed at a particular moment. It is a strange recognition of the native customary law, which arrests its growth even where it does not suffocate it in an unnatural environment. In this field, and in every field

of moral activity the final outgrowth of a larger range of ideas, embracing more, and giving larger play to the best energies, would be immensely accelerated by a continuous and generous exercise, not of mere tolerance only but of wise and profound appreciation. The experimental demonstrations of the possibilities of human relations and institutions which nature presents to us are by no means confined to the European nations; and in determining what will best make for the happiness and prosperity of India, the stamp which circumstances and history have set on its people is an element of the problem not less important than it is in England, Scotland, or France.

It was natural and inevitable that one so variously and highly endowed as Telang should become a man of "light and leading" to many of his aspiring countrymen. It is certain that they could not have chosen as a pattern and guide one more intimately united with them by sympathy and hope, or one more capable of winning respect for them from those who judge a nation by its best men. The crowd are everywhere a mass to be moulded by the more energetic and capable spirits who yet are not estranged from the people. Telang in rising himself drew his countrymen with him. They are right who reverence his character and example. By dwelling on these they will be led through sympathy to those conceptions of duty and of right which must be the means of bringing them into harmony with the general moral progress of the world. Mere enormous aggregates of population are simply oppressive or revolting. "We start, for soul is wanting there," as the contemplation of so huge a mass uninformed with the spirit that earth shares with heaven, checks our hopes and aspirations as members of the same great family. It is the greater men who alone give interest and character to the mass. To them the world looks as types of what a race can attain to, to them the race itself must perpetually turn as human imitable patterns, not wholly beyond the reach of their own hopes and endeavours. The great men in India of the future must be great in an imperial sense,

of wider reach and more complete appreciation than in the past. The people of India can assume or resume a part in imperial greatness only by steadfast faith and imitation of their heroes; they must grasp their hands and move in their paths. A principle, an idea, must be incorporated, incarnated, in an individual, thus heaven-born or heaven-endowed before it can be assimilated by the mass of mankind. Thus "godhead deals with human powers," and the appalling voice of divine command is translated into sweet human accents of sympathy and encouragement. Thus Telang answered for many the questions they are putting to themselves without reply. Dazzled with the new light, and "moving about in worlds half-realized," they look with hope and confidence towards the one who is all their own, but whose voice is clear and whose march firm and definite. Telang had that basis of greatness which consists in manifold affinities. He absorbed a large part of the thought and interests of his time. His mental perspective, his capacity to compare and appreciate, was thus nurtured and disciplined. He was freed from all extravagance of judgment or expectation—ready to "hail the light that broke from either side," and to watch calmly the dawning of truth and the growth of science and wisdom among his fellows. His own wide knowledge was continually transmuted into virtue—an active desire and power to lead others into the path of enlightenment and reason, to support them until they should become self-supporting and in their turn leaders of men, "helpers and friends of mankind." He is a blessing to his community who extends the area of its human life—who introduces it to new friends and acquaintances, and for each side makes the other know those points of common interest on which they can afford each other mutual support. The Hindu moves in the ruts of tradition; the European is repelled by superficial blots from a world of thought, as rich, though not so various and exact, as his own. Telang could extend a hand to each, could bring them into happy communion, "self-reverenced each and reverencing each." What he was other Hindus might

be; what he esteemed or endured might be approached, embraced by others of his race. He multiplied the points of union at which human brotherhood greets fellow men, and drew us nearer by one step to a sense of imperial identity. The greatness of Telang was at bottom specially a Hindu greatness. It was contemplative, subtle, and benevolent, but naturally shrinking from strife and vehemence, somewhat deficient, too, according to the English standard, in power of initiative. But to the natural wealth of his intellectual gifts he was able to add an invaluable store of European ideas, knowledge, and principles. He associated for many years, at first with receptive humility, always with an engaging modesty, with the most gifted Englishmen of the Bombay community. He thus gained a wide philosophical outlook on human affairs. The touch of bitterness with which in his younger days he at times discussed the motives and abilities of Europeans gave way to a balanced charity, and a recognition of the essentially great central qualities which have won for Englishmen the place they hold amongst the nations. His mental activity and his eager desire to secure for his countrymen all the material aids to progress, led him occasionally into fields of thought and disquisition for which he was less thoroughly equipped than for the pursuits of Indian scholarship. His essays in Economics have only the value that must always attach to the reasonings of an able and patriotic man looking on social problems from an independent standpoint. In the field of public education his ideas were of a range and height exceeding those of most of his colleagues in the Educational Commission, and as a member of the Legislative Council he was practical, fertile, sagacious, and moderate.

Telang had a highly developed sensibility, a temperament which in argument and in ordinary discourse caused him to tone down the expression of his strongest convictions, to avoid direct contradiction, and to discover points of agreement, rather than of difference, between himself and his interlocutor. The manner thus produced was more than

amiable; informed by a high and quick intelligence it became almost fascinating. Without compromise of principle he could become all things to all men, and exercise an even more persuasive force in conversation than in debate. Herein consisted a great part of his widespread influence. Amongst Europeans he was welcomed on a footing of genial comradeship, because of his instinctive adoption of their own points of view for the purposes of courteous comparison. Completely at home amongst his own people, he yet continually led his companions by obvious steps to conclusions far in advance of the accepted formulas from which they started. But this same ever-ready prevailing and pervading sympathy which gave him such a charm became a weakness and a snare when his tenderness was strongly appealed to. He found it impossible to maintain a stoical consistency where the happiness of those near and dear to him was concerned. It is to his overpowering tenderness that we must ascribe Telang's weakness in making his daughter a bride at eight years of age. The act was opposed to his principles; he felt it to be wrong and of evil example, especially in him, to whom so many looked for guidance and encouragement in their strivings for social reform. Yet he could not resist the pressure of his family and his caste friends. He could confront open resistance and denunciation; but entreaty and the sight of pain were too much for his firmness. His "failing leaned to virtue's side," but a nation's regeneration has to be achieved through pain; and men of sterner stuff are needed to live the life he conceived and sought for, but could not quite attain.

Telang, as his minute on the Education question shows, had but little faith in the formal teaching of morality spread from living examples and practice. He shared to the full in such noble aspirations as are expressed in Mr. Chandavacker's pathetic lecture on the Moral Basis of Progress, but felt like him that no solid foundation could be found in the mere inculcation and reception of ethical dogma. He relied most on the personal influence of a high minded teacher, by which

his own character had been so much shaped, gathering from his experience that a new moral being is often created in the sudden confluence of emotional sympathy; and that apart from some such vivifying influence the mind may never really awaken to the teaching of books, even through parables and history. The process of individual purification and elevation must almost necessarily start from an enthusiasm kindled at a living heart. Thence it is that unseen examples are afterwards realized in description; and a noble character advancing step by step gains support and animation from an increasing company of ideal associates in well-doing, whose ever present approval or reproof supersedes by degrees the shallow and mean judgments of the crowd. Whether Telang ever reached that highest idealization, that faith and consecration of duty, by which the fervent Christian sees God in all the problems of human life, finds a sufficient motive in the divine will and an exceeding great reward in the divine love, may be doubted. There is no reason for supposing that he ever, even in his inner convictions, accepted the formal tenets of Christianity. The historical proofs were insufficient for a mind like his, exacting in matters of logical reasoning, and tenderly attached to his family, his people, and all in their customs and traditions that could nurture a loyal, hopeful affection. In the domination of such feelings he sometimes found his self-sacrifice, but like many of his kind he was more or less familiar with the Bible, and shared with them, no doubt, the inexpressible yearning for an accepted declaration of the will and promises of God. This golden basis of the moral currency—the consciousness of Almighty beneficence ever present—is wanting to the reasonings and exhortations of Hindu moralists, who, like Mr. Chandvackar, strive to find for their countrymen a sufficiently powerful motive in the abstract love of good for its own sake, and in the conception of its utilitarian benefits. Yet, may we regard the light vouchsafed to such earnest seekers after truth and virtue as a part of the divine revelation. Their lives have a vitalizing in-

fluence beyond all other teaching; theirs, like Arnold's, are the

“souls tempered with fire,
Fervent, heroic, and true;
Helpers and friends of mankind.”

Struggling spirits gather round such leaders and follow them, albeit with halting steps,

“On to the bound of the waste,
On to the city of God.”

It was a phase of his highly sympathetic nature that Telang was keenly alive to sensuous impressions and especially to the beauties of nature. Though a town-bred man he delighted in fine scenery; and for some years before his death his happiest hours were spent in quiet wanderings in the neighbourhood of a house which he had acquired at Lanowli, on the ridge of the Ghauts overhanging the Konkan and the bordering sea. Making close acquaintance with such scenes only in mature years he accepted the joy they gave with a child's freshness of feeling; nor had he ever to grieve with Schiller over the departure of a time when, as the poet laments, “for me lived the tree and flower, the silvery fountain sang for me, and from the echo of my life the soulless itself took feeling.” On the contrary the changing aspects of sky and earth in the stupendous variety presented by the tropics were an un-failing source of calm delight and inspiration to him, as in quieter manifestations to his revered Wordsworth. He sought communion with nature and with a mind full of the suggestions of the great poet he found a response and a stimulus to all his higher thinking in the revelation of the Creator's power and goodness in earth made beautiful for our delight. The companions of his walks were struck with the influence of scenery on his phase of meditation and his tone of conversation. They gained from him a new resource and a new faculty of lofty enjoyment in the boundless range of associations, of action and reaction,

between themselves and the world spread round them, with all things gaining loveliness when spiritually discerned.

Telang was from his early years a constant and appreciative student of the English poets. He regarded them as the great enduring glory of the English nation, and in familiar intercourse he could easily be drawn into quotations, especially from Wordsworth and Tennyson. Wordsworth to him was never prosy any more than would be the ordinary talk of a beloved friend. The long-drawn contemplative passages, touched with gleams of moral elevation, harmonized completely with his own disposition and mental habit. For poems of action he had somewhat less liking; and the unnatural exaggerations of the Sanskrit poets rather repelled him. He admitted that for moral nurture in the modern world, as well as for information and discipline, the English literature was for Indian students preferable to the Sanskrit as a basis of instruction, but if challenged he could insist on the lofty ideal of character presented by the Rāmāyana and the native vigour of Tukaram's Maratha verses. In this, as in other spheres, his intellectual bent and preferences were essentially modern and eclectic, but his strong affections bound him closely to all that was dear to his people, and all that formed part of their glory. He looked for additions to this glory through the exercise of native genius on the new and firmer ground opened up by communication with Europe, and could not believe in the advantage to imaginative capacity of a mere confinement of ideas. He explained the attraction which Wordsworth had for him by saying that he felt his writings to be the practical embodiment of the philosophy of the age in the sphere of moral aspirations. The truth is that he, like many of his more thoughtful countrymen, found a repose—though but a troubled repose—for the soul in the spirit of Christianity with which they were surrounded in such writings as those of Wordsworth, without being called on to definitely renounce or receive any specific dogmas of theology. He and they were formed for faith, devotion and reverence, and in the many phases of our imperial history his disciples

may have much to do for the good of that Greater Britain which is so variously composed, and calls for the exertion of such various gifts and capacities. In the moral ripening of the future they may yet have an invaluable, incalculable service to render to mankind.

For his services on the Education Commission Telang was made a C.I.E. After his death a public meeting was held to raise a memorial in his honour. At this meeting the Governor of Bombay, the Chief Justice, and the leaders of native society joined in commendations of his character and abilities. Telang never affected a churlish disdain of such tributes as these; but his most fitting monument will be found in the lives of a multitude of his countrymen made wiser and nobler by a loving remembrance of his words and works.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

SIR,—I glean from certain extracts in the *Rangoon Gazette* newspaper that a gentleman, of the name of F. O. Oertel, has been sent to report on the antiquities of Burma, and am glad to see that he states “there is no time to be lost for taking measures to preserve and collect the more valuable archæological remains of the country before it is too late, and for this purpose an early scientific exploration of all parts of Burma seems necessary.” It is to be hoped the Government of India will at once follow his advice: not only is it clear that objects of interest are falling into ruin and being destroyed, but that the traditional history of Pegu will soon be lost. The old Mwn, or Peguan, language is fast disappearing, like that of Cornwall, and, forgetful of the fact that this language was universally spoken south of the latitude of Prome before the time of Alompra (A.D. 1756), there is a tendency springing up to interpret the names of old places by means of the, now dominant, Burmese language.

The accompanying extract will, I think, make this apparent—

“Mr. Oertel, in the notes on his recent tour in Burma, says:—‘The word Syriam is said to be an Anglicised version of the Burmese Thanlyin, by which name it is still called by the natives, while its Pali name is Khoddadippa. It once was the principal port of Pegu, and continued to be so up to the time of the foundation of Rangoon and

the utter destruction of the former by Alompra in A.D. 1756. It is fabled to have been founded nearly six centuries B.C., but did not take a prominent place in history until the end of the 16th century, when the adventurer Philip de Brito, better known as Nicote, seized it in the name of the Portuguese. Their dominion, however, did not last long, as the town was soon re-taken by the Burmese, under Mahadhamma Raja, in 1613. Subsequently the Burmans allowed some Dutch, English, and French traders to settle in Syriam, but their factories were finally destroyed by Alompra, and nothing now remains of these settlements but the ruins of a church, some tombs, and traces of walls. Interior and exterior views are given of the remains of the Portuguese church, which is said to have been the first Christian church in Further India. It was erected in 1750 by Monsignor Nerini, the second Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, and a member of the Barnabite Mission. In plan it consisted of a single nave and apsidal end in Italian style, constructed of pointed brickwork. The apse and side walls are still standing, much ruined and overgrown with pipal trees.

“A village now occupies the site of the old town, and near it are the remains of several ancient brick pagodas of small dimensions, probably of considerable age. The Kyaikkauk or Syriam Pagoda, situated two or three miles to the east of the former, shows the modern type. This last pagoda also is fabled to have been erected over sacred hair relics of Gautama Buddha.”

It is, in the first place, difficult to understand how “Syriam” can be an *Anglicised* version of the Burmese word “Thanlyin.” The latter word is not difficult to pronounce, and, even if it was, I fail to see how it could be turned into Sy-ri-am. That the word is not an English version of the Burmese is, however, quite clear, for Cæsar Frederick, in A.D. 1563-80, says: “The ships that come from the Red Sea frequent Pegu and *Syriam*.” Ralph Fitch, in A.D. 1586, calls it “Ciriam,” a good town to which come many ships

from Mecca. It is a curious circumstance that Verthema, a Roman, who went to Pegu in A.D. 1503-8, does not mention it. On referring to Mr. Haswell's Mwn Grammar, I find that they do not use the *th* or lisped *s*, and consequently *Thanlyin* is not a Mwn form. If the Burmese used the Mwn name it must have begun with an *s*, and might have had an *r* in it. That is to say, that, if the name of the place was originally Sanrin, Sanrang, or Sanyin, the Burmese would have pronounced it Thanyin, or Thanlyin. Possibly the word may be a corruption of some Portuguese word, but anyhow it ought to be easy to find out what it was called. It is not always certain whether the old travellers used the native terms, for we find that, in one case at least, they used what is probably a Portuguese term "Macareo," the *breaker* or *smasher*, to designate the great tidal wave of the Sittang river. In Aracan, just south of Akyab, there are three Islands, called by us the Barangas, but the native names are in no way connected with the word. Probably it is derived from the Portuguese "barancas," which exactly describes them. The only word which I can find at all like Syriam is the Mwn word "sarāng" or "saring," which means a *swinging cradle*, and is evidently the "serrion" of Fitch, which, he says, is a *couch* or *litter* carried by sixteen or eighteen men in which the king was carried. "Thanlyin," according to Judson, is a *state bier*. "Deling," "Daling," or "K'aling," is the Mwn word for a litter, which probably resembled the Japanese "Kago." I enclose some more of Major Temple's notes with some remarks on them.

His idea is a good one, but I trust that he will not be misled by Burmese friends who think there are no languages other than Pali and Burmese.

By the way, there seems to be a misprint in the extract from Mr. Oertel's report. The Pali name of Syriam island would be Khuddadīpo. The ruined church, too, was not Portuguese.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

October 28th, 1893.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF
ANGLO-BURMESE WORDS.

By Major R. C. TEMPLE, M.R.A.S.

BURMA.

[The history of the closely allied word MYAMMA, with the same meaning, I propose to trace separately.]

1516. Y. *s.v.*—There is another kingdom of the Gentiles called BERMA.—*Barbosa*, 181.

1516. Y. *s.v.* Orakan.—Dentro fra terra del detto regns di VERMA.—*Barbosa* in *Ramusio*, i. 316.

1543. Y. *s.v.* in Suppl.—The Governor told them that the expedition was going to Pegu to fight with the Bramas, who had taken that Kingdom.—*Correa*, iv. 298.

c. 1545. Y. *s.v.*—How the Kingdom of BRAMA undertook the conquest of this Kingdom of Siao.—*Pinto* (orig.) cap. 185.

1543. Y. *s.v.* Jangomay.—The ranges of mountains running from north to south, along which lie the Kingdoms of Ava, and BREMA, and Jangoma (Zimme).—*Barros*, III. iii. 5.

1606. Y. *s.v.*—Although one's whole life were wasted in describing the superstitions of these Gentiles—the Pegus and the BRAMAS—*Couto*, viii. cap. xii.

1639. His [King of Pegu] Guard, consisting of a great number of Souldiers, with them called BRAMANS, is kept at the second Port, where they sit, having their Arms hanging before them on the wall.—*Mandelslo*, *Travels*, *e.t.* ii. 118.

1680. Y. *s.v.* in Suppl.—Articles of Commerce to be proposed to the King of BARMA and Pegu—*Ft. St. George. Cons. in Notes and Extracts*, iii. 7.

1727. Y. *s.v.*—The Dominions of BARMA are at present very large.—*A. Hamilton*, ii. 41.

1759. Y. *s.v.*—The BURAGMAHS are much more numerous than the Peguese and more addicted to commerce: even in Pegu their Numbers are 100 to 1.—*Letter in Dalrymple, Or. Rep. i. 99.*

1763. Y. *s.v.* Munneepore in Suppl.—Meckley [Manipur] is a Hilly Country to the South and East the BURMAH Country.—*Account of Meckley by Nerher Doss Gosseen in Dalrymple's Or. Rep. ii. 477-478.*

1763. Y. *s.v.* Negrals.—It gives us pleasure to observe that the King of the BURMAHS.—*Fort William Cons. Feb. 19th, in Long, 288.*

1767. Y. *s.v.* Sonaparanta.—Sovereign of the Kingdom of BURAGHMAGH.—*Letter from the King of Burma in Dalrymple, Or. Rep. i. 106.*

1781. Ma la piu nobile, e la plu elegante, e che in amendue i Regni si parla dalle gentile persone, e la lingua BARMANA o come vuole il sopraccennato Padre Carpani la lingua BOMANA.—*Quirini, Percoto, 123.*

1782. Y. *s.v.* poongee.—Leurs pretres sont moins instruits que les BRAMES [but ? = here Brahmans], et portent le nom de ponguis.—*Sonnerat, ii. 301.*

1782. Y. *s.v.* Gautama.—Les Pegouins et les BAHMANS Quant a leurs Dieux, ils en comptent sept principaux Cependant ils n'en adorent qu'un seul, qu'ils appellent Godeman.—*Sonnerat, ii. 299.*

1786. Les BRAMAS, BRAMES ou BARMANS sont en general fort deux, d'un caractere compatissant.—*Flouest in T'oung Pao, ii. 4.*

1793. Y. *s.v.*—BURMAH borders on Pegu to the North.—*Rennell's Memoir, 297.*

1796. Y. *s.v.* Shan.—Many districts of the Yoodra Shaan to the eastward ——— who annually paid homage of the BIRMAN King.—*Symes, 102.*

1798. Wretched as my condition was I felt distressed at being seen without clothes, which they no sooner observed than one of them, a BURMA (a particular caste or tribe so called), to whose humanity we were all afterwards much indebted, took his turban from his head, and tied it round

my middle, after the custom of the country.—*Mackay, Shipwreck of the Juno*, 31.

c. 1810. The religion and literature of the BURMAS.—*Buchanan-Hamilton in Asiatic Researches*, title, vi. 163.

1810. To this Comparative Vocabulary of the BARMA, Malayu and T'hai languages, commonly denominated BIRMAN, Malay, and Siamese, the compiler deems it proper to premise a few observations concerning the nature and object of the work.—*Burma, Malayu and T'hai Vocabulary*, i.

c. 1814. BURMA, BURMAN, or BURMANACA proper.—*Title in Asiatic Researches*, viii. 269.

c. 1819. In fact, in their own language, their name is not BURMESE, which we have borrowed from the Portuguese, but BIAMMA.—*Songermano*, 36.

1823. A Mandarin (Cochin Chinese) waited on the Mission, requesting to be allowed to take a muster of the dress and cap of ceremony of the BURMAN ambassadors, for the purpose of being transmitted, as a curiosity, to his Majesty at Hue.—*Crawford, Siam*, 574.

1826. Pinto, who, notwithstanding his bad name, is only extravagant, and not altogether a liar of the first magnitude, was present at the taking of Martaban by the king of BRAMA, meaning, however, apparently of Siam [? however Toungoo].—*Wilson, Documents*, lxii.

1827. To the table of a BURMAH all are, alike, welcome.—*Two Years in Ava*, 227.

1827. The original Siamese in the tenth, as well as in the thirteenth, article of the treaty the BURMESE are called PHOMA.—*Wilson, Documents*, lxxxviii.

1827. In these indispensable articles of BURMHAN food. Ava is, in a great measure, dependent on its southern provinces.—*Snodgrass, Burmese War*, 290.

1829. On some dispute with the BURAGHMAGH Government, says Dalrymple [1755], the Dutch threatened, if they did not even attempt, to bring in the Chinese The true name of this people is Mranma, pronounced by themselves Myama. We have the following European versions of it. BRAMAA, BURAGHMAGH, BURMA, BURMAN, and BURMESE.—*Crawford, Ava*, 505.

1837. He (Capt. Hannay) thinks the Phwons and Shans greatly superior to the BURMAHS or Kathays, meaning by the latter those Manipuris, resident in Ava, who are BURMANS in everything but origin.—*Pemberton in Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, 97.

1852. The present state of affairs in BURMAH will sufficiently illustrate the practical result of this arrangement.—*Baker, Rangoon and Martaban*, 3.

1852. Myanma, commonly pron. BAMA, a BURMESE : Myanmalu.—*Judson, Bur. Dict. s.v.*

1855. Y. *s.v.* Munneepore in Suppl.—They are largely diffused in nearly all the districts of Central BURMA.—*Yule, Mission to Ava*, 153.

1860. If the palace of the “BRAMA of Toungoo” is in ruins, who had “twenty-six crowned heads at his command,” the slave is free.—*Mason, Burmah, dedication.*

1874. Khama, BURMAN. M'neeh Khama, a BURMAN man.—*Haswell, Peguan Language*, 46.

1883. The people known to Europeans as BIRMAN, BURMAN or BURMESE, dwell in the western region of Indo-China, which is watered by the Irawadi But the Indian settlers gave to them, and adopted themselves, the name BRAHMA This term, when used to designate the existing people, is now written Mramma, and generally pronounced BAMA.—*Phayre, Hist. of Burma*, 1, 2.

1890. Les Francais en BIRMANIE au xviii^e Siecle. Notes et Documents publies par Henri Cordier, d'apres les Archives du Ministere de la Marine et des Colonies.—*Title in T'oung Pao*, i. 15.

1893. As to the tradition that the word BURMA is derived from BRAHMA because the Indian State thus founded adopted the proud designation, which is supposed to be the parent of the native word Mramma or Myamma (now usually pronounced BAMA), I see nothing but pleasant fancy here.—*Parker, Burma, relations with China*, 5.

1893. Mrantaing means the country of the Mran. Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mranma from BRAHMA. The exact derivation and meaning of the designation, by which the

BURMESE are known, have not yet been settled If Sir Arthur Phayre's derivation is correct, it is difficult to justify the action of the learned priests of the 14th and 15th centuries in making use of the barbarous appellation Maramma in lithic inscriptions as well as in literary works, while they had the familiar term BRAHMA for the national designation.—*Taw Sein Ko* in *Ind. Ant.* xxii. 8.

R. C. T.

Note.—Nowhere, I believe, is the word Brama to be found in Burmese Records as the name of the people. Bamā is the colloquial of Mrammā, but how did this name arise? The only tribal names given in the histories are Kan, Ran, Thet, and Pyu. The Chinese call them Mien or Man, and the Peguans called them Mā. The meaning of the word is “myan” *swift*, and “mā” *strong*; and I would submit, as a conjecture, that at some early date, perhaps in the time of Anawrahtā, A.D. 1150, when they over-ran their neighbours, they took the word as a sobriquet of their nation.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

ABADA.

This word means a rhinoceros.

1541. Y. *s.v.*—Mynes of silver which the merchants carried away with Troops of Elephants and Rhinoceroses (*em cafiles de elefantes e BADAS*).—*Pinto* (orig. cap. xli) in *Cogan*, p. 49.

1544. Y. *s.v.*—With fourscore thousand Rhinoceroses (*donde partirao com oitente mil BADAS*).—*Pinto* (orig. cap. cvii) in *Cogan*, p. 149.

c. 1560. Y. *s.v.* Laos.—Certayne beasts which in that Countrie they call BADAS.—*Gaspar da Cruz* in *Purchas*, iii. 169.

1585. Y. *s.v.*—There are elephants in great number and ABADAS, which is a kind of beast so big as two great bulls, and hath upon his snowt a little horne.—*Mendoza*, ii. 311.

1592. Y. *s.v.*—We sent commodities to their king to barter for hornes of ABATH Now this ABATH is a beast which hath one horne only in his forehead, and is thought to be the female Vnicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in these parts as a most soveraigne remedie against poyson.—*Barker in Hakluyt*, ii. 591.

1598. Y. *s.v.*—The AHADA or Rhinoceros is not in India (*i.e.* the West Coast), but only in Bengala and Patane.—*Linschoten*, 88.

1598. Y. *s.v.*—Also in Bengala we found great numbers of the beasts which in Latin are called Rhinocerotés, and of the Portingalles ABADAS.—*Linschoten*, p. 28.

c. 1606. Y. *s.v.*—Molti corni della BADA detto Rinoceronte.—*Carletti*, p. 199.

1611. Y. *s.v.*—BADA a very fierce animal, called by another more common name Rhinoceros.—*Cobarruvias*, *s.v.* (This author then proceeds to derive the word from *badad*, Hebrew *solus, solitarius*, on the ground that all languages had their origin in Hebrew “in the confusion of tongues!” But Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, points out that it *may* come from Malay *badak*, a rhinoceros, or from Arabic *abid, abida*, a wild animal.)

1613. Y. *s.v.*—And the woods give great timber and in them are produced elephants, BADAS—*Godinho de Eredia*, 10v.

1618. Y. *s.v.*—A China brought me a present of a cup of ABADO (or black unecorne’s horne) with sugar cakes.—*Cock’s Diary*, ii. 56.

1626. Y. *s.v.*—Rhinoceros or ABADAS.—*Pigafetta* in *Purchas*, margin of ii. 1001.

1681. Y. *s.v.*—Lib. V. Cap. De ABADA seu Rhinocerote.—*Bontii. Hist. Nat. et Med.*

1726. Y. *s.v.*—ABADA, s. f., La hembra del Rhinoceronte.—*Dicc. de la Lengua Castellana*.

1884. ABADA also ABDA and ABATH an early name for the rhinoceros.—*Murray, New English Dict.*

ALOMPRA.

This word is the Anglo-Burmese for ALAUNGP'AYA, the title of the founder of the last dynasty of the Kings of Burma.

1755. Y. *s.v.* Munneepore (Suppl.)—Speech of ALOMPRA to Capt. Baker at Momchabue [Shwebo] in *Dalrymple, Or. Rep.* i. 152.

1799. Y. *s.v.* Munneepore (Suppl.)—Elated with success ALOMPRA returned to Monchaboo [Shwebo].—*Symes*, 41, 42.

1852. When up started that extraordinary man ALOMPRA, a sort of Indo-Chinese Napoleon.—*Doveton, Reminiscences of the Burmese War*, p. 204.

1883. ALAUNGPRA signifies "embryo Buddha," a title which the patriot had assumed. It is the vernacular rendering of the Pali "Bodisativa" (*sic*), or Buddha elect. It is generally written by Europeans ALOMPRA.—*Phayre, Hist. of Burma*, 149 note.

1886. The word p'hra appears in composition in various names of Burmese Kings, as of the famous ALOMP'HRA (1753-1760), founder of the existing dynasty.—*Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v. pra.*

1886. The warlike hunter was ALOUNGPAYAH, or ALOMPRA as he is usually called, the founder of the last Burmese dynasty.—*Scott, Burma, as it was*, etc., 190.

ARAKAN.

Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.*, would identify the name ARAKAN, or ARRACAN, with the ARGYRE of Ptolemy and the O-LI-KI-LO of Fa-Hian. In this he is very probably right.

c. 1420-30. Y. *s.v.*—Mari deinceps cum mense integro ad ostium RACHANI fluvii pervenisset.—*N. Conti*, in *Poggrus, De Varietate Fortunæ*.

1516. Y. *s.v.*—Confina similmente col regno di Begala e col regno di Aua, e chiamasi ARACAN.—*Barbosa in Ramusio*, i. 316.

c. 1535. Y. *s.v.* Capelan.—These carry musk and rubies to the great city of Ava, which is the capital of the kingdom of ARQUAM.—*Sommario de Regni in Ramusio*, i. 334 *v.*

1545. Y. *s.v.*—They were wrecked upon the shoals of RACAON, owing to a badly kept watch.—*Pinto*, cap. clxvii.

1552. Y. *s.v.*—Up to the Cape of Negraes will be 100 leagues, in which space are there populated places ARRACAO City, capital of the kingdom so styled.—*Barros*, I. ix. 1.

1568. Y. *s.v.*—Questo Re di RACHAN ha il suo stato in mezzo la costa.—*Cesare de' Federici in Ramusio*, iii. 396.

1586. Y. *s.v.*—Passing by . . . the kingdom of RECON and Mogen [Mugg] our course was S. and by E. which brought vs to the barre of Negrais.—*R. Fitch in Hakluyt*, ii. 391.

c. 1590. Y. *s.v.*—To the S.E. of Bengal is a large country called AKUNG.—*Gladwin's Ayeen*, ed. 1800, ii. 4.

c. 1590. Y. *s.v.* in Suppl.—To the East and South of east of Bengal is an extensive kingdom called ARKHANG.—*Ain* (orig.), i. 388.

1599. Y. *s.v.* Macao.—The King of ARRACAN now ending his business at the Town of Macao.—*N. Pimenta in Purchas*, iii. 1748.

1608. Y. *s.v.* Champa.—Thence (from Assam) eastward on the side of the northern mountains are . . . the land of RAKHANG . . . —*Taranatha, Hist. of Buddhism*, by *Schiefner*, p. 262.

1609. Y. *s.v.* Prome.—Whom the King of Pren [Prome] sent in pursuit of the King of ARRACAN.—*Bocarro*, 142.

1639. Y. *s.v.* Talapoin.—Whilst we looked on these temples, wherein these horrid idols sat, there came the ARACAN Talpooyes or Priests, and fell down before the idols.—*Walter Schulze, Reisen*, 77.

1660. Y. *s.v.* in Suppl.—Reporting . . . the flight of Shuja to the country of RAKHANG leaving Bengal undefended.—*Khafi Khan in Elliot*, vii. 254.

c. 1665. Y. *s.v.* in Suppl.—Knowing that it is impossible to pass any cavalry by Land, no, not so much as any

Infantry, from Bengale into RAKAN, because of the many channels and rivers upon the Frontiers.—*Bernier, E. T. 55.*

c. 1665. Y. *s.v.* Mugg.—These many years there have always been in the kingdom of RAKAN, or Moy [read Mog], some Portuguese . . . —*Bernier, E. T. 53.*

1673. Y. *s.v.*—A mixture of that Race, the most accursedly base of all Mankind, who are known for their Bastard-brood lurking in the Islands at the Mouths of the Ganges, by the name of BUCCANEERS. [This is a misprint for RACANNERS, as per index.]—*Fryer, 219.*

1726. Y. *s.v.*—It is called by some Portuguese ORRAKAN, by others among them ARRAKAON, and by some again RAKAN (after its capital), and also Mog (Mugg).—*Valentijn, v. 140.*

1727. Y. *s.v.*—ARACKAN has the Conveniency of a noble and spacious River.—*A. Hamilton, ii. 30.*

1812. It might indeed contribute to the future tranquility of our eastern territory, which has repeatedly been disturbed by the aggressions of the people of ARRACAN.—*Despatch in Wilson's Documents of the Burmese War, 1827, No. 1.*

1819. Y. *s.v.* Munneepore in Suppl.—There is a small chain of mountains that divides ARACAN and Casse from the Burmese.—*Sangermarno, 33.*

1827. Upon the subjugation of ARACAN great numbers of the native population fled.—*Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War, p. 2.*

1852. In our own days it is, under different form, the creed prevailing in ARRACAN.—*Bigandet, Gaudama, preface, 1st ed. p. 1.*

1855. The ARACAN mountains are taken from a map of the ARACAN frontier.—*Yule, Ava, 267.*

1870. The eastern crest is marked by the ARAKAN mountains.—*B. B. Gazetteer, vol. i. p. 1.*

1883. About the same time communication was made by the king of ARAKAN to the king of Bengal.—*Phayre, Hist. of Burma, 76.*

1893. The ARRACAN Company Limited, Agents for —*Rangoon Gazette, 15th April, p. 4.*

AVA.

1516. Y. *s.v.* Arakan.—Confina similmente col regno di Begala e col regno di AVA, e chiamasi Aracan.—*Barbosa* in *Ramusio*, i. 316.

1535. Y. *s.v.* Capelan.—These carry musk and rubies to the great city of AVA.—*Sommario de Regni* in *Ramusio*, i. 334 *v.*

1553. Y. *s.v.* Jangomay.—Ranges of mountains running from north to south, along which lie the Kingdom of AVA and Brema [Burma] and Jangoma [Zimme].—*Barros*, III. ii. 5. [The accent on Ava and Brema is noted correctly as being on the last syllable.]

1613. Y. *s.v.* Lan John.—He (King of Pegu) kept at his court the principal sons of the Kings of OVA—*Bocarro*, 117. [The accent is again on the last syllable.]

c. 1639. He (Gaspar Balby) relates to this purpose that, in his time, the King of AUVA, his Father's brother, but Vassal to the King of Pegu.—*Mandelslo's Travels*, E.T. ii. 119. [This quotation is valuable in proving change of accent on to the first syllable.]

1680. Y. *s.v.* Martaban in Suppl.—That the English may settle factorys at Serian, Pegu, and AVA.—*Articles to be proposed to the King of Burma and Pegu*, in *Notes and Extracts*, No. III. p. 8.

1727. Y. *s.v.* Mandarin.—Every province or city has a Mandareen or Deputy residing at Court, which is generally in the City of AVA, the present Metropolis.—*A. Hamilton*, ii. 43.

1781. Due gran fiumi l'uno e l'AVA.—*Quirini*, *Percoto*, 75.

1795. Y. *s.v.* Pali.—Of the ancient Pallis, whose language constitutes at the present day the sacred text of AVA.—*Symes*, 337–8. [Yule very properly remarks in a footnote that this writer had been led away by "Wilford's nonsense."]

1826. We found that wheat was cultivated in the vicinity of AVA in considerable quantity.—*Craufurd*, *Embassy to Ava*, 101.

1852. AWA, see ENWA, ENWAMYO (from AWA, an entrance), AVA, the western Capital of Burmah, Anoukmyo, —*comp.* Amarapuramyo—(founded on the site of an ancient lake), Ratanapuramyo.—*Judson, Burmese Dict. s.vv.*

1855. Opposite, across the river, was the old city of AVA, now a thicket of tangled gardens and jungle, but marked by the remaining spires of temples.—*Yule, Ava, 64.*

1870. The new king, who had no rival in the newly-conquered kingdom, founded a new city at ENGWA (AVA) and called it Ratanapooora.—*B. B. Gazetteer, i. 257.*

1883. The city was called AWA, or AVA, the Pali or classical name is Ratanapura, city of gems.—*Phayre, Hist. of Burma, 63.*

1893. Ratanapura is the classical name of (AVA) AWA, or INWA, or SHWE WA, the golden entrance, as it is called in the language of poetry and song.—*Taw Sein Ko, Ind. Ant. xxii. 8.*

AYUTHIA.

[A perusal of the extraordinary variants given below of this famous Siamese name will prepare the reader for the fact that it is several times misprinted INDIA in *Davies'* translation (1662) of *Mandelslo's Travels into the East Indies*, ii. 122 ff., and in several maps of the period in the present writer's possession.]

1522. Y. *s.v.* Judea.—All these cities are constructed like ours, and are subject to the King of Siam who inhabits IUDIA.

1546. Y. *s.v.*—Judea the capitall City of all this Empire is ODIAA.—*Pinto* (orig. cap. clxxxix) in *Cogan*, p. 285.

1553. Y. *s.v.*—Judea the city HUDIA alone, which is the capital of the kingdom of Siam (Siao).—*Barros, III. ii. 5.*

1614. Y. *s.v.* Judea.—As regards the size of the City of ODIA.—*Couto, VI. vii. 9.*

1615. Y. *s.v.* factory.—JUDEA in *Sainsbury's list.*

1617. Y. *s.v.* Judea.—The merchants of the country of Lan John [Luang Prabhan] arrived 'at the city of JUDEA.'—*Sainsbury*, ii. p. 90.

1617. Y. *s.v.* Judea in Suppl.—One (letter) from Mr. Benjamyn Farry in Judea at Syam.—*Cocks*, i. 272.

1639. The chief of the Kingdom is INDIA by some called ODIA . . the City of INDIA, the ordinary Residence of the Court is seated on the Menam.—*Manoleadl, Travels, E.T.*, ii. 122.

1686. La Ville Capitale s'appelle Siam. C'est le nom que luy ont donne les Portugais. Le Siamois ce nomment Crung si AYU THA YA et non pas JUTHIA ou ODIA.—*Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites*, vi. 365.

1693. As for the City of Siam, the Siameses do call it SI-YO-THI-YA, the *o* of the Syllable *yo* being closer than our [French] Diphthong *au*.—*La Loubere, Siam, E.T.*, i. 7.

1727. Y. *s.v.* Judea.—All are sent to the City of Siam or ODIA for the King's use.—*A. Hamilton*, ii. 160.

1728. Y. *s.v.* factory.—JUDEA in *Milburn's* list.

1774. AYUTTAYA with its districts Dvaravati, YODAYA, and Kamanpaik.—*Inscription in Ind. Ant.* xxii. 4.

1796. Y. *s.v.* Shan.—Many districts of the YOODRA Shaan to the eastward were tributary to the Birman King.—*Symes*, 102.

c. 1819. After the storming of JODIA in Siam.—*Sangermano*, 49.

1825. Ega Maha Sina de Pudee [Mahasenadhipati] Amachee (Prime Minister) of the golden country of See AYOKTHARAH Durraw-uddy [Dwaravati] sends this letter to Colonel Smith, commander of the English Army at Martaban.—*Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War*, 164.

1827. Treaty between the Honorable East India Company and the King of Siam.—The powerful Lord who dwells over every head in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of SI-A-YOO-THA-YA.—*Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War*, Appx. lxxvii.

1828. And in his route from Mergui this officer necessarily crossed the immense wilderness, which lies between that place and AYUTHIA.—*Crawford, Siam*, 442.

1852. YODHAYA, a Siamese.—*Judson, Bur. Dict., s.v.*

1870. After a tedious march he reached AYODHIA.—*B. B. Gazetteer, i. 307.*

1873. As was ancient AYUDIA, so is Bangkok, the present capital of Siam, the Venice of the East.—*Leonowens, Siamese Harem Life, ii.*

1886. JUDEA, ODIA, etc.—These are names often given in old writers to the city of AYUTHIA, or AYODHYA, or YUTHIA (so called apparently after the Hindu City of Rama, Ayodhya, which we now call Oudh), which was the capital of Siam from the 14th century down to about 1767, when it was destroyed by the Burmese, and the Siamese royal residence was transferred to Bangkok.—*Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Judea.*

1887. Bastian reports “a stone inscription” from AYUTHIA, the ancient capital of Siam.—*Cushing, Shan Grammar, 5.*

1893. This Wareru dynasty was at first tributary to Siam (*i.e.* to the Shan or Siam YODAYA, meaning “the Shans of AYUTHIA”)—*Parker, Burma, Relations with China, 39.*

1893. YODAYA (AYUDHIA)—*Taw Sein Ko, Ind. Ant. xxii. 4.*

R. C. T.

ALAUNG-HPRĀ.—Sir A. Phayre gives the meaning, but does not fully explain it. *Alaung*, “an embryo.” *Hprā*, a shortened form of a word written *hburā*, which is probably composed of two roots, *viz.*, *hpū* “to behold with reverence,” and *rā* or *yā*, a syllable which may denote “suitability,” or “place or object of action.” The whole meaning “an object of veneration.”

ARAKAN.—The European form of Rakhaing, which is probably the Burmese form of the Pali word Rakkha-purañ, the “city of protection.” Another derivation might be from the Burmese *ara* “a possession,” and *khaing* “strong,” shortened into *Rakhaing*.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1893.)

I. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Prof. S. M. Georgievsky.—We deeply regret to announce the early death of Prof. S. M. Georgievsky, Professor of Chinese in the Faculty of Oriental languages at St. Petersburg, who died this summer at Metz. After studying at the St. Petersburg University, where he took the degree of B.A., he went to China, and lived there for four years in different places. Then he returned to Russia and took the degrees of master and doctor of Chinese, and was finally appointed to the position of the Professor of Chinese. The following is a complete list of his works:—

1. *Pervii period kitaiskoi istorii.* (First period of Chinese history [to the Emperor Ch'ing-shi-u'wan-ti]). St. Petersburg, 1888.
2. *O kornevom sostave kilaiskago jazika v svjai s voprosom o proishojdenii kitai chev.* (The analysis of the radical sounds of the Chinese language in connection with the question of the origin of the Chinese people.) Large 8vo. pp. 127. St. Petersburg, 1888.
3. *Analys hierogliphicheskoi pismennosti kitaichev, kak otrajainshei na sebe istoriu jizni drevniago kitaiskago naroda.* (The analysis of the Chinese hieroglyphical letters as reflecting the history of the ancient Chinese people.) 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1888.
4. *Princhipi jizni Kitaia.* (The principles of the life of China.) pp. 492. St. Petersburg, 1888.

5. Vajnost izychenia Kitaia. (The importance of the study of China.) 8vo. pp. 286. St. Petersburg, 1890.
 6. Drevneishia moneti kitaichev. (The ancient Chinese coins.) 1889.
 7. Graf. J. Tolstoi i "Princhipi jizni Kitaia." (Count J. Tolstoi and "The principles of the life of China.")
 8. Miphologicheskia vozzenia kitaichev. (The mythological beliefs of the Chinese.) St. Petersburg, 1892.
- D. P.

Prof. Georg von der Gabelentz.—We regret to announce the death of Prof. Georg von der Gabelentz, which lately occurred at Berlin, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three. Born at Poschwitz, near Altenburg, he early took to the study of Eastern languages under the direction of his father, Prof. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, who, in the first half of the century, was well known for his works on the Orient, and more especially for his knowledge of the Manchu language and literature. After having studied at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig, the subject of the present notice was appointed Professor of the languages of Eastern Asia at Leipzig in 1878. Two years before this date he had published a translation of the Chinese philosophical work entitled *Thai khi thu* by *Chow Tun e*. Later he published, among other works, a treatise on "Confucius and his Teaching," but, beyond question, his *magnum opus* was his Chinese Grammar, which is in every way worthy of his reputation. Those scholars who attended the meetings of the Oriental Congress in Germany and elsewhere, and who remember the stalwart form and bearing of Prof. der Gabelentz, will share in the surprise and regret so generally felt at the early close of his scholarly career.

Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham.—By the death of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., R.E., on 28th November last, another link with the past is severed, for he had been a member of our Asiatic Society for full thirty-eight years. Born in John Street,

Westminster, January 23rd, 1814—little more than three years after his father, Allan Cunningham, came from Dalswinton, near Dumfries, in the hope of bettering his circumstances—he was only 14 years of age and his eldest brother, John Davey, 16, in May 1828, when Sir Walter Scott, breakfasting one morning with their father, “looked round the table, and said: ‘What are you going to make of all these boys, Allan?’ ‘I ask that question often at my own heart,’ said Allan, ‘and I cannot answer it.’ ‘What does the eldest point to?’ ‘The callant would fain be a soldier, Sir Walter, and I have half a promise of a commission in the king’s army for him; but I wish rather that he could go to India, for there the pay is a maintenance, and one does not need interest at every step to get on.’” Scott went to Lord Melville (then President of the Board of Control), who gave him a promise of a cadetship for one son. Five days later (May 23rd), dining with Lady Stafford, he met the two brothers Loch, and Mr. John Loch also gave him a like promise. “Next morning,” says Lockhart, “Sir Walter appeared at Sir F. Chantrey’s breakfast-table, and greeted the sculptor” (in whose employ Allan Cunningham was) with—‘I suppose it has sometimes happened to you to catch one trout (which was all you thought of) with the fly, and another with the bobber. I have done so, and I think I shall land them both. Don’t you think Cunningham would like very well to have cadetships for two of those fine lads?’ ‘To be sure he would,’ said Chantrey, ‘and if you’ll secure the commissions, I’ll make the outfit easy.’” This was the way friends helped each other in those days, and thus the great Antiquary moulded the career of the later investigator. The late Mr. Edward Thomas, too, used to tell with glee, how he received his ‘accolade’ or succession as an antiquary from the same hands: for when a boy, fishing in the Tweed, Sir Walter used to pat him on the shoulder and call him ‘his young Antiquary.’

Allan Cunningham’s fourth son, Francis Cunningham (born 1820), also went to India, entering the Madras Army

in 1838, but retired from ill-health as Lieut.-Colonel in 1862. He afterwards devoted himself to literature—editing Massinger, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson; and at the time of his death, in 1875, he was engaged on a new edition of his brother Peter's well-known "Handbook of London."

With his next younger brother, Peter, Alexander Cunningham was educated at Christ's Hospital. After passing through the Military College, at Addiscombe, he went out to India and obtained his first commission as second-lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers in June, 1831. As early as 1834 he was appointed one of the aides-de-camp to Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, and was afterwards sent on a special mission to Kashmir in 1839. Being in his earlier years resident in Calcutta, he soon came into relations with James Prinsep. "During a great part of the years 1836 and 1837, the most active period of his career," wrote Cunningham in 1871, "I was in almost daily intercourse with Prinsep. With our mutual tastes and pursuits this soon ripened into the most intimate friendship. I thus had the privilege of sharing in all his discoveries during their progress." And, he adds, "when I recollect that I was then only a young lad of twenty-three years of age, I feel as much wonder as pride that James Prinsep should have thought me worthy of being made the confidant of all his great discoveries." Prinsep was then working on the newly discovered Baktrian and Saurashtran or Kshatrapa coins, and on the Aśoka and Sānchi inscriptions, and we readily trace these same subjects all through Cunningham's subsequent career and in most of his writings. It is Prinsep's work continued through this early communication of his contagious enthusiasm.

The only paper Cunningham wrote during this period was contributed to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for Dec. 1834, and is titled (1) "Correction of a mistake regarding one of the Roman coins found in the Tope at Manikyala, opened by M. Court" (vol. iii. pp. 635-37). James Prinsep left India, a dying man, in October, 1838. The same year Lassen's analysis of the legends on Bactrian

coins was published, and in March, 1840, the first instalment of Dr. Roer's translation of it appeared in the Bengal Society's *Journal*, and this work was strongly stimulative of research in India.

In 1840 Lieutenant Cunningham was employed as engineer to the King of Oudh, and began to be a frequent contributor to the *Journal*. His papers in 1840 were—(2) "Notice of some Counterfeit Bactrian coins" (vol. ix. pp. 393–96); (3) "Notes on Captain Hay's Bactrian coins" (*ib.* pp. 867–89), a "Note" to the same paper (*ib.* p. 1008); and (6) "Second notice of some forged coins of the Bactrians and Indo-Scythians" (*ib.* pp. 1217–30). In the following year appeared—(7) "Abstract Journal of his route in 1839 to the sources of the Panjab rivers" (vol. x. pp. 105–15); (8) "Description of some Ancient Gems and seals from Bactria, the Panjab, and India" (*ib.* pp. 147–157); and (9) "A Sketch of the Second Silver Plate found at Badakshân" (*ib.* pp. 570–72). To the February number for 1842 of the same *Journal*, he sent (10) his "Second notice of some new Bactrian Coins" (vol. xi. pp. 130–137), at the end of which he announced that he was then engaged on a large work on the "Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East"—a work that was long delayed, though it finally appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

After this, for six years, he contributed only one more paper to the Bengal *Journal*. But he was by no means idle: in September, 1842, in a letter to Col. Sykes, published in our *Journal* (Vol. VII. pp. 241–47), he gave—(11) "An Account of the Discovery of the Ruins of the Buddhist city of Samkassa"; and to the *Numismatic Chronicle*—(12) "The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir, with chronological and historical notes" (vol. vi. pp. 1–38); and (13) "An attempt to explain some of the Monograms on the Grecian Coins of Ariana and India" (vol. viii. pp. 175–97). In the 1843–44 he served in the Gwalior campaign, with the force under Major-General Grey, and was present at the battle of Paniâr, 29th December, 1843; and in February, 1844, he was appointed executive officer on the staff of the

Gwalior contingent. Here he again returned to his old studies and published in the *Bengal Journal*—(14) “Notice of some unpublished Coins of the Indo-Scythians” (vol. xiv. pp. 430–41).

In 1846 he was sent on a mission through Kulu and Lahul into Ladâk; and of this trip to the Chu-Murari Lake, he published (15) the “Journal” in 1848 (*J.A.S. Beng.* vol. xvii. pt. i. pp. 201–330), and (16) a “Memorandum detailing the boundary between the territories of Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh and British India as determined by the Commissioners, P. A. Vans Agnew, Esq., and Capt. Cunningham” (*ib.* pp. 295–297). From Jan. 1847 to 1849 he was engaged as engineer for laying down the boundaries of the North-west frontier, and during the latter part of this period he served in the Panjab campaign of 1848–49, including the battles of Chilianwâlâ, 13th Jan. 1849, and Gujarât, 22nd Feb., when he received the brevet rank of major.

In 1848 we find him starting a new subject, to which he constantly recurred in succeeding years. MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse had translated the *Foe-koue-ki*, or Travels of Fa Hian, into French, appending to their version the itinerary of Hiuen Tshang; and J. W. Laidlay had, that year, rendered it into English with additional notes, but omitting the itinerary. Major Wm. Anderson impugned the authenticity of Hiuen Tshang’s work, urging that it was a modern compilation, and Capt. Cunningham replied in his paper: (17) “Verification of the Itinerary of Hiuen Tshang through Ariana and India, with reference to Major Anderson’s hypothesis of its modern compilation.” (*J.A.S. Beng.* vol. xvii. pt. i. pp. 476–88). This he followed up by (18) a second paper on the same subject (vol. xvii. pt. ii. pp. 13–60).

In June, 1848, he sent to the Calcutta Society (19) a letter on a “Proposed Archæological Investigation” to be conducted at Government cost by an officer “conversant with the sculptured forms and religious practices of the present day, and with the discoveries made by Prinsep and others in Indian Palæography and Numismatology”

(vol. xvii. pt. i. p. 535). This was the first germ of what he was afterwards personally to carry out.

His next paper, (20) "An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir" (vol. xvii. pt. ii. pp. 241-327, with 18 plates), was a more ambitious attempt in a new direction, and was, perhaps, the least successful of his works. His acumen in numismatics and topography did not serve him in architectural archæology; but the drawings were most valuable and instructive.

In 1850 he was employed as Executive Engineer of the Gwalior State, and at the same time Capt. F. C. Maisey was making drawings for the Court of Directors of the remarkable sculptures of the Sānchi gateways. Meeting with Maisey in October of that year he arranged to visit Sānchi, while on tour, and open the *Topes*,—his brother, Capt. J. L. Cunningham, being then Resident at Bhopal. Accordingly, he arrived on 23rd January, 1851, and next morning began sinking a shaft in the centre of the great Stūpa, in which he found some relic caskets. Of his work here and at the stūpas in the neighbourhood he gave a short account in a paper contributed to our *Journal*—(21) "Opening of the Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India" (Vol. XIII. 1851), pp. 108-114. In December, 1852, he had been made Executive Engineer at Multān, and while in this office he produced his first properly separate work, (22) "The Bhilsa Topes; or Buddhist Monuments of Central India: comprising a brief historical sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Buddhism; with an account of the opening and examination of the various groups of Topes around Bhilsa" (1854, 8vo. pp. 368), with 33 plates. Nearly half this volume is devoted to a sketch of Buddhist history, and about a fourth of it to the donative inscriptions, chiefly on the rails and pillars, of which he copied about 200 from the great stūpa, and 43 from the smaller. More have been found since. Some of these had already been treated of by Prinsep, but Cunningham made translations of the whole, which—considering the state of Prākṛit scholarship forty years ago—were very creditable to his scholarship.

This was followed by his volume (23) "Ladâk: Physical, Statistical, and Historical" (London, 1854). Within a year he contributed to the *Journal* of the Bengal Society (vol. xxiii. pp. 679-714) a paper—(24) on "Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek Inscriptions," at the close of which he lays claim to the discovery of eleven letters of the Ariano-Pali alphabet before the publication, eight years previously, of Mr. Norris's alphabet in 1846.

He was then, in October 1856, sent to Burma, as Chief engineer in Pegu and Tenasserim, and his next paper in 1860, was an official one—(25) "Memorandum on the Irâwadi River, with a monthly register of its rise and fall from 1856 to 1858, and a measurement of its maximum discharge" (*J.A.S. Beng.* vol. xxix. pp. 175 ff.). Again, in September 1858, he was transferred as Chief Engineer to the North-Western Provinces and a Secretary to the Government.

In 1860 Lord Canning agreed to institute an Archæological Survey, at least of Upper India, and General Cunningham, who had previously proposed this, drew up a memorandum on the plan of operations. Towards the end of 1861 he was appointed to superintend this survey, and began operations in December of that year. (26) His first year's report (for 1861-62) was published in 1863 as a supplementary number of the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal* (vol. xxxii.), and to the same he contributed both a paper and note—(27) "Remarks on the Bactro-Pali Inscription from Taxila" (vol. xxxii. pp. 139 f. and 172 f., vol. xxxiii. pp. 35-38); (28) "Remarks on the date of the Pehewa Inscription of Râja Bhoja" (vol. xxxiii. pp. 223-32); (29) a note on the results of a tour in the Panjab (*ib.* pp. 332-33); and another—(30) on the identification of the Khakan *Διζαβουλος* with the Chinese *Sha-po-lïo* (*ib.* p. 441). His (31) "Report of the Proceedings of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India for the season 1862-63" was published partly as a supplementary number (No. lxxxvii.) to the volume for 1864, and concluded in vol. xxxiv. pp. 155-278. His other papers in 1865 were—(32) "On the Antiquities of Bairat," etc. (*Proc.* 1865,

p. 97), and (33) "Coins of the Nine Nâgas, and of two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior" (vol. xxxiv. pt. i, pp. 115-127).

In June, 1862, General Cunningham had retired from the army with the rank of Major-General. In the cold season of 1863-64 he made a tour in the Panjab, and in 1864-65 he explored the region between the Jamnâ and Narmadâ. The reports of these investigations were printed subsequently as Government papers, and at a later date (in 1871) the whole four *Reports* were reprinted in two volumes octavo with additional plates. But in 1866 Lord Lawrence abolished the appointment of Archæological Surveyor, and for a season these useful and important labours were stopped, and General Cunningham returned to England.

In 1867 we find him busy writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*—(34) on a "Coin of the Indian prince Sophytes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great"; and, in 1868-73, —(35) "Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, the Greeks and Indo-Scythians"—an important series of papers (n.s. vol. viii. pp. 93-136, 181-213, and 257-83; vol. ix. pp. 28-46, 121-53, 217-46, and 293-318; vol. x. pp. 65-90, 205-36; vol. xii. pp. 157-85, and vol. xiii. pp. 187-219). In March, 1869, he contributed to Dr. Forbes Watson's "Report on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India," etc. (36) a "Memorandum on the Archæological Remains of India" (pp. 25-34). His (37) "Ancient Geography of India, vol. i. The Buddhist Period" (8vo. pp. 589) was published by Trübner in the end of 1870. In this he gathered together the information he had already published respecting the route of the Chinese pilgrims, and extended the survey to the whole of India, as had already been done by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin in his *Mémoire* published in 1858; but Cunningham worked out in more detail the geography of the Panjab in elucidation of the campaign of Alexander.

Dr. Forbes Watson's paper with its enclosures from Mr. James Fergusson and others, brought up afresh the question of a survey; but, as stated by Mr. Markham, "it was

necessary that the researches should be conducted in a more systematic manner, and on some definite plan; and in July, 1870, it was resolved that a central establishment should be formed to collect the results of former researches, to train a school of archæologists capable of conducting local enquiries, and to direct, assist, and systematize the various efforts and enquiries made by local bodies and private persons, as well as by the Government. The direction of this establishment was offered to General Cunningham," and he left England to resume "those interesting labours which had already occupied so many years of his life, in December, 1870." He had then almost completed his fifty-seventh year — an age when most men are obliged to leave active service in India. The appointment was only for five years, but he continued to hold it for fifteen.

Before leaving England, he wrote for this *Journal*—(38) a "Note" on Professor Dowson's paper on the Mathura Inscriptions (Vol. V. pp. 193-96), and, on reaching India, his first work was to reprint his old reports, to the first volume of which he prefixed an introduction of 43 pages, giving an outline of previous research, with most interesting reminiscences of his personal intercourse with James Prinsep.

In his new position he formed no central establishment to collect results, and was not very fortunate in his assistants; but he toured much himself, and sent them out to survey different places and districts in India north of the Narmadâ, and in the Central Provinces; Western India being left to the independent survey of Dr. Burgess. (39) The *Reports* of his own and his assistants' work were issued from time to time during the fifteen years of his office, in twenty-one thin volumes, the consultation of which has been greatly facilitated by the preparation of an excellent Index volume by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, of the Civil Service, which enables the student, as far as it is practicable, to get over the difficulty presented by the want of any systematic arrangement, or even references to previous volumes in which the same place has been referred to. In addition to these reports, he issued, in 1877, the first volume of

(40) his "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum" (demy 4to. pp. 142), with thirty plates representing the Inscriptions of Aśoka. These plates, apparently drawn very neatly with his own hand, produced the inscriptions of Aśoka, as then known, taken from eye copies. The second volume was to have contained the Indo-Scythian and other early inscriptions, and for this most of the plates were printed off some time before he retired, but the volume has not yet appeared; the third volume, devoted to the Gupta inscriptions, was prepared by Dr. J. F. Fleet, and issued in 1888.

General Cunningham printed also a special volume in 1879, (41) "The Stūpa of Bharhut" (4to. pp. 143), with fifty-seven plates—one of his best works; and, in 1883, (42) "Book of Indian Eras with Tables for calculating Indian Dates" (8vo. pp. 227), based on Captain Warren's standard work, but which has not met with any wide acceptance. Besides several short notices of coins, etc., in the *Proceedings* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he contributed to its *Journal*, in 1881 and 1883, a paper (43) on "Relics from Ancient Persia, in Gold, Silver, and Copper" (vol. l. pt. i. pp. 151–86; vol. lii. pt. i. pp. 64–67 and 258–60).

Like all his father's family, he was a big man, and a fall which he had from an elephant at fully seventy years of age injured him very severely. After this, on the completion of fifteen years in the survey, he retired in 1885, in his seventy-second year, with an augmented pension. In May, 1871, he was made C.S.I.; in January, 1878, C.I.E.; and, after retirement, in February, 1887, K.C.I.E.

During his stay in India, having availed himself of his special opportunities, he had formed a very large and valuable collection of sculptures, coins, and other objects of antiquarian interest. With the exception of the more valuable coins, he shipped these, together with books, papers, note-books, photographic negatives, etc., for England, and, most unfortunately, the vessel—the P. and O. steamer 'Indus'—in which they were, was wrecked on the Mullaittivu coral reef on the N.E. coast of Ceylon, and the collection perished: the loss to science we shall never know.

After his return to England he was by no means idle. To the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1889) he contributed (44) "Coins of the Tochari, Kushâns, or Yue-ti" (3rd. s. vol. ix. pp. 268-311); and in 1890 and 1892 (45) "Coins of the Sakas (vol. x. pp. 103-72; vol. xii. pp. 40-82 and 98-159). In 1891 he reproduced a number of his numismatical papers in a volume on "Coins of Ancient India," in which he detailed his opinions respecting the origin of money, and described numerous Indian coins of obscure origin. Next year he wrote (46) an "Introductory Note" for the volume on 'Sânci and its Remains' by his old associate General Maisey, and also brought out a handsome volume (47) on "Mahâbodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya" (sup. roy. 4to. pp. 87) with 31 plates. In this work he gives a detailed account of the results of the excavations made at the temple under his supervision twelve years previously. Its late appearance may be partly accounted for by the loss of the photographic negatives along with his collections; for the collotypes in this volume have been made from photographic prints, which had fortunately been preserved. Then, to the London meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists in Sept. 1892, he sent a paper (48) on the "Ephthalites, or White Huns" (*Trans.* vol. i. pp. 222-244), a subject which M. Vivien de St.-Martin also had long before treated in a valuable paper.

Though he was afflicted by a painful malady, which latterly confined him to bed, he still preserved a keen interest in his favourite study, and even during his last year he sent three fresh papers to the *Numismatic Chronicle* :— (49) "Later Indo-Scythians" (3rd s. vol. xiii. pp. 93-128), with two continuations of the same, viz. (50) "Scytho-Sassanians" (*ib.* pp. 166-183), and (51) "Little Kushâns" (*ib.* pp. 184-202). These were his last public contributions to our knowledge of Oriental coins, but almost to the last he took pleasure in talking about and examining his favourite treasures, and even answering correspondents.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the natural successor to

Colonel Colin Mackenzie and James Prinsep, also self-made antiquaries: he did not possess the scholarship and judicial mind of a Colebrooke, or the faculties of comparison and scientific deduction of a Fergusson or a Rickman. He belonged to the older school; but his indefatigable devotion to his subject, and to the acquisition of all information that might be helpful to him, was scarcely less than marvellous. Hence, perhaps, his great success in numismatics and in identifying old sites, whilst into the wider and higher fields of comparative archæology and architecture he seemed little inclined to advance, and where he did, his active imagination led him into theories often unscientific and without solid bases. In philology and chronology, too, he was prone to frame hypotheses without sufficient justification—suggested by imagination or misinterpretation. And even in the identification of sites he occasionally accepted, from his assistants, positions on grounds so insufficient as to excite our surprise. In the translation of inscriptions—like other early pioneers—he depended for guidance on native pandits, rather than on European scholars best able to help him, and but seldom consulted those whose willing aid he could readily have commanded. This detracted from the permanent value of much of his work. But, with all necessary deductions, the value of that work is acknowledged to be great in itself, and for the impetus it has given to research in the same and in connected branches of Oriental archæology.

Personally, he was most gentlemanly, courteous, affable, and full of interesting information, which he delighted to pour forth. His literary power was hereditary, and his style was descriptive and literary rather than strictly scientific: he wrote out of his own knowledge, and was sparing of references to authors who had already treated the same question, or for the fuller elucidation of his topic. But even in his antiquarian work he sometimes let his imagination have play, and burst into verse of good quality and finish—as witness the conclusion to his *Bhilsa Topes*.

II. NOTES AND NEWS.

Subhadra Bhikshu.—The ‘*Buddhistischer Katechismus*’ of this learned European Buddhist, which has had so large a circulation in Germany, has been lately republished in a third and revised edition by C. A. Schwetske und Sohn’s house at Brunswick. It is a most accurate and trustworthy summary of the real Buddhism.

Tenth Congress of Orientalists, Geneva, 1894.—Committee of Organization—President: Mons. Édouard Naville. Vice-President: Mons. Ant. J. Baumgartner. Secretaries: Mons. F. de Saussure and Mons. Paul Altramare. Treasurer: Mons. Émile Odier. Messieurs Alfred Boissier, J. Ehni, Leop. Favre, Lucien Gautier, Ed. Montet, Jules Nicole, François Turrettini, Max van Berchem. The Congress will open on September 3rd, 1894.

Schrumpf Armenian Collection.—Some of our readers may have noticed on p. 715 of our last issue that one of the books in this Collection bears the title “Descent of Her Majesty Queen Victoria from the Arsacid Kings of Armenia,” by S. Mirza Vanantetzie. Mr. Hyde Clarke writes to say that the idea was his—that he wrote the English and that Mr. H. Papasian persuaded Mr. Vanantetzie to translate it into Armenian. As the little book is very rare, it is of interest to record this fact about its origin. The same Mr. Papasian, Mr. Hyde Clarke informs us, is also the author of the translation of Mr. Bryce’s “Ascent of Ararat” into Armenian, entered at p. 702 as No. 122 in our Collection, but without an author’s name.

Prof. Max Müller has received from the King of Siam an offer of sufficient funds to guarantee the continuance of “The Sacred Books of the East.” The money will be used in the first place for printing a translation of the remaining portions of the Buddhist Tripitaka.

Hinduism in New Guinea. Under the title “*De Rumsarams op Nieuw Guinea*” (Leiden: Brill. 8vo. pp. 200),

Dr. D. W. Hoorst, of the Dutch Civil Service, gives a description of certain curious old temples which used to exist in New Guinea, and explains them as survivals of Siva and Linga worship, introduced there by wandering ascetics from India.

Catalogue of the Society's Library.—This catalogue of the printed books in our Library is now finished, and is on sale at the Office of the Society for half a guinea. It is intended that catalogues of the MSS. and of special collections of books shall appear from time to time in the *Journal*; and some departments have already been dealt with in this way, namely—

Arabic, Persian, Tibetan in the *Journal* for 1892 (Titles only).

Buddhist Sanskrit, 1875.

Other Sanskrit MSS. 1890 (Titles only : a fuller catalogue is in preparation).

Armenian printed books, Schrupf Collection, 1893.

The Buddhist Jātaka Stories.—The Cambridge University Press has undertaken to publish a complete translation of the Pali Jātaka, or Buddha Birth stories, under the general editorship of Professor Cowell. The work is expected to fill seven or eight volumes, but at present only five volumes of the Pali original have appeared. Each volume of the original is to be represented by a volume of the translation. The first volume, now in the Press, has been prepared by Mr. Robert Chalmers, of Oriel College, Oxford. It will contain the forty stories given in Prof. Rhys Davids's discontinued translation, and also the remainder of the first volume of Prof. Fausböll's edition of the Pali Text. The second volume is translated by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, of Christ's College, and the third by Mr. R. A. Neil, of Pembroke College, and Mr. H. T. Francis, under-librarian of the University Library.

American Lectures on the History of Religious Belief.—The leading American Universities and institutions for higher education have appointed a representative board to organize a scheme of lectures, on the comparative study of

the history of religious beliefs. Like the Hibbert Lectures, which are delivered both in London and Oxford, each course of the American lectures will be delivered as a whole in each of six University towns. The Board have asked Prof. Rhys Davids to inaugurate this series of lectures by a course on the History and Literature of Buddhism, to be delivered during the winter of 1894-5. The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he is Secretary and Librarian, having granted the necessary leave of absence, Prof. Rhys Davids has been enabled to accept this invitation. The lectures will be published simultaneously in America and England, as soon as possible after their delivery in America.

Cyclopædia of Indian Research.—The want of some work of reference for India, which should do for Indianists what Murray's Dictionaries have done for classical and theological students, has long been keenly felt, and it is welcome news that Hofrath Dr. Bühler has been completing the publication of an Encyclopædia of Indian Research. The organisation of this undertaking has now reached an advanced stage. A scheme has been drawn up for the division of the labour into a carefully arranged series of volumes, or essays, and the co-operation of many leading Indianists has been already obtained. The various volumes, or essays, will deal with the languages of India, ancient and modern (about ten volumes); with the literature, Vedic and classical, and the palæography (about five volumes); with the history, down to the Muhammadan conquest, the ethnography, sociology, economics, government and law (about ten volumes); with the religion and philosophy, whether orthodox or not (about seven volumes); and with the secular sciences and art (about four volumes). It is impossible to give too hearty a welcome to so well prepared and promising a scheme, as the name of the distinguished director is a guarantee of sound and scholarly performance. We hope to be able to give fuller and more detailed information in our next issue.

III. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

U-TAI, EGO PROSCHLOE I NASTOYACHEE (WU-T'AI, ITS FORMER AND PRESENT STATE). By D. POKOTILOFF. 8vo. pp. 152. St. Petersburg, 1893.

The author, an attaché of the Russian diplomatic mission of Peking, and Fellow of Imper. Russian Geogr. Soc., visited the sacred mountain, Wu-t'ai 五臺, the centre of Buddhism in Northern China, in May, 1889, and now publishes this book as an account of his journey.

The work is divided into four chapters :

1. From Peking to Wu-t'ai, through Pao-ting-fu 保定府 and Lung-ch'üan-kuan 龍泉關.
2. Wu-t'ai, a historical and geographical outline.
3. The present state of the Wu-t'ai monasteries and a description of the most important of them.
4. The return journey to Peking.

As an appendix to the book the author gives—I. The names and description of the eighteen lohan's 羅漢, and II. Mongolian and Chinese names of forty-eight Buddhas.

Full of great interest this diary conveys to the reader many exact and valuable observations on Chinese life generally, and on the laws, customs, and habits of the Buddhists in their monasteries. The author also possesses a rich knowledge of the Chinese and Mongolian literatures, and takes most of his materials from hitherto unknown native historical, geographical, and religious books, to which he refers in his introductions, viz. 清涼山志 Ch'ing-liang shan-chih. A description of a clear and cool mountain, i.e. Wu-t'ai, 西通志 Shan-si-tung-chih. A description of the province Shan-si, a Mongolian description of Wu-t'ai, etc. His book has therefore great value and importance for those interested in the history and modern state of Buddhism in China. The European travellers who visited Wu-t'ai before were Rev. Dr. J. Edkins, Gilmour, B. Reichthofen, W. Rockhill, and G.

Potanin. In their different works they all have given accounts of this celebrated mountain, and Dr. Edkins devotes the three last chapters of his well-known book, "Religion in China," to a description of his journey to Wu-t'ai. However, all these authors now are surpassed by Mr. Pokotiloff, whose complete and excellent account gives a real idea of this Buddhistic Rome of China.

D. POZDNEYEFF.

DR. H. STUMME. TUNISISCHE MARCHEN UND GEDICHTE.
2 vols. 8vo. Pp. lx. + 113; viii. + 157. Leipzig:
Hinrichs, 1893. (Tunisian Tales and Poems.)

The study of popular dialects is, as well known, a fruitful source for the true comprehension of the growth of language. In Semitic languages, as well as in languages belonging to other families, this study is of more modern origin. The language of literature had absorbed all the attention of the scholar and grammarian. Nowhere has the literary language exercised so deep an influence upon the people, to the detriment of the local dialects, as among the Semites, for the language was bound up with religion, and the language of literature is the "sacred language."

In spite of this great influence, physical and ethnical causes have tended and tend still to develop dialectic forms. The population inhabiting the north coast of Africa is a striking example for this continual change taking place in the language of the people. Where the influence of literature is paramount, the changes are comparatively less conspicuous; but where the admixture with foreign blood and strange tongues is not checked and moulded through literary agency, those changes are very conspicuous. In the dialects of the north coast of Africa, the Maghrebins, we can see these various shades. Of these dialects the most polished, *i.e.* the one which approaches nearer to the literary languages, is that of Tunis; in other places, specially in those of Marakish, the influence of the ancient

Berber population makes itself felt in grammatical forms and sounds peculiar to these dialects.

To the author of the two volumes, Dr. H. Stumme, we owe now for the first time a collection of texts belonging to the Tunisian dialect. In order to bring out more clearly the phonetic variations he has transliterated his texts, using a modified Latin alphabet, which he had to adapt to his requirements. In a brief introduction the author discusses the various phonetic peculiarities of this dialect, which are exceedingly interesting.

The texts are, for the most part, tales; a few popular songs and sayings, all collected from the mouth of the people, and thus very valuable.

Dr. Stumme has spared no pains to acquaint himself with the true popular pronunciation, and he has rendered it as faithfully as possible. Our best thanks are therefore due to him for his valuable contribution to Arabic dialectology. As the tales appeal to the larger circle of the friends of folk-lore, I will indicate here briefly the contents of the second volume, which contains the German translation of the texts published in the first volume.

(1) Muhammed, the son of the widow; strong-man type, has faithless strong companions. Rescues three maidens; is left in the well, but reappears, and is recognized by means of wonderful dresses.

(2) Hassan, of Basra. Aladdin type and swan-maiden type. He recovers; however, his wife and children.

(3) Djuder ben Omar. Another version of the same Aladdin type, and freeing of a girl kept by a demon; his brothers kill him. One incident is the table, or knapsack, filled with food at command.

(4) Prince Ali. Kept away from the world; learns it by chance. The words of an old woman makes him go in search for a bride. Has a false companion. Ali performs a difficult task and marries a princess. Starts again on his quest. Is assisted by vultures; feeds one by meat out from his arm. Sleeping Beauty type, but bride does not wake. On his return home is waylaid by his false companion, who

throws him into a well. Is rescued by grateful apes, and protected secretly by the Vezir, his companion had told falsehoods against him to the king. Sleeping Beauty, Princess Sinaddur, awakes; finds ring on her finger. After three years proceeds with her child in quest of husband, and finds him in the town of his father the king, and discovers the trick played upon him by his companion.

(5) The bad and good wife. (a) A variation of the "Matron of Ephesus" (v. E. Griesebach, *Die treulose wirtwe.* 3rd ed. 1877). (b) The tale of a good wife resembles, to a certain extent, the Fabliau Constant du Hamel and the series of allied tales (v. *Dunlop*, *Hist. of Fiction*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 128 and No. 1, and *Clouston*, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii. p. 289 f.).

(6) The just king, begins with the tale of the bird with golden eggs (v. *Hahn*, *Griechische Maerchen*, No. 36, and annotations); the children eat the ears and stomach of the bird and escape. One of them buys a mule, which is in reality a charmed woman (similar to the incident in *Apulejus*). He has to decide in a trial between three birds, as he understands their language, and, giving a just decision, becomes the just king. In that capacity he finds his brother and parents again, and condemns his mother for her wickedness.

(7) No one can escape the decree of God. A peculiar tale of a woman who hanged herself in order to escape begging and other menial work that is pre-ordained to her by fate. She is resuscitated from the dead, and has to work out her fate. To this very peculiar tale I have been able to find only one single parallel in a MS. of Hebrew tales, written in *Persia* about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It is in my possession.

(8) and (9) Two stories of Abu Novâs, the fool of Hurun Alrashid. (8) Is a parallel to the tale of the *Arabian Nights*, of the faithful dog and faithless wife; and (9) The tale of the trick played by Abu Novâs and his wife on the Sultan and his wife, who obtain money from the latter by pretending in turns that the other was dead.

(10) The change. The history of tricks resorted to by one who refuses to return the money hidden in jars left with him, saying that the money has been changed into oil. The owner recovers it by stealing the son of the man who kept his money and substituting for him a monkey, saying that as money could change into oil so could his son be changed into a monkey.

(11) Abu-Novâs recovers by a jest his fur from the wife of the Vezir.

(12) A woman frightens a Beduin away from the supper, telling him that her husband cuts off the ears of his guests. She eats meanwhile the two fowls, and accuses the Beduin of theft when her husband asks for them.

(13) The three Muhammed. The story of the three clever brothers. A parallel to the tale in Echa rabbati, Voltaire's Zadic, and to Hamlet.

(14) A series of evil tricks of Djuha, closely related to those studied by Clouston, under the title "Little Fairly" (Popular Tales and Fictions, ii. pp. 229-288). The Turkish tricks and jests of Nasreddin, the Greek of Bakala, the Roumanian of Pacala show a more close resemblance to the Tunisian tales.

I have not given here any other parallels, as it is my intention only to point out the contents of this collection of Tunisian folk-lore. To some European tales and jests we find here welcome and hitherto unknown parallels.

M. GASTER.

ATLAS OF INDIA. By Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. (W. and A. K. Johnston: Edinburgh and London.)

This new atlas consists of sixteen maps, the last containing plans of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Aden. There are ten introductions by Sir W. W. Hunter, dealing with each important political division, and the twelfth map has a map of Ceylon as an inlet in the corner. The maps, notwithstanding their small size (fourteen inches by twelve,

fifty miles to an inch), are beautifully clear and up to date. Rivers, canals, etc., and all names referring to water are printed in blue, the hills are in brown, and the place names in black. The provinces are coloured, the chief high roads and railways are shown, and by well designed variations in spelling the size of the towns and the political status of the states is clearly indicated. Especially considering its small price, only 7s. 6d., this new atlas will be found most useful, and is in every way well worthy of the well-known publishers by whom it is issued.

DR. M. STEINSCHNEIDER. DIE HEBRAEISCHEN UEBERSETZUNGEN DES MITTELALTERS UND DIE JUDEN ALS DOLMETSCHER. EIN BEITRAG ZUR LITERATURGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS, MEIST NACH HANDSCHRIFTLICHEN QUELLEN. 2 vols. Pp. xxxiv + 1077. Berlin, 1893. 30s.

(The Hebrew translations during the Middle Ages and the Jews as translators. A contribution to the literary history of the Middle Ages, based mostly upon MSS.)

It is a truism that mediæval and modern culture owes to Arabic literature a great debt of gratitude—that only through the Arabic literature most of the ancient classical had been preserved and handed on to the succeeding generations. Philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and ever so many other branches of knowledge show still the traces of the seal placed upon them by the genius of the Arabic philosophers, astronomers, doctors, and men of science.

The influence which they have exercised upon Europe, and the part they contributed towards the moulding and forming of the modern world, has, however, not yet been satisfactorily explained. The ways of communication, the elements that were mostly active in communicating to Europe the science of the Arabs and Greeks, the mediators in that great exchange of thought, wanted for a man of

Dr. Steinschneider's vast erudition and exhaustive knowledge, who would show at the hand of irrefutable evidence how that process had been accomplished.

It was with him a labour of love and a work of a lifetime. For fifty years he had been collecting the materials for the monumental book, which I attempt to bring here under the notice of scholars interested in Oriental studies and in the history of civilization.

It would be a futile attempt even to sketch the contents of these two volumes of more than 1100 closely printed pages and thousands of notes. It is an unrivalled storehouse of information, and replete with facts, which speak volumes. The author has utilised no less than 1000 MSS. for his compilation, and has followed up his subjects almost to the very day when the title-page was printed.

The vast material thus collected is divided by him into four great sections—(1) Philosophy; (2) Mathematics; (3) Medicine; and (4) Miscellanea, *i.e.* tales, fables, lapidaria, etc. Each section is subdivided into minor chapters (*a*) according to the nationality of the authors—Greeks, Arabs, Jews, and Christians. (*b*) In each chapter the authors are arranged in alphabetic order, and at each name a full bibliography is given, and the list of translations made by Jews from the Arabic, either into Hebrew or into Latin, or from Arabic or Hebrew into Latin, whether these translations have been printed, or where the MSS. are to be found, in what relation those MSS. stand to one another and to the printed editions and subsequent translations.

Thus the whole history of dissemination and migration is traced by the hand of a master, and we get, for the first time, a clear insight into the forces that made for light and leading.

What Wenrich, Wüstenfeld, and Leclerc have attempted on a much smaller scale, Dr. Steinschneider has accomplished successfully on a much larger scale. His book will remain the indispensable companion of every student of Arabic and mediæval lore, and of the part the Jews played as mediators between East and West, antiquity and modern times.

Eight indices at the end of the volume—for both volumes are printed with consecutive pagination, vol. ii. beginning with p. 502—enhance the practical utility of the book. These indices are (*a*) of Hebrew titles of books; (*b*) of Arabic titles; (*c*) of Hebrew technical terms; (*d*) of Arabic technical terms; (*e*) of authors and subjects arranged alphabetically; (*f*) a chronological table of the translators; (*g*) a list of anonymous translations; and (*h*) last, not least, an index of *all* the *MSS.* used by the author, and where they are to be found in his book.

It has received one of the prizes of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and the learned world will concur in awarding to the author the praise that is due to painstaking, unselfish, and devoted labour; to profound learning and scholarly treatment of a subject, hitherto scarcely touched upon, and now exhaustively dealt with.

M. GASTER.

DR. F. HOMMEL, SÜD-ARABISCHE CHRESTOMATHIE. MINÄO-SABÄISCHE GRAMMATIK. BIBLIOGRAPHIE—MINÄISCHE INSCRIFTEN NEBST GLOSSAR (SOUTH ARABIAN CHRESTOMATHY). München, 1893. 4to. Pp. vi. + 136.

Of the pre-Arabic language only inscriptions have come down to us, scattered throughout the southern parts of Arabia, cognate in form with the old Æthiopian alphabet. These inscriptions have not offered as many difficulties to the decipherer as the Archaic-Palestinian or some Phœnician inscriptions. Far greater was the difficulty of obtaining them. Only a few travellers had access to those countries, and the results of their inquiries and discoveries are dispersed among many reviews or published in pamphlets few and far between. Prof. Hommel has tried to remedy that evil, and in the volume before us he has collected by far the greater number of those inscriptions hitherto known.

He gives, first, a sketch of the phonetic and grammatic peculiarities of that ancient Arabic language (pp. 1-58);

pp. 59-61, Index of Glaser's Inscriptions and where they are mentioned in the Chrestomathy; pp. 63-88, a complete bibliography from 1774-1892 with explanatory notes; pp. 91-118, a series of inscriptions from Ma'in; and pp. 119-120, some from Hadramaut; pp. 121-136, a short glossary of Minäic words with their German translation and with corresponding Arabic words. We are promised a complete Minäo-Sabaic dictionary at the completion of the whole work; the part before us being only the first instalment of the Chrestomathy. One need scarcely point out that it would be desirable to have the whole work published as quickly as possible; were it not for the hope that meanwhile Glaser might be induced to publish his important collection, of which only an infinitesimally small portion has, thus far, seen the light.

The knowledge of that ancient powerful Yemenite kingdom, revealed to us mostly through these inscriptions, has acquired an increased interest through the recent discoveries of the Zimbabwe ruins and Mr. Bent's researches. If they really owe their existence to ancient Semitic, more especially Sabäo-Arabic settlers, their home must have been the Minäo-Sabaic Kingdom of South Arabia.

M. GASTER.

NOTE TO: HEBREW VISIONS OF HELL AND PARADISE.

Since the publication of my article under the above heading in this *Journal* (July, 1893), I have discovered an Arabic translation of No. I. (The Revelation of Moses) in a collection of Hebrew-Arabic tales, published in Leghorn, and printed with Hebrew letters. Also a Persian, written with Hebrew characters, in a MS. of the sixteenth century, which I recently purchased from the East. The Persian translation is somewhat more expanded, and the description of the seven compartments in Hell, as well as of the seven heavens, is more elaborate. There is no doubt that it is a translation from the Hebrew, following in certain portions a better text than that which we possess. The

biblical quotations are also somewhat different in the Persian version. It would not be an easy task to fix the date of this version. The language is comparatively modern. To my mind there is no doubt that this MS. is only a copy from another older MS.; as it is a compilation of numberless tales and stories from the most diverse sources. There are besides Hebrew parallels to visions Nos. III. and V. oral tales in it, one of which is a parallel to the Tunisian tale of Stumme's Collection, referred to in another place in this *Journal*; others are copies from well-known ancient collections. Being thus only a copy, the original must be older. If we could prove that this text was a modernization of an ancient version, it would not be difficult then to establish a direct connection between this Persian version and the Arda Viraf Nameh. The date of the composition of this latter is also far from being established. Haug (p. lxxiii) ascribes it to the Sassanian period—a rather wide margin—and adds: "that we cannot exactly settle the time when it was written." The oldest MS. of the Arda-Viraf Nameh is of 1397, whilst the Hebrew versions are by centuries older.

The existence of a Persian version of such an apocalyptic vision, at a somewhat early age, is by no means improbable, considering that we have a copy from the sixteenth century.

Further researches in Persia might bring to light such ancient versions.

M. GASTER.

CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA: A RIDE TO LITTLE TIBET. By HENRY LANSDELL, D.D. With Three Maps and Eighty Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1893.

Dr. Lansdell, the well-known traveller and author, gives in this work the results of his journey in that part of Central Asia formerly called "Kashgaria," "Eastern Turkistan," and by other names, now better known as "Chinese Turkistan," to distinguish it from Russian Turkistan, west of the Pamirs. This journey extended over the greater part of 1888, and covered a distance of 8913 miles.

In his dedication to the Emperor of China, we read the following extract of a letter addressed to the author by the Secretaries of the Yamen at Peking:—"The Prince and Ministers consider Dr. Lansdell has done a very praiseworthy work indeed in making a special study of the habits and customs of the people among whom he travelled, and in compiling a book which he wishes to see widely circulated in China." Most readers of these volumes will heartily concur in this judgment of the Peking Foreign Office, for we are quite certain that no book of travel, published in recent years, contains more information, pleasantly told, of countries and people hardly known to Europe. We learn from these travels much that is new and interesting concerning Dzungaria, or Sungaria, the cities of the plains, environed on three sides by the loftiest mountain ranges in the world, and all that borderland of Central Asia, happily expressed by the title of a recent book—"Where three empires meet." The geography of the less known parts, the natural history and ethnology are well done, while the difficulties and misadventures of the road, told with perfect frankness, keep alive the interest in the personal narrative.

As on his previous journeys, Dr. Lansdell made St. Petersburg his starting-point. Here he obtained that assistance, advice, and encouragement indispensable for the traveller in the more distant parts of Russia; and let it now be stated, once for all, that the kindness experienced by the author from Russian officials, high and low, throughout, was most helpful. Having arranged preliminaries, and overcome the scruples of the War Ministry, Dr. Lansdell set out for Moscow; from this city he proceeded by rail to Sevastopol, and thence by steamboat to Batum, where he met his servant Joseph, recommended to him by Col. Stewart, and an invaluable companion he afterwards proved. At Tiflis Dr. Lansdell was fortunate in making acquaintance with Russian celebrities, Col. Kuhlberg and Gen. Zelenoy, of Russo-Afghan frontier fame. A passage by steamboat across the Caspian, and a railroad journey over the deserts of Turkmenia, landed him once more on the Amu daria, or

Oxus, at Charjui. Here he photographed the bridge, more than two miles in length and of such light construction that the train took twenty-six minutes to cross it. Of course he availed himself of the opportunity of revisiting Bokhara, six years having elapsed since his previous visit, and of being presented to the young Amir, a more intelligent man than his late father, Said Muzaffar-ed-din, with some reforming energy, happily directed by the Russian resident, Col. Charikof.

At Samarkand Dr. Lansdell admired the avenues of trees, planted by the Russians both within and without the city, and observed the measures taken by their Government to preserve the few remaining monuments of this capital of Timur. A drive of 190 miles across the Hungry Steppe brought him to Tashkend, where he found General Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkistan, "by no means inclined to follow an exclusive policy in keeping Englishmen and other foreigners out of Turkistan." Here Dr. Lansdell was able to put in a good word for a countryman, Mr. St. George Littledale, then about to visit the Pamirs.

From Tashkend our author followed the post road to Merke, where he made a *détour* by way of Tokmak, the Buam defile and lake Issik-kul to Karakol, at the eastern extremity of this lake, memorable as the place where the Russian traveller Prejevalsky breathed his last. Returning by the same route along the northern shore of Issik-kul, Dr. Lansdell proceeded to Verny, arriving there to find it destroyed by the earthquake of the previous year. From Verny he drove to the Ili, and after crossing this river turned eastward towards Chinese territory. Having been warned in England against attempting to enter China from the west, he was agreeably surprised on finding all difficulties vanish as, preceded by two Cossacks, he passed the frontier at Khorgos, and in five minutes was "calmly driving through the fields of the Flowery Land and among the Celestials." Dr. Lansdell's remarks on Alimptu, probably the ancient Almalik of mediæval

travellers, will be found interesting. Of Kuldja, where he arrived on June 21st, he observes that its condition has deteriorated since its retrocession to the Chinese, while Suidun, more correctly spelt Su-i-ting, has become a large town and is now the seat of Government. Here reside the Russo-Chinese frontier commissioner and the Tsian-tsiun or Governor, with both of whom Dr. Lansdell had several interviews and succeeded in interesting these functionaries in his journey and obtaining their assistance in organizing his caravan for Chinese Turkistan. His original plan had been to enter this country by way of the Talki Pass and follow the northern route *vid* Jin-ho, Shi-ho, and Urumtsi. Circumstances, however, rendered it inexpedient to carry out this intention, and when a Russian friend at Kuldja offered to procure him a man who would bring him and his baggage over the Muz-dawan to Aksu and thence to Kashgar, he caught at the proposal.

The Muz-dawan, or "ice-pass," is one of the most difficult and formidable over the Tian Shan. No European had ever gone its entire length, though several Russian officers had ascended nearly to the summit from the north, and described its ice-cliffs and glaciers. Dr. Lansdell, following the late Mr. Schuyler, says that Hwen Tshang went this way to Issik-kul, but in this he is mistaken. The pass by which the Buddhist monk crossed these mountains was the Bedel, not the Muzart, according to the latest authorities (cf. *Zapiski*, of the Oriental Section of the Imp. Russ. Arch. Soc. vol. viii. pt. i. p. 31). Dr. Lansdell is therefore the first learned traveller to explore the pass throughout and the route leading thence to Aksu, though natives constantly use it, and Osman Bai Yusup Ali, Dr. Lansdell's caravan-bashi, had gone this way twenty times before. Our author's description of the Muz-dawan, with its grand scenery, its geology, fauna, and flora, its perilous ascents and descents, is a most interesting and valuable contribution to geographical literature, and entitles him to a prominent place among explorers.

The route from Mazar-bash, five miles from the summit

of the pass, to Aksu is also newly described, and the distances estimated by our traveller must be preferred to those given by the late General Kostenko and M. Shépelef, whose figures were compiled from native information.

The arrival of Dr. Lansdell at Aksu, heralded by two Russian Consuls, was an extraordinary event in that part of Asia, and gave occasion to a demonstration on the part of the inhabitants, who turned out *en masse* to see him enter their town. His stay at Aksu, Kashgar, Khotan and other cities of Chinese Turkistan, officially known as Sin-kiang, or the New Province, his passage of the Karakorum to Ladakh, and his efforts to enter the forbidden land of the Lamas, armed with a letter from the Primate of all England to the Dalai Lama of Lha'ssa, can only be mentioned here; for details we must refer the reader to these interesting volumes, and the excellent maps accompanying them.

E. DELMAR MORGAN.

A YEAR AMONGST THE PERSIANS. IMPRESSIONS AS TO THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND THOUGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PERSIA, RECEIVED DURING TWELVE MONTHS RESIDENCE IN THAT COUNTRY IN THE YEARS 1887-8. By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893.

Amid the many records of Eastern travel and Eastern experience specially provided for the present generation of readers, it is quite refreshing to come upon a volume of this kind: genuine, because void of conventional catering to the prevailing taste of the day; interesting, because treating of things which most writers on Persia disregard; and instructive, because the outcome of the research which it exhibits is to supply a manifest *desideratum*. Descriptions of cities and country, of roads, post-houses, and caravansaries, of shrines and monuments; distances from station to station; adventures such as befall the ordinary traveller; in fact, the usual items of an explorer's note-book—such

are by no means excluded from these pages: only they are secondary entries. The main object of the writer is, evidently, to impart to the reader somewhat of his own estimate of Persian thought, formed after years of labour, and which could not have been formed at all had that labour not been one of love. Mr. Browne is well known to members of the Royal Asiatic Society as an important contributor to its *Journal*, and for his intellectual enthusiasm on behalf of the Babis, notably evinced in a learned exposition of Bâbi literature, which, practically, he himself has created in this country. Now again, in the work under notice, we have a great deal about Bâbi-ism, but it is mingled, too, with Sûfi-ism, and other phases of local religion or mysticism, illustrated by life-like sketches of natives with whom our author has been brought in contact.

By no means the least attractive of the chapters into which this book is divided is that marked introductory. In it the author gives some account of the reasons which led him to acquire a knowledge of the language and literature of Persia; the method used to attain his end; and the friends and teachers who encouraged his aspirations or helped him in his labours. At no time was there occasion for hesitation or misgiving on his part, nor has he now any need to offer excuse or vindication for giving to the world this fragment of instructive autobiography. Neither advanced nor incipient Orientalists will consider that by prefacing it to the present volume he has, as his own modesty seems to infer, "unnecessarily obtruded" himself on the attention of his readers, or done other than good service in the cause of which he is so worthy a champion. Scholars like Mr. Browne are invaluable to demonstrate the intrinsic value of Asiatic studies in England—where the small army in which he holds high rank is scant of superior officers—and the more we know of their training and idiosyncracies the better. His quotation from the advice given to him by that distinguished scholar the late Professor Wright shows how cheerless is the aspect of the recruiting-ground, if we regard Orientalism from

a professional point of view, as a road to preferment or a means of earning bread. We make no apology for the repetition of words which might well be printed in letters of gold:—"If you have private means which render you independent of a profession, then pursue your Oriental studies, and fear not that they will disappoint you, or fail to return a rich reward of happiness and honour. But if you cannot afford to do this, and are obliged to consider how you may earn a livelihood, then . . . abandon, save as a relaxation for your leisure moments, the pursuit of Oriental letters. The posts for which such knowledge will fit you are few and, for the most part, poorly endowed; neither can you hope to obtain them till you have worked and waited for many years. And from the Government you must look for nothing, for it has long shown, and still continues to show, an increasing indisposition to offer the slightest encouragement to the study of Eastern languages."

The subject might be continued for many more pages than occupied by it in this Introduction, or than have been printed on it at all; for although the State indifference asserted is too fairly established to be disproved, it must be admitted that those who are mainly responsible for the situation have not hitherto explained their responsibility otherwise than in vague, common-place sophistries. Why backwardness to encourage or reward proficiency in Eastern studies should be the fitting attitude of a Government which has everything to do with Eastern peoples and territories, has yet to be demonstrated. It is not improbable that, if deftly used, this very rejected knowledge would be found to supply better weapons for the diplomatist than that prescriptive astuteness which sometimes raises the reputation of the possessor more than that of the nation which he represents. No impartial reader, for instance, of Mr. Browne's book can deny that the writer's own individuality is suggestive of an agency of great value in blunting the edge of fanaticism and otherwise removing serious obstacles in the way of political negotiations. The brief epitome which he gives of his career is full of interest

and unreservedly and pleasantly told. We learn that he became to a certain extent conversant with the language and literature before he set out for its shores. This was an admirable preparation for his journey; it was the best and most essential part of his outfit; and placed him, immediately on his arrival, in a higher position than could have been attained by letters of introduction to grandees, or the most costly and luxurious of travelling appliances. It must be borne in mind that our traveller had no care for politics, not even Persian politics. He has nothing but of the most common-place kind to say of Russian intrigue and encroachment; he makes no pretence to fathom the plans of statesmen, to solve international knots, or to prognosticate coming events in Oriental history. If he has a mission at all, it is to conciliate the Persian people by showing sympathy with their phases of thought and aspirations, and to proffer a link of brotherhood to those who are liberal and enlightened enough to credit his sincerity.

As a narrative of travel, the "Year amongst the Persians" has naturally much to say on Teheran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman, all of which cities it describes. As to Tabriz, the first important place reached in the Shah's dominions, its author has more to relate of the Bâb, who was cruelly shot there in 1852, than of the buildings or inhabitants. He seems to infer that we have already heard enough on outside Persia, its geography, ethnology, and so forth; and that we should now look into its inner life, and study, as it were, the heart and soul of the people. The chief merit, or, shall we say, the charm of his writings, can only meet with full appreciation from a mind tinged, if not imbued, with Orientalism. Scholar or no scholar, student or no student, his reader should have, in some degree, a leaning to things Eastern; and we know of no body of men to whom this latest book should be more acceptable than the members of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Extracts might be given and multiplied in support of the above expressed opinions, and in evidence of the author's style and manner; but we shall content ourselves

with one or two only, commending the whole volume as meriting the closest attention.

The seventeenth, or penultimate chapter, "Amongst the *Kalandars*," is a good specimen of the truer side of the volume, as containing those passages which more distinctly proclaim the writer's *penchant* and proclivities. We prefer, however, the chapter immediately preceding, under the title of "Kirman Society." The scene described is both picturesque and original, while the *dramatis persona* are full of individuality, being composed, as we are told, of "every grade of society, and every shade of piety and impiety." Of visitors and visited, the number, we further learn, "fell but little short of a hundred." Among them "almost every rank, from the Prince Governor down to the mendicant dervish, was represented, as well as a respectable variety of creeds and nationalities—Belúchís, Hindoos, Zoroastrians, Shi'ites and Sunnis, Sheykhís, Súfis, Bábís, both Behá'í and Ezelí, dervishes and *Kalandars* belonging to no order, fettered by no dogma, and trammelled by but few principles."

An attack of ophthalmia caused Mr. Browne to prolong his stay in Kirman from a proposed fortnight or three weeks to an enforced period of two months; and the pain occasioned by the unexpected visitation drove the sufferer to seek a remedy in opium. Few would, under the circumstances detailed, judge him harshly for the act. Some, indeed, might congratulate him on an accident which enabled him to comprehend the nature of the thrall under which so many dreamers in Persia have been subjugated before him. More generally, however, will he be congratulated on his ability to shake off the insidious foe before it had gained a permanent ascendancy. "Unwisely I may have acted in this matter, though not, as I feel, altogether culpably," are his words, "yet to this unwisdom I owe an experience which I would not willingly have forfeited, though I am thankful enough that the chain of my servitude was snapped ere the last flicker of resolution and strenuousness finally expired in the Nirvana of the opium-smoker" (p. 435).

Two extracts from the same chapter may be given to illustrate the "society" which is its staple subject:—

"In the morning I was visited by an old Zoroastrian woman, who was anxious to learn whether I had heard in Teherán any talk of Afátún ("Plato") having turned Musulmán. It took me some little time to discover that the said Afátún was not the Greek philosopher, but a young Zoroastrian in whom she was interested, though why a follower of 'the good Mazdayasnian religion' should take to himself a name like this baffles my comprehension. In the afternoon I was invaded by visitors. First of all came a Beluch chief named Afzal Khán, a picturesque old man with long black hair, a ragged moustache, very thin in the upper lip and very long at the ends, and a singularly gorgeous coat. He was accompanied by two lean and hungry-looking retainers, all skin and sword-blade; but though he talked much, I had some difficulty in understanding him at times, since he spoke Persian after the corrupt and vicious fashion prevalent in India. He enquired much of England and the English, whom he evidently regarded with mingled respect and dislike. 'Kal'at-i-Násirí is my city,' he replied, in answer to a question which I put to him; 'three months journey from here, or two months if your horse be sound, swift, and strong. Khán Khudádád Khán is the Amír, if he be not dead, as I have heard men say lately.' He further informed me that his language was not Belúchí but Bráhúí, which is spoken in a great part of Beluchistán"¹ (pp. 439-40).

The second extract refers to practices imputed to the Shí'ite clergy:—

"This afternoon I visited a young secretary of the prince's with whom I had become acquainted, and found him with the son of the prince-telegraphist, Mullá Yúsuf, and other congenial friends (all, or nearly all, Ezeli Bábís) sitting

¹ It may be noted, by the way, that the name Afátún (Plato) occurs in the diary of an officer proceeding, by land, from Baghdad to Ismid in 1864, as that of a Turkish Cháosh at Sivas. Khudádád Khán of Kal'at-i-Násirí was arraigned and, it is believed, deposed by the British Indian Government for acts of barbarous cruelty some months ago.

round a little tank which occupied the centre of the room, and smoking opium. The discussion, as usual, turned on religion, and Mullá Yúsuf gave me some further instances of the quibbles whereby the Shí'ite clergy and their followers have made the law of no effect. 'There are,' said he, 'six obligations incumbent on every Musalmán, to wit, Prayer (*ṣalát*), Fasting (*ṣiyám*), Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), Tithes (*khums*), Alms (*ṣakát*), and, under certain circumstances, Religious warfare (*jihád*). Of these six, the last three have practically become null and void. . . . As for the Tithes (*khums*, literally 'fifths'), they should be paid to poor Seyyids or descendants of the Prophet. And how do you suppose they manage to save their money and salve their consciences at the same time? Why, they place the amount of the money which they ought to give in a jar and pour treacle (*shiré*) over it; then they offer this jar to a poor Seyyad (without of course letting him know about the money which it contains), and, when he has accepted it, buy it back from him for two or three *kráns*! Or else they offer him one *tumán* on condition that he signs a receipt for fifty.' I turned these admissions against Mullá Yúsuf when he began to argue for the superiority of Islám over Christianity. 'You yourself,' I said, 'declare that the essential characteristic of the prophetic word is that it has power to control men's hearts, and as you have just told me that out of six things which Muḥammad made binding on his followers, three have become of none effect, you cannot wonder if I question the proof of Islám by your own criterion'" (pp. 464, 65).

One word in conclusion. Nothing can be more scholarly or more satisfactory to students than the uniform system of transliteration adopted; many of the examples given being more or less crucial. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that critics will still be found to differ on the respective uses of *a* and *e*; to regard *yy* as a decided eyesore despite its literal justification; to prefer *au* to *aw*; and, finally, to think *Tehran* sufficient without a second *e*; but these are questions for a tribunal which, as far as we know, does not yet exist.

F. J. G.

A REVISED EDITION OF A GRAMMAR OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE. With an Introduction and an Appendix, by REV. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary, is a good sized volume of 339 pages, 8vo. solid. It comes out in good style, paper, type and all, from the press of the Yale University, New Haven, Conn., and is published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, U.S.A., and by J. F. Shaw & Co., 48, Paternoster Row, E.C.

The Grammar, of which the work before us is a "Revised Edition," was the fruit of much study of the Zulu Language, as heard and learned by the author, during many years of labour and converse with some of the best representatives of the great Zulu race in South Africa.

Reaching the field to which he was sent as an American Missionary in 1846, and finding no book, indeed not a sentence of genuine Zulu vernacular in printed form, our author got his knowledge of the language as best he could, by catching it from the lips of the best speakers, and testing the correctness of his efforts by repeatedly referring his work to the people among whom he was labouring as translator, teacher, and preacher. Meantime, as he further tells us in his Preface, in order to make himself familiar with all the various forms, idioms, and principles of the language, he made large collections of folk-lore stories, songs, history, biography, and other narratives from the lips of the more intelligent representative men among the different Zulu tribes which Chaka had, in former days, subdued and unified or "welded" into the now one great nation.

In the "Appendix" of the first edition, we find some fifty-five pages of these narratives and songs in the original Zulu, together with a translation into Zulu. All this, however, has been omitted from the second edition, and in place of it we find, in this new edition, some twenty-four interesting and instructive pages, given, in part, to some of the theoretical views of able philologists as to the origin

and import of one of the leading characteristics, the "pre-formative," or "prefix," of the Zulu and other Bantu Languages; in part, to grammatical samples of eleven of the more important members of the great Bantu family from widely remote parts of the field, for comparative purposes; and, in part, to tables of prefixes, pronouns, numerals, etc., in eleven members of this great family, also for comparative purposes.

Some twenty-four pages, having respect to Lepsius' Standard Alphabet in the first edition, are omitted in the second, being displaced by a brief, well considered, yet lucid and interesting statement of the general principles and affinities of the great family to which the Zulu belongs, together with a somewhat extended notice of the extent, habitat, relationship, and character of the Isizulu.

The other sections of the Introduction are devoted to an inquiry as to the origin and early migrations of the Bantu race, and to historical notes concerning the Ama-Zulu.

Looking at the more strictly grammatical part of the work, or the body of the Revised Grammar, we are impressed with what seems to be a thorough, complete analysis of the language; the natural, lucid order in which the parts are set; the perspicuous style in which the principles, rules, notes, and remarks are expressed, together with the fulness and pertinence of the examples given in illustration of each principle, note, and remark. Indeed, this was the plan and purpose of the author, as he tells us in his Preface, where he says: "What is wanted and expected of a Grammar is, that it give a clear statement and correct illustration of the forms and principles, the genius and idioms of the language of which it treats." This exactness, fulness, clearness in stating and illustrating principles and rules, was all the more needed because of the remarkably unique yet philosophical character of the language, so different from every other great family, and yet so perfectly adapted to the ends of language as a means of giving expression to the thoughts and sentiments of the minds and hearts of men.

And yet, with all this difference, as seen especially in its inflectional system, there are some interesting points of resemblance between the Zulu and some other languages. The Zulu, for instance, resembles the Hebrew and Greek in the conjugations or species of the verb. Thus, from the Zulu root *tanda* 'love,' the author gets *tandisa* 'cause to love,' *tandela* 'love for,' *tandana* 'love one another,' *tandeka* 'loveable,' *zitanda* 'love self.'

Some points of peculiar construction in Zulu, as are presented in the work before us, are happily illustrated by examples from languages of the Aryan family, as from the French, German, and Latin. The great power of the language evidently centres in the verb. Its compass and facility for expressing the minutest shades of meaning in respect to the manner, state, and time of the acting, being, or suffering denoted by the essential verb are remarkable. The great love which the Zulu has for euphony, and the rigid regard it pays to the physiological laws of phonology in the changes it makes for euphony's sake, are among the interesting characteristics of this language. The book of which we speak is rich in material for comparative purposes.

In many of the examples given in illustration of grammatical rules, as in the syntax of the book, we find good clues to the Zulu's mental character, modes of thought, quick wit, together with samples of his taste, his saws, proverbs, folk-lore, religious notions, objects of worship, and eschatology, such as :

Each man has some peculiarity in his mind as well as in his face. If we don't know, let us stop and be silent. Working does not help us if we waste what we obtain. Diligence is the mother of gain. Don't be afraid of perspiration. At the house of the industrious famine casts a wistful look and goes on to that of the sluggard. The women do the digging. The believers have begun to buy wagons. A person who believes walks like a man walking in a thorny place, for a man walking among thorns looks carefully where he puts his feet. I was restored to health by a shade (ghost, divinity). Let the paternal shades eat

(of our sacrifice), and grant us great wealth, so that our children may be saved with us (or that we and our children may escape death).

Dec. 1893.

R. N. C.

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LAND REVENUE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH INDIA, WITH A SKETCH OF THE LAND TENURES.

Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, late of the Bengal Civil Service, appears to have realized the force of the Greek aphorism, that "a big book is a great evil," and has accordingly condensed his comprehensive work on the "Land Systems of British India" into a very compact little volume.

As a Manual for the use of Civil Officers of every department it will be found invaluable, for it contains in a highly concentrated form all the more important information of his larger work, to which references are made when details appear necessary.

A practical knowledge of the Land Tenures of India is confined to a few experts of the Survey and Settlement Departments, each in his own district. With the exception of Mr. Alexander Rogers, whose work deals chiefly with Western India, Mr. Baden-Powell is the first who has attempted to give, in a readable form, a comprehensive view of this very difficult subject. He has placed at the disposal of students a cyclopædia of facts which have hitherto been buried in obscure Blue Books, and which are called in India Selections from the Government Records.

Where so much useful work has been done, it may appear hypercritical to object to the use of the word Landlord as applied to the middle man, who, under various vernacular terms, stands between the Ryot and Government.

There is very little similarity between the English conception of a Landlord and that of the Zamindars, Tolookdars, Malgoogars, Baghdars and others, who exercise some of the functions of a Landlord in India, and as the terms "Ryot"

and the Ryotwari tenure are retained, there seems no good reason why the vernacular nomenclature should not be adhered to in both cases, for it at once declares the tenure, for instance, Talookdar is the holder of a Talooka, Baghdar is a shareholder, Bhaiyad is a brotherhood, Bhaiyadari is the tenure of the Brotherhood, not necessarily blood relations, though, probably, originally of one family. Another oversight is the use of the term "Jagir" to describe lands held on military tenure for the maintenance of troops. In Western India such lands are called Sarinjams; all Sarinjams are Jagirs, but the converse is not invariably true.

Although Mr. Baden-Powell's work deals with the Land Revenue and its Tenures, it would enhance its value very much if he would in future editions add a chapter on the tenure of fruit trees, and especially of the toddy-producing palms.

By the Kurum code of Bombay, the occupant can plant mangoes or other fruit trees on his land without liability to any extra assessment, and he has availed himself of this right so extensively that the fruit crop is often more valuable than the grain crop; indeed, where mangoes are thickly planted, grain crops will not ripen. But besides these, there are fruit trees growing originally on waste land to which cultivation has subsequently extended. They are Government trees, and the right to collect their fruit is in Western India sold annually by auction. Government endeavoured to get rid of them by sale, but this gave rise to serious complications. The trees would often be purchased by non-residents, who, finding it difficult to protect the fruit from the owners of the land in which it grew, would cut down the trees and sell the timber. Thus a valuable tree, the growth of half a century, was destroyed for a few rupees. The order for the sale of trees was revoked, after much mischief had been done. There are three kinds of toddy-producing palms—the Tari palm, the Mari palm, and the Cocoa-nut palm. They are liable, when tapped for toddy, to a tree tax (Bood dena), which is estimated on the average production of

juice per tree, and is theoretically equal to the duty per gallon on spirits imported from Mauritius or Europe. This is in addition to the still head duty levied on issue from the Sudder distillery, the object being to limit the consumption by raising the price.

The attention of philanthropic Members of Parliament, who have been led to believe that the Government of India encourages the consumption of spirits, should be drawn to this fact.

Another very important subject which is omitted from Mr. Baden-Powell's work is the complicated customs which regulate the rights to alluvial land on the banks and in the beds of rivers which are liable to great and sudden changes of course.

It is curious how closely these adhere to the Roman law of "diluvion" and "accretions." When the main channel is the boundary and it is doubtful which is the main one, it is usual in Guzerat, to throw a toomri or gourd into the stream above the points in dispute and to accept the course taken by it as the main channel. This is called the custom of "Toomrio tank"; it is very useful in settling bitter disputes to very valuable land.

L. A.

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JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VII.—*The Story of Thuwannashan, or Suvanna Sāma Jātaka, according to the Burmese version, published at the Hanthawati Press, Rangoon.* By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.R.A.S.

A PECULIARLY interesting feature of this Jātaka is the fact that it has undoubtedly been depicted on the western gateway of the Sanchi Tope (Figure 1 in Plate xxxvi. of Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship"), and will illustrate what curiously erroneous theories may be evolved from imperfect data. I feel convinced that a complete knowledge of the Jātaka and other stories current in Buddhist literature would enable one to explain most of the scenes depicted on these and other Buddhist ruins. That trees and serpents were, and are, largely worshipped is not to be denied, but I think it will be clearly seen from this and other plates that Fergusson did not draw correct deductions regarding the Sanchi and Amravati Topes. In his second edition he admits this.

Fergusson gives the dates of the Sanchi gates as first century A.D.; if this be correct, it proves that this is one of the early Jātaka, and that the so-called ten greater Jātaka are not all late compositions. At Plate xxxii. of the northern gate we have the Vessantara Jātaka, and at

Plate xxiv. 2 Bhūridatta. Below is what Fergusson says of Plate xxxvi. p. 138 of the first edition.

“The upper portion of the plate represents one of those transactions between the Hindus and Dasyus, which have probably only a local meaning.

“In the centre of the upper part of the picture a Hindu chief, or Rāja, accompanied by his minister, is conversing with a Dasyu, whose two wives, or daughters, are seen beyond him on his left hand.

“On the Rāja’s right are two of the ordinary circular huts of the Dasyus, in front of which a man and woman are seated naked. They are sitting on their lower garments, and their upper cloaks are hung in their huts. Two monkeys are playing above them. Between these two huts is seen the fire-pot, which is almost an invariable accompaniment whenever these Dasyus are represented. Below it is the water-pot, and beside it the ladle or pincers. From their position here they would seem to be the sacred implements of the tribe. Did fire and serpent worship go together?” In his second edition, p. 151, he says :

“Mr. Beal is of opinion that Fig. 1, Plate xxxvi. represents the principal scenes of the Sāma Jātaka as quoted below, and I am not prepared to say this may not be correct; but, if so, the form of the fable must have been considerably altered since the first century, at Sanchi, the king, does not kill the boy by accident. He is being deliberately shot by a soldier. The King is standing unarmed at some distance with his minister beside him, talking to an ascetic, accompanied by his two wives or daughters, and consequently not Dakhala, which, otherwise, we might fancy him to be from the repetition of the same figure occurring sometimes in these bas-reliefs.

“It is probable that the figure in front of the Pansalas are meant to be represented as blind, not only from their being naked, but also from the monkeys stealing the fruit and pulling the thatch off the roof, with other circumstances. The two figures in the centre do look like a reduplication of the boy and the minister, and it is absolutely necessary

it should be so if the Sāma Jātaka is to be identified at all with this sculpture. . . . It is going rather too far to represent the King abdicating his throne and becoming the slave of two blind hermits, because one of his soldiers had shot an innocent boy!"

Both Beal and Fergusson quote Hardy, whose summary of the Sāma Jātaka in *Eastern Monarchism* is very brief.

Where Fergusson got the idea of a minister and soldiers I cannot understand. Nor can I agree with Beal in thinking that the figure standing between Sāma and the archers is the Devi. It is clearly a man.

I would suggest that we must look at this picture as composed of two halves, the one to our right being the ordinary part of Sāma's life and that to the left the extraordinary. On the right we see the blind Dukūla and Pārikā, and Sāma coming to draw water at the Migasammata, his usual vocation. On our left the king shoots and then converses with him. Above we see the Devi with Dukūla and Pārikā making the "sacca kiriya," the king, wearing his cloth ungirt in the usual manner, standing behind. He then appears again in the centre, taking leave of Sāma and promising to lead a good life. The head of a duck in the water behind the left hand group shows that they are on the bank of a bend in the river.

Mr. Beal's remarks are to be found in *R.A.S. Journal*, Vol. V. n.s. p. 164.

*Suvaṇṇa Sāma Jātaka.*¹

In the country of Savutthi there was a very rich merchant who had an only son, and he was beloved by both his parents. One day, when looking out of the window, he saw a number of people going to the Jetavan monastery to hear the Buddha Gotama preach; so, taking

¹ In the Gāta he is always called Sāma, and I cannot find the word Suvaṇṇa. The number in *Ceylon List* is 543.

some flowers in his hand, he went with them. After the sermon was over he asked to be admitted to the Order, but the Buddha refused to admit him before he had obtained his parents' consent. He accordingly returned home and made known his wishes to his parents. They answered, "Alas! dear one, thou art the sole offshoot of thy family, and the apple of our eyes—our very life. If thou leavest us, how can we survive? We are getting old, and may die to-day or to-morrow. Do not leave us to become a Monk."

The youth, through grief, was unable to eat for seven days; so his parents said, "Verily, if we do not give him leave he will die, and we shall no longer behold him. It will be better to grant his request." So they consented.

The youth went with great joy into the presence of the Buddha and requested to be admitted to the Order. The Lord thereupon summoned a Monk and directed that he should be made a novice. After studying for five years he thought, "There is too much to distract me here, and I desire to complete myself in the Vipassanādhura"; so, taking his Kammathan, he left Jetavan, and went into an out-of-the-way part of the country. However, after studying there for ten years, he was still unable to obtain the "path" or "fruition." During those ten years his parents had grown old, and, being robbed by their servants, were reduced to great poverty. Only one small water-pot remained to them.

At that time a Monk came out from Jetavan to the place where the novice was. Falling into conversation, the novice enquired after the health of the Buddha and his eighty chief disciples. Afterwards he made enquiries regarding his parents.

The Monk replied, "Good sir, do not ask me about them. They had an only son, who became an ascetic, and from that day they have declined and are now in abject poverty, begging their daily food."

The novice burst into tears, and, on the Monk asking why he wept, said, "O reverend sir, those poor ones are

my own parents." The Monk answered, "In that case, young sir, your parents have been ruined through you; return and look after them."

The novice reflected thus: "Though I have studied with diligence for ten years I have obtained neither 'the path' nor 'fruition.' I had better forsake this life, and, through taking care of my parents and other good works, obtain the Deva country."

In the morning he handed over his cell to the Monk, and started for Jetavan.

Now at the back of the monastery there were two roads, one leading to the monastery, and the other to the city. Standing there he reflected thus: "Ought I first to pay my respects to my parents, or to Buddha? I may see my parents for some time, but the Buddha only this day I will go at once to the Buddha, and to-morrow go to see my parents."

Now that very morning the Excellent One had taken a survey of the world, and had seen that the novice was on the point of attaining "the path," so, when he arrived at the monastery, the Lord was preaching on the "Sutta," called *Mātuṇṇasaka*.

The novice, sitting at the edge of the assembly, heard this beautiful discourse, and thought, "I can leave the Order and look after my parents. But the excellent Lord says, 'Even though you be a Rahan you should repay your parents for the benefits they have conferred upon you.' Verily, had I passed by without doing reverence to the Lord, I should have been abased from the status of a Rahan, which is so difficult to attain. I will not leave the Order, but remain in it and look after my parents." Having made a reverent obeisance to the Lord he left Jetavan and proceeded to Sāvatti, and having begged his food and taking it to the forest, became as if he were one who had merited expulsion (*Pārājika*).

In the morning he went to beg his rice, and then to see if he could find his parents. At the same time they, having begged their daily meal, were sitting under the wall of

a house, and the novice, seeing them, stood near with eyes full of tears through grief for their miserable condition. They did not recognize him, however, and his mother, thinking that he stood there waiting for food, said, "Reverend sir, we are very poor and have nothing fit to offer you, we beg your pardon." On hearing this the Monk still stood there with streaming eyes and a bursting heart. Then his father said to his mother, "Lady, go and see who he is." So his mother got up, and, going near, recognized him. Like one who is mad she crouched at his feet and wept bitterly. His father also embraced his feet and wept likewise. The Monk, unable to restrain himself, wept also. At last, controlling his grief, he said, "Be not afraid, dear parents, I will feed you." From that day forth he begged and fed them. If he got sufficient for his own wants he eat, but, if not, he fasted. If clothes were given him he presented them to his parents, and after they had worn them out, he patched and dyed them, and wore them himself. Through feeding his parents he became thin, like a dry leaf.

The Monks, who were his companions, then questioned him, saying, "Sir, you were once very handsome, but now you are rough, dirty, and withered; what ails you? Why do you give away the offerings made to you? It is not lawful."

He hid his head through shame and made no answer.

The Monks went to Buddha, and said, "Lord, this Monk makes away with the goods that are presented to him." The Lord then sent for him and questioned him, saying, "Dear sir, is it true that you give to men the things that are bestowed upon you as offerings?" The Monk replied, "It is true, Lord. I give them to my parents." The Lord replied, "Dear sir, it is well done, it is well done. Thou art one who walkest in 'the path.' In former ages I also supported my parents." The young Monk was comforted and the Buddha remained silent.

The Monks then asked the Buddha to relate the story of his former existence, and he related as follows.

In times long past, near Bārāṇasi, there flowed a stream, and on one side stood a village called Nesādagāma, and on the other bank there was also another village. Both were inhabited by fisher-folk, and governed by headmen who from their youth were friends, and had engaged to give their children in marriage to one another. In course of time to one was born a son, to whom he gave the name of Dukūla; and in the other's house was born a girl, to whom they gave the name of Pārikā (or Pārimā).

These two were very handsome, and, though of the fisher caste, would take no life.

When Dukūla was sixteen his parents said, "Dear son, our friend's daughter is very lovely, we wish you to marry her." But he, being one who had just been born from the Brahma heavens, closed his ears, and, though they pressed him again and again, refused.

The parents of Pārikā also pressed her to marry Dukūla, but she would not.

Dukūla then sent Pārikā a secret message, to the effect that she had better marry some one else, and she also sent a message to the same effect. The parents forced them to wed, but, nevertheless, they embarked not on the ocean of lust, but, with the consent of their parents, became hermits. Leaving their native villages, they retired to Himavanta, and following a tributary of the Ganges, called Migasammātā, they at last arrived in the forest. Sakka, becoming aware of their intention, directed Visakrom to prepare a cell for them.

Dukūla and Pārikā, following a path, came to their cell, and seeing, by the inscription, that it was intended for them, took off their ordinary garments and put on the hermit's dresses that had been prepared for them. They studied the Kāmāvacara Brahmavihāra, and became so imbued with lovingkindness that all the birds and animals loved them, and harmed them not. Every day they drew water from the stream, and went in search of fruits. Living apart, they kept the rules of ascetics most rigorously.

One day Sakka came to see how they were getting on, and,

foreseeing that their eyes would become blind, approached them, and, addressing Dukūla, said, "Reverend sir, I see that danger may befall you. Why do you not cohabit with your wife and obtain a son?"

Dukūla answered, "Lord Sakka, why dost thou say this? When we lived amongst men we hated their ways, and now that we have become hermits how can we act thus?" Sakka replied, "There is no need for you to do so, but, at certain times, stroke Pārikā's navel with your hand." He then took his departure.

When Dukūla told Pārikā she consented. Just then the Bodhisat was about to leave the Deva-heavens, so he took up his abode in the womb of Pārikā, who, in due course, bore a son, whom she named Suvannasāma. When Pārikā went into the forest in search of fruits and roots the Kinnari nursed him.

At the age of sixteen Suvannasāma was alone in the cell, whilst his parents had gone out, and a great storm came on. They took refuge beneath a tree on a mound, in which dwelt a huge serpent. The rain washing the smell of their bodies into the serpent's nostrils it became enraged, and spat forth its poison, so that they both became blind and unable to find their way home.¹ As his parents did not return at the usual time, Suvannasāma was alarmed, and determined to go and find them, so he went into the forest shouting Father! Mother!

When they heard him they answered, saying, "Do not come close, dear one, there is danger." So he reached out his staff to them, and told them to lay hold of it. Seeing they were both blind he first wept and then laughed. On their asking why he rejoiced, he replied, "Dear Father and Mother, I wept at the thought that you had become blind whilst still so young, but when I remembered that I should now have to take care of you, I rejoiced." He

¹ This blindness is explained as follows: "In a former existence Dukūla was a doctor and attended a rich man who would not pay him. Being angry he went home and told his wife. The wife said, 'Go back and give him some medicine that will make him blind again.' He acted on this advice, and the rich man again lost his sight."

then conducted them to the cell, and from that day took care of them, going daily to the forest in search of food. In this he was assisted by the Kinnaras.

Now at that time there reigned in the city of Bārāṇasi a king named Piḷiyakkha, who was so fond of hunting deer that he left his kingdom in charge of his mother, and went into the Himavanta to hunt them. One day, after following the course of the Migasammata, he came to the place where Suvappasāma was accustomed to draw water. Seeing footsteps he concealed himself in a thicket, holding his bow bent with a poisoned arrow ready.

In the cool of the evening, the Bodhisat, surrounded by deer, went down to the stream to draw water. Piḷiyakkha was astonished at the sight, and thought, "I have never seen anything like this before. Can it be a man or a Deva? I will draw near. If he be a Deva he will fly up into the sky, but if a Nāga he will sink into the earth, and I shall be unable to tell my nobles what it is that I met with. I had better shoot first and then see what it is." The Bodhisat had filled his pots and bathed, and, having put on his red garment, came up the bank. As he came Piḷiyakkha let fly his arrow, which entered at the right side and pierced him through to the left.

The Bodhisat, feeling that he was shot, and that the deer had all fled, carefully set down his water-pots, and, turning his face in the direction of the cell where his parents were, prostrated himself on the sand and there lamented.

(From this point the story is told in Pāli verse, somewhat in this fashion. In fact, the present form of the legend seems to be part of a miracle play.)

Sāma.

"Who has shot me with this arrow,
Me, so blameless, drawing water?
Brahman, Khattiya, or Vessa,
Lying hidden, who has shot me?"

Not for eating is my flesh fit,
 Nor my skin for ought adapted,
 Say, O friend, with what intention,
 Lying hidden thou hast shot me?"

Piḷiyakkha.

"I of Kāsi am the Rājā,
 I am known as Piḷiyakkha,
 Casting off my state for pleasure,
 Came I here to shoot the red deer.
 Skilful am I with the long bow,
 Far renowned for deeds of daring,
 Ne'er may elephants escape me
 Should they come within a bow-shot.
 Say of whom thou art the offspring.
 State thy name, thy tribe, thy father."

Sāma.

"I am of the tribe of Nesāda, and my parents call me Sāma. O King of Kāsi, behold me as I lie here bathed in blood, and pierced by thine arrow, as if I were a deer. See how I spit blood. Since thou hast mortally wounded me, I ask thee, O King, why thou hast shot me? Wast thou in search of a leopard's skin or the tusks of an elephant? Why hast thou shot me, O Rāja."

Piḷiyakkha.

"The deer that I aimed at, being near thee, was startled when it saw thee and fled. Therefore, overcome by anger, I shot thee."

Sāma.

"O King, how canst thou say this? There is not a deer in the whole forest that would flee at the sight of me. From the time I began to know my own intelligence, from that moment neither deer nor other wild beasts fled from me. From the time that I first put on the red

garment and attained youth, from that moment the animals fled not at my approach. O King, the Kinnaras, who dwell on the heights of Gandhamādana, are a timid folk, but joyfully they accompany me in the forest and delight in my presence. Would a deer, then, be startled on seeing me?"

Pīḷiyakkha.

"O Sāma, why do I speak falsely? The deer was not startled by thee; but in anger I let fly the arrow. Whence dost thou come, O Sāma, and by whom wast thou sent to draw water in the river Migasammata?"

Sāma.

"Blind are my father and mother, whom I cherish in this vast forest. For them I draw water, coming to the Migasammata."

"Alas! they have but food for six days, and if water be not brought them they will die. My inability to see my parents is a far greater misery than the wound of this arrow. As for the pain caused by this arrow, all men will have to bear pain in hell. But if I see not my parents the smart will be far greater.

"Alas! my parents will be left weeping for me, solitary and helpless. Even now, O King, they are bewailing my absence, and wandering through the forest calling for Sāma. This thought, indeed, is like a second arrow that rends my heart. Ne'er again shall I behold those dear blind ones."

Pīḷiyakkha.

"Weep not, O lovely Sāma, I will take up thy duties and feed them in this vast forest. I, so skilled with the bow; I, who am so rough and cruel; I will take upon me thy duties and feed thy parents; feeding them with fruits and meat left by the lions and tigers. O Sāma, where is their dwelling? Point it out quickly, and I will look after them as thou didst."

Sāma.

“By this footpath, O Rāja, from the spot where I lie dying, having gone not half the distance that a man’s shout may reach, there thou shalt find my parents’ dwelling; there are my father and my mother. Thither go and support them, Rāja.

Hail to thee, O King of Kāsi!
 Hail to thee Kāsi’s protector!
 My blind father and my mother,
 Feed, I pray thee, in this forest.
 Raising to my head my clasp’d hands,
 I implore thee, Kāsi’s Rāja;
 To my father and my mother
 My last loving words deliver.”

The Rāja promises to give the message and Sāma faints. Seeing that he had stopped breathing, and was growing stiff, the king became terrified, and, raising his hands to his head, lamented loudly, making the echoes resound with his cries, saying, “Formerly I thought not of death, but now that I see this Sāma dead before my very eyes, I know death must come to all men. But now he was speaking to me, and now through the power of this poisonous arrow he will speak no more, and I, who have slain this innocent one, must go to hell. For ages and ages I shall suffer, and I shall be known and reviled in every village as the king who did this terrible thing. Who is there in this vast forest, remote from men, who can revile me? In the towns and villages where men congregate let the memory of this sin be made known. Now I know that death must come to all, for I have seen it.”

When Pīḷiyakkha was thus bewailing his wretched fate and wickedness, the Devi Bahusundarī, who dwelt on the Gandhamādana peak, and who watched over the Bodhisat like a mother, looked out to see how things were going with him, and seeing that he had been shot with an arrow, and that Pīḷiyakkha was loudly lamenting over him as he lay on the silvery sands of the Migasammata, said, “Verily, if

I do not go quickly my son will die, Piḷiyakkha's heart will break, and in consequence Sāma's parents will die of starvation. If Piḷiyakkha takes the water-pots to Sāma's parents he will be able to tell them, and bring them to the place where Sāma is lying. If he brings them there, both Dukūla, Pārikā, and myself will make a solemn asseveration, the power of the poison will disappear, and Sāma recover his health. Dukūla and Pārikā will also regain their sight, and King Piḷiyakkha, having listened to the Law preached by Sāma, return to Bārāṇasi, make great offerings, and on his death go to Deva-land."

Bahusundarī, therefore, flew to the river Migasammatā, and, hovering in the air, unseen, thus addressed Piḷiyakkha.

Bahusundarī.

"An evil deed hast thou done, Mahārāja, for thou hast slain three innocent persons with one arrow. Come hither and I will instruct thee how to support those blind ones, and so obtain a blessed hereafter."

On hearing these words Piḷiyakkha resolved to devote himself entirely to the support of Dukūla and Pārikā. Then doing reverence to the corpse, and covering it with flowers, he poured out a libation and passed thrice round it. Then, after doing reverence to the four quarters of the heavens, he lifted the water-pots, with a heavy heart, and took the path leading southwards.

Dukūla.

"Whose is the sound of these footsteps? Can it be a man who comes hither? They are not the footsteps of Sāma, for he treads lightly. Who art thou, good sir?"

Piḷiyakkha.

"I am the Rāja, of Kasi, and I am named Piḷiyakkha. In pursuit of the red deer I have left my kingdom. Skilled am I in the use of the bow and well known for my strength. No elephant that comes within reach of my arrow can escape."

Dukūla.

“Hail Mahārāja! May thy coming be propitious. Make known thy wishes. Here are tinduka and other fruits sweet and pleasant. Eat them, Mahārāja, for they are choice ones. Here, too, is cool water brought from the mountain rill. Drink, Mahārāja, drink freely.”

Piḷiyakkha.

“Who, then, has brought ye these fruits, O blind ones? Ye have so choice a collection that I think ye are not really blind.”

Dukūla.

“O Rāja, these fruits were not brought by us, but by our son, our youthful Sāma. A youth of goodly mien. He has taken his pitcher to the Migasammatā to get water for our use and ought to be returning.”

Piḷiyakkha.

“Alas, hermits, I have slain with a poisoned arrow the beauteous Sāma, who supports you. That Sāma whose locks are long and black. This Sāma, whom I have unfortunately slain on the banks of the Migasammatā, lies blood-stained on the silvery sand.”

Pārikā.

“Dukūla, who is this who speaks of the death of Sāma? At his words I tremble as though my heart would break.”

Dukūla.

“It is the Lord of Kāsi, who says that he has slain Sāma whilst shooting deer near Migasammatā. Be not angry.”

Pārikā.

“Why should I not be angry when he has slain our darling son?”

Dukūla.

“Pārikā, though he has slain the dear son who supported us in our blindness, it is not good to be angry. Anger brings not a good result.”

Dukūla and Pārikā beat their breasts and wail.

Piḷiyakkha.

“Alas! Dukūla and Pārikā, I have slain your Sāma. Weep not thus for your dear one, for I will support you in this desolate wilderness. I am skilled in the use of the bow, and will supply your wants. Flesh and fruits will I bring to you, and cool water from the spring. Be not afraid. I desire not to be Rāja, but will wait upon you till my life’s end.”

Dukūla and Pārikā.

“’Tis not lawful, Mahārāja, that thou shouldest wait upon us. Thou art our Lord, and we venerate thy feet.”

Piḷiyakkha.

“O hermits, who are of the tribe of Nesāda, henceforth ye shall be honoured. Thou, Dukūla, shalt be my father, and thou, Pārikā, my mother.”

Dukūla and Pārikā.

“Hail to thee Rāja, of Kāsi! Hail to thee, Kāsi’s protector! With suppliant hands we entreat thee to lead us where Sāma is lying, so that when we have caressed his lovely face and feet we may ourselves follow in his footsteps.”

Piḷiyakkha.

“My friends, Sāma, whom, alas, I have killed with my arrow, is dead in this vast forest of Himavanta, that is full of all manner of terrible beasts. For this night, I pray you, remain in your cells.”

Dukūla and Pārikā.

“Though in this far-stretching forest there are beasts in hundreds and thousands we fear them not in the slightest, no hurt nor harm will they do us.”

The Buddha.

O Bhikkhus, Pīliyakkha, being unable to prevent them from going, took them by the hand, and led them to the place where Sāma was lying.

On beholding (P. Disvāna patitam Sāmam : though they were blind) Sāma lying in the forest besprinkled with dust, like the sun or the moon that has fallen to the earth, his mother, afflicted by grief, then solemnly made an asseveration.

Pārikā.

“By virtue of the fact that my son Sāma strictly performed all the duties of a Brahmācāri : by the virtue of those duties may the poisonous venom of the arrow disappear.”

“My son Sāma was ever truthful : by the power of that virtue may the poison disappear.”

“My Sāma was ever dutiful to his parents : by the power of that virtue may the poison disappear.”

“My Sāma was ever respectful to his parents and his elders : by the power of that virtue may the poison disappear.”

“I loved my Sāma more than life : by the power of that love may the poison disappear.”

“If there be any merit accruing to thee, dear son, or to me, or thy father, of which we have taken no account : by virtue of that merit may the power of the poison pass away.”

Dukūla, perceiving a slight movement, cried out, “My son still lives,” and then proceeded to make an asseveration in the same words. Sāma rolls over on to his other side, and the Devi Bahusundarī continues :

Bahusundarī.

“Long have I dwelt in Gandhamādana. None other have I loved but Sāma, who was as my own son: by the power of this love may the poison be assuaged.”

“As the forests of Gandhamādana are full of sweet scents, and there is not a single tree therein that is not sweet scented, so may the venom of the poison pass away.”

The Buddha.

Dear Bhikkhus, as soon as Bahusundarī had completed her asseveration the power of the poison disappeared, like rain drops from a lotus leaf, and Sāma rose up quickly with his wound healed, so that one could not tell where he had been hit.

By the power of the Devi they were all transported back to Dukūla's cell, and Dukūla and Pārikā recovered their sight.

Sāma.

“O revered ones, behold your Sāma once more restored to health. Weep not, I pray, any longer, but speak only that which is pleasant.”

(Turning to Piḷiyakkha.)

“O Rāja, of Kāsi, may thy coming be propitious. If there is anything in this place that thou desirest, speak. Tinduka and other sweet fruits, mangoes, oranges, and citrons, all are here; take, eat, I pray thee. Here is water from the deep pools of the mountain stream—cool and refreshing. Eat and drink, O Rāja.”

Piḷiyakkha.

“O Sāma, I know not what to believe. Everything around me is in a haze, for I see thee again, O Sāma, risen from the dead. How didst thou come to life again?”

Sāma.

“Mahārāja, thou thoughtest that one who had become unconscious by reason of excessive pain was really dead. Mahārāja, men think that a man is dead when his breathing is stayed by reason of his ceasing to breathe.”

“Or his mother or his father
Should a mortal rightly cherish,
Verily the gods will heal him,
Him, supporter of his parents.
Or his father or his mother
Should a mortal rightly cherish,
In this life all men extol him,
In the next he dwells in heaven.”

Piṭiyakkha.

“Greatly have I been deluded
All confuses and perplexes :
I take refuge with thee, Sāma,
Be, I pray thee, my protector.”

Sāma.

1. “O Mahārāja, of pure Khattiya race, if thou keepest the law and supportest thy father and mother, thou shalt attain Sagga.”
2. “O Mahārāja, of pure Khattiya race, if thou keepest the law and supportest thy wife and children, thou shalt attain Sagga.”
3. “O Mahārāja, if thou keepest the law towards thy friends and nobles, thou shalt attain Sagga.”
4. “O Mahārāja, if thou keepest the law to thy chiefs and thy army, thou shalt attain Sagga.”
5. “O Mahārāja, if thou rulest thy towns and villages according to the law, thou shalt attain Sagga.”
6. “O Mahārāja, if thou rulest thy kingdom and its borders according to the law, thou shalt attain Sagga.”

7. "O Mahārāja, if thou doest rightly to Sāmanas and Brahmas, thou wilt attain Sagga."
8. "O Mahārāja, if thou actest rightly to all animals and birds, thou wilt attain Sagga."
9. "O Mahārāja, by practising the law, thou wilt attain Sagga."
10. "O Mahārāja, act according to the law. By so doing both Inda, the Brahmas, and other Devas obtained their abodes."

When the Bodhisat had thus instructed him, and taught him the five commandments, King Piḷiyakkha, after doing reverence, returned to Bārāṇasi and made a great offering. At the end of his days he went to Deva-land.

Sāma and his parents, at their death, went to the country of the Brahmas.

The Buddha then summed up the Jātaka, saying, "The Rāja, who was then Piḷiyakkha, is now Ānanda; the Devi Bahusundarī is now Upalavaṇṇa, the second amongst my Bhikkhunis; Sakka is now Anuruddha; Dukūla is Mahākassapa Thera; Pārikā is now Bhaddakapila Therī; and Suvaṇṇasāma is I, the Buddha.

Note.—Since writing the above I found a similar account of this Jātaka in Rajendralāla Mitra's "Indo Aryans," p. 203.

ART. VIII.—*The Geography of Ráma's Exile.* By F. E. PARGITER, B.A., Bengal Civil Service.

PART I.

THE story of Ráma is one that has fascinated all generations of Hindus, and is full of interest for us. Apart, however, from its charm as a story, it presents a picture of ancient India, which is in many respects unique, and suggests perplexing questions of history, mythology, social life, topography, etc. Many of those questions permit of endless debate and little solid result, for there is no firm ground to rest upon, but the geographical questions are in a better position. India has been surveyed most accurately and completely, and we know that what it is now, it was in ancient times, except that changes have occurred in the courses of some rivers in the plains of North India; and these changes may often be detected. There is plenty of the fabulous in Hindu geography, but it is confined, as a rule, to outside lands, and the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober. The main features of the country were adequately known in very early times. The Aryans were well acquainted with all North India as far as the confines of Bengal proper, and the chief mountains and rivers of South India were known. Wars and caravans (of which we have a graphic instance in the story of Nala), helped greatly in opening out new territories as in all lands and ages, but it was the religious ascetics who were the pioneers in discovery, and who appear to have contributed most to a knowledge of the country. Penetrating far and wide, and exploring hill, forest, and river, they gathered experience and information, which eager listeners everywhere

besought them to recount, as we learn from various incidents in the Mahá-Bhárata (*e.g.* Ádi Parva, i. 12; and clxv. 6321). As they spread over the country, they established hermitages, sanctuaries, and tirthas of every kind, and these, by their founders' fame, attracted pilgrims from all regions, and promoted general travel and intercourse.

The story of Ráma has come down to us in three ancient versions, Válmíki's Rámáyana, the Rámopákhyaṇa in the Vana Parva of the Mahá-Bhárata, and canto lix. (which is exceedingly brief) in the Shodáśa-Rájika in the Droṇa Parva of the same poem. The short recital in cantos cxlvii. and cxlviii., in the Vana Parva, appears to be based on the Rámáyana; and Ráma's happy reign is described again still more briefly in a second version of the Shodáśa-rájika, in canto xxix. of the Śánti Parva. The state of country depicted in these poems is peculiar. The region north and west of the Ganges and Jumna was divided into kingdoms and advancing in civilization, but southward forest very greatly predominated, and the only people mentioned as dwelling there have been distorted into *Rákshasas* and other demons, and into *vánaras* or monkeys. The picture of India presented in the Mahá-Bhárata is in marked contrast with this, and exhibits a later stage in civilization; for large areas of forest have disappeared, and states stretch more or less continuously throughout the peninsula. The difference is so great as to imply a long interval of time between the two eras.

It may be disputed whether the picture in the Rámáyana is drawn from nature, and in two particulars there is ground for doubting whether it is complete. Neither Vidarbha nor the Haihayas of Máhishmatí are alluded to; yet the former kingdom existed then, if (as it is said) Agastya married a princess of that realm; and the Hari Vamsa (xxxiii. 1876-1878) mentions that Rávaṇa was taken prisoner by the great Haihaya king Arjuna Kártavírya. Ráma's course probably lay between those countries, and their omission from the poem would be due to their lying outside his adventures. After making allowance

for this variance, it seems the peculiarities of the picture in these poems must be the impress of an actual condition of India, for they are certainly not such as a Hindu Rishi would have portrayed spontaneously out of his own imagination. It will be seen that, according to the Rámáyana, sacred Prayága (Allahabad) was only a clearing in a forest which covered the end of the Ganges and Jumna doab and the tract southward, while north of it was planted a Nisháda kingdom with its capital at Śringavera-pura on the Ganges. The district of Sháhábád in Behar, midway between the holy cities of Benares and Gayá, is presented in the same poem as a once prosperous but then depopulated region. Again, except in the geographical cantos which I will notice presently, no mention is made of the Pándyas, though their kingdom was one of the oldest in South India; and Ráma, in his march towards Lanká, must have passed through what was afterwards their territory. The only populous tracts in Southern India introduced in the poems are Jana-sthána on the Godávarí, and Kishkindhyá further south—names which afterwards disappeared but for a very few rare allusions. These can hardly be imaginary, for they are certainly very ancient and are connected with the Godávarí, the Malaya Mountains, Lanká, and other distant geographical features about which there is no error.

I propose in this paper to investigate Ráma's wanderings in exile, and attempt to identify the topographical particulars introduced, using all three versions of the story. Whether this is a hopeful task must be judged by the results. The inquiry is not affected by the view which one may take of the story generally. It proceeds simply on the fact that the plot is laid in various places, and worked out among various local scenes; and this part of the material of the story may be examined in order to ascertain how far the poet has adhered to actual circumstances, and whether he has introduced any conditions purely imaginary. The *main features* of Central and Southern India and Ceylon portrayed in the poems are undoubtedly correct; and only a

minute inquiry can show whether the *details* agree with nature or not.

In attempting this, I shall take little account of the four cantos in the Rámáyana, in which Sugríva gave the search-parties of monkeys geographical instructions where to look for Sítá and Rávaṇa (Kiskh. K. xl. xli. xliii. and xliv.), because they seem to me to evidence a condition of the country different from that pictured in the rest of the poem, and may be suspected of being a later addition. The description of the southern region (canto xli.) in particular is markedly different; instead of forests, Rákshasas, etc., are mentioned numerous tribes, rivers, and towns, which were well-known to later times, and some of which occupied places where Ráma found forest; and the Rishi Agastya is made to dwell near the Malaya Mountains, while the poem places him in Central India. That the poem has been touched by later hands is proved by the foolish explanations and derivations offered here and there, *e.g.* regarding the Malajas and Karúshas (Ádi K. xxvii. 16-22). The quotations are all from the original Sanskrit, the edition of the Rámáyana used being Gorresio's, and that of the Mahá-Bhárata the Calcutta Edition by the Pandits of the Education Committee.

Ráma, at his father's command, left Ayodhyá city and went into exile with his wife Sítá and brother Lakshmaṇa. They travelled in a chariot, and therefore good roads existed in that part of their journey. They first reached the river Tamasá (Ayodh. K. xliv. 1) at a ford crowded with cattle (*ibid.* 16). Passing on, they crossed the river Śrímatí Mahá-nadí (*id.* xlvi. 3), and taking the fine clear high road (*ibid.* 4) reached the Kosalas (*ibid.* 9). Crossing the great river Veda-śruti there, they proceeded towards Agastya's region (*ibid.* 10). After travelling a very long time, they crossed the river Go-matí, which was crowded with cattle (*ibid.* 11), and the river Sarpiká (*ibid.* 12). They saw the wide region given formerly by King Manu to Ikshváku (*ibid.* 13), and passed beside the forest Śarayú (*ibid.* 15-17). Hastening on they arrived at great Śringavera-pura, which

was situated on the Ganges (*ibid.* 19, and *xlvi.* 1 and 2; and *Ádi K. i.* 31). So far their course lay along good roads, but at that city Ráma dismissed his charioteer (*Ádi K. i.* 31).

Now certain points in this route seem quite clear. Ayodhyá, the modern town Ajudhya, or Oudh, was situated on the west bank of the river Sarayú, the modern Sarju or Ghogra. The Tamasá is no doubt the modern Tons, which flows about twelve miles distant, on the west side of the Sarayú. It was on its banks that Válmiiki dwelt (*Ádi K. ii.* 4-11). Agastya's region must be the south; he was famed as the conqueror of the south (*Araṇ. K. xvii.* 17, etc.; *Yuddha K. c.* 15 and 16). The Go-matí is the modern Gumti, which flows west of the Sarayú. The wide region given to Ikshváku must be the plains around Ayodhyá, for he is said to have received the earth from his father, King Manu, and became first King of Ayodhyá (*Ádi K. lxxii.*; and *Ayodh. K. cxix.*), a city which Manu built (*Ádi K. v.* 2). Śringavera-pura has been identified by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham with the modern town Singror, or Singor, which is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-two miles north-west of Allahabad (the ancient Prayága). (*Arch. Survey Reports, vols. xi.* 62, and *xxi.* 11.)

The Tamasá rises to the west of Ayodhyá. To strike it, then, at a place where it was of a noticeable size, Ráma must have started about south-westwards taking probably the direct road to Śringavera-pura. He was followed thither by the citizens, and to escape them he crossed the river at night with his chariot, and gained the "Tamasá-road," and went northwards (*Ádi K. xlv.* 25-29). Proceeding in the new direction, he would reach the river Sarayú, or its western tributary called now the river Chauká. The poem says he reached the Śrímatí Mahá-nadí. These words appear peculiar as the name of a river. There seems to be no river called the the Śrímatí; the name does not occur in the remarkably copious list of rivers in the *Mahá-Bhárata* (*Bhíshma Parva, ix.* 321-345). *Mahá-nadí* recurs often in the list, but generally as an

adjective. There are two Mahá-nadí proper, one the large river in Orissa, and the other the river Phalgu, near Gayá (Ádi Parva, ccxiv. 7818 and 7819; Vana P. lxxxvii. 8307 and 8308, and xcv. 8519). I have not found any passage which unequivocally shows there was a river of this name north-west of Ayodhyá. "Mahá-nadí" accompanies the Gomatí Dhúta-pápá and Gaṇḍakí in that list (line 325), but it may only qualify Gaṇḍakí there. This double name therefore probably means the Sarayú, which Ráma would naturally reach; and the river of Ayodhyá might well be described in such laudatory terms.

Crossing this river, Ráma gained a high-road which led him to the Kosalas, the people of the Kosala country. From this it seems Kosala, (or Kośala) more properly meant the country along the *east* side of the Sarayú and Veda-śruti rivers (for he crossed the latter river afterwards), or the country *north* of Ayodhyá. It is said to have been situated on the Sarayú's bank (*sing.*) in Ádi K. v. 1; but in either case Ayodhyá was within Kosala (*ibid.* 2). This high-road was probably a main road along the Sarayú north-westwards.

From Kosala Ráma crossed the great river (Mahá-nadí) Veda-śruti. This name does not occur in the Mahá-Bhárata list nor in that in the 57th canto of the Márkaṇḍeya Puráṇa, though the names Veda-smṛitá, Veda-smṛiti, and Veda-vatí are found. The only stream with which it seems identifiable is the modern river Chauká, the western tributary of the Sarayú. Lassen calls this river the Kálí (Indische Alterthumsk., map).

After crossing it, Ráma resumed his original course, and turned southwards. He reached the Gomatí, and crossed it probably a little below the modern Lucknow; that would be about the place where the road from Ayodhyá to Kanauj must have intersected it, and would be about sixty or seventy miles from the river Chauká. The next river which he reached, the Sarpiká, would be the modern Sai, a tributary of the Gomatí. Lassen calls it the Syandiká (Indische Alterthumsk., map). He would have crossed it probably

about twenty-five or thirty miles below Rai Barelli, where a road north from Śringavera-pura would naturally run. The plain of Ayodhá, the wide region given to Ikshváku, would lie on his left; and the forest Śarayú would be presumably to its south, since his regret he could not hunt in it implies that it bordered on his country. Passing beside the forest he arrived at Śringavera-pura, the modern Singror on the Ganges.

Śringavera-pura is called a large town. There reigned Guha, king of the Nishádas, one of the aboriginal races, who was Ráma's friend (Yuddha K. cviii. 44); and he received Ráma hospitably (Ayodh. K. xlvi. 20; xlvii. 9-12). It seems to have been at the confines of civilization, for Ráma dismissed his charioteer here (Ádi K. i. 31), and thenceforward his course lay generally through forests, and the journeys were performed on foot.

He crossed the Ganges at Śringavera-pura by boat (Ayodh. K. xlix. 3; lii. 7-23), and entered the forest on the other side (*id.* lii. 32). Journeying through the forest, they reached Prayága next day, and Bharadvája's hermitage there (*id.* liv. 1-8). More particulars are given of this part of the country in connexion with Bharata's quest of Ráma. King Guha ferried Bharata and his troops across in boats (Ayodh. K. xcii.-xcvii.). The forest is described as scarcely penetrable, and even scarce of water for a large body of men (*id.* xcii. 13). It appears to have been called Prayága Forest (*id.* xcvi. 14), and began a yojana-and-a-half distant from Śringavera-pura (*ibid.* 18).

The yojana meant originally "a stage or distance gone in one harnessing or without unyoking" (Prof. Sir M. Monier-Williams' Dictionary), and was afterwards reduced to precision as a measure of length; but the value so assigned to it varied in different places and according to different authorities. By some it was reckoned at two-and-a-half miles, by others at four or five, or, again, at about nine miles (*ibid.*); while, according to an elaborate table mentioned in a peculiar dissertation on the course of civilization in the Márkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (xlix. 37-40), it equalled about

seven-and-a-half miles. It may be safely assumed that in the Rámáyana, which is an early poem, the yojana had more of its original meaning than of the later definitions. A posting distance, or *ḍāk* (commonly *dawk*), as it is now termed in India, is still a rough measure of distance, and generally means some six or seven miles. The average also of the various lengths assigned the yojana would be about six miles. Six miles, therefore, may be taken as a *fair approximate* value of the yojana as used in general parlance. In forest country considerable latitude in estimating a yojana's distance may be expected.

A yojana-and-a-half, therefore, meant about nine miles, and for that space only beyond Śringavera-pura was the country open. Beyond that, again, and down to Prayága, about thirteen miles, forest covered the doab. This is in keeping with the other circumstances. The Nishádas were an aboriginal race, and all those races appear to have occupied, or lived in the vicinity of, wooded tracts. It may be noticed that the two days' journey over these twenty-two miles, would make the day's journey eleven or twelve miles, quite as much as Sítá could have travelled on foot.

Bharadvája's hermitage at Prayága is described as a clearing in the forest, about a "krośa" in extent (Ayodh. K. xcvi. 4-6, and 19-23). This word meant, originally, "the range of the voice in calling or hallooing," and was afterwards defined as a particular measure of length, equal to 1000 *daṇḍas* according to some, and double that according to others (Dictionary), that is the eighth or fourth part of a yojana. The *daṇḍa*, or pole, contained four *hastas* or cubits, and the cubit varied, according as it was measured, with the figures extended or closed. With the Hindus the cubit was a short one, varying from about fifteen to nineteen inches. The average *krośa* would be about a mile according to the first reckoning, or two miles according to the second. The latter value is scarcely admissible in this passage, where the *krośa* probably retained its original meaning; yet, whichever length be assigned to it, the fact remains clear

that the hermitage site was but a small cleared spot with the forest all around.

From Bharadvája's hermitage Ráma crossed the Yamuná, and went to Mount Óitra-kúṭa. To cross that river he used a raft (Ayodh. K. lv. 3 and 11-14). This is noteworthy, for we have seen there were plenty of boats at Śringavera-pura, and it offers a further indication how completely Prayága must have been shut off by forest from the common resources of civilization.

Bharadvája told Ráma the mountain was three yojanas distant (Ayodh. K. liv. 29 and 30), but he gave Bharata clear directions afterwards how to find Ráma there. He said, "Two-and-a-half yojanas distant, in an uninhabited forest, is Mount Óitra-kúṭa," and "Go by the south road southward, bending towards your right side" (*id.* ci. 11 and 15). The mountain, therefore, lay to the south-west of Prayága, and can be none other than the range of hills which contain the well-known hill of that name, the modern Chitrakut. This hill is about sixty-five miles west-south-west of Prayága, but I do not think anything obliges us to say that Óitra-kúṭa is simply and solely that hill. It is well known that mountain names often designated mountain areas rather than single hills, and the words *parvata*, *giri*, etc., are often applied in the singular to the Himavat, Vindhya, and other ranges. Óitra-kúṭa would be the range of hills stretching from the river Ken to about twenty miles of Allahabad. Ráma would strike the eastern end of the chain, which would be, as Bharadvája says, south with a westerly trend from Prayága. This distance, too, would agree with the two-and-a-half or three yojanas mentioned by him, and suit the two days' journey which Ráma with Sítá spent in traversing it (Ayodh. K. lv.; lvi. 1-6). Reaching that end they would have travelled along the chain, and no doubt hermits were scattered along it, and not collected on one single hill. In later times the name may have become restricted to the single hill now called Chitra-kut.

In the Archæological Survey Reports, published by Sir

A. Cunningham, are inserted two discussions about the identification of *Ćitra-kúṭa*. Mr. Beglar proposed to identify it with Ramgarh Hill in Chhattisgarh (vol. xiii. 42-54), but Sir A. Cunningham maintains the long-established opinion that it is the modern Chitrakut (vol. xxi. 10-12). The former opinion cannot be correct. It is impossible to reconcile the position of Ramgarh Hill, distant about 180 miles south-south-east of Prayága, and separated by large hills and rivers, with the description in the *Rámáyana*, especially in the face of the clear directions mentioned above; and some of Mr. Beglar's arguments are mistaken. At the same time, those of his arguments which are based on the *Megha-Dúta* deserve consideration. Their cogency depends on the commentator's dictum that *Ráma-giri*, the starting point in that poem, is near *Ćitra-kúṭa* (*Megh. D. i. 1 and 2*); and, if he is mistaken, the basis of the reasoning gives way. It seems to me, if I may be pardoned the boldness, that the commentator cannot be right. If he is right, the cloud, instead of going direct to *Kailása*, which is, as nearly as possible, due north of *Ćitra-kúṭa*, over a clear and well-known country, is made to wander indefinitely to the south, and then travel north-westward across the river *Narmadá* and the *Vindhya* Mountains to the towns of *Vidiśá* and *Ujjayiní*, before it sails northward—and all that in spite of the facts that the poet knew the cloud's general route was northward (verse 14), and that an apology is offered for sending the cloud a little out of its proper course from *Vidiśá* to *Ujjayiní* (verse 28). For these reasons it seems to me that *Ráma-giri* cannot be *Ćitra-kúṭa*. It may very well be Ramgarh Hill. Mr. Beglar's remarks are therefore valuable, and that hill may be connected with the locality where *Ráma* spent ten years of his exile, as I shall notice further on.

About a *krośa* across the *Yamuná*, *Ráma* entered a forest which appears to be called "*Níla*" (*Ayodh. K. lv. 19*), and is said, with a pun, to have resembled "a blue (*níla*) cloud" (*id. cii. 9*). The *krośa*, as I have already explained, could

hardly have denoted more than a mile; yet, whatever meaning be put on it, there can be no doubt that the forest there approached almost up to that river. The Níla forest would have covered the tract between Prayága and the eastern extremity of the *Ćitra-kúṭa* range.

There were two rivers at *Ćitra-kúṭa*, the *Mandákiní* (Ayodh. K. liv. 39; lvi. 8; and civ.) and the *Máliní* (*id.* lvi. 7). The former was the chief stream, and is stated to have been on the north side of the hill. Sir A. Cunningham has identified it with the modern Mandakin, a small tributary of the river Paisuni; and the *Máliní* may be the river Paisuni, or Parsaroni, on the west side (Arch. Survey Reports, vol. xxi. 10-12). I have not been able to examine maps with sufficient detail to enable me to offer any remarks on this; but the *Máliní* may be a northern tributary of the river Tons, which joins the Ganges just below Allahabad; this tributary flows some distance along the south side of the Chitrakut range.

The forest at *Ćitra-kúṭa* does not appear to have been isolated. The narrative suggests that the Níla forest joined the forest on this hill (Ayodh. K. lvi. 1-18, and ci. 11 and 15), and the short distance indicates that there could have been no large tract of inhabited country there. We have found that a real forest existed in the doab between *Śringavera-pura* and Prayága, where also there was no room for much cultivated land; and that the forest *Śarayú* stretched away on the east side of the Ganges, probably to the east or north-east of *Śringavera-pura*. These facts may justly be placed together, and they show that forests practically continuous extended from *Ćitra-kúṭa*, across the Jumna, over and around the south end of the doab, and crossing the Ganges, ended in a forest that divided the realms of Ayodhyá and Káśi (Benares).

Southwards also the *Ćitra-kúṭa* forest must have blended with the forests of the south. The evidence is negative rather than positive. It is said that Ráma "leaving this mountain went to Daṇḍaka Forest" (*Ādi K.* i. 42); and after entering that forest went to the forest of the *Madhukas*,

Panćavaṭi forest and Kraunśálaya forest, as will be noticed further on. The Rámopákhyaṇa calls the Kraunśálaya forest Daṇḍaka, as I shall also mention, besides placing the Daṇḍaka forest between Śarabhaṅga's hermitage and the Godávarí (Rámopákhyaṇa, cclxxvi.). Daṇḍaka, therefore, appears to have been a general name, which comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand down to the river Kṛishṇá. Northwards it must have stretched well up to the Jumna, for king Guha of Śṛingavera-pura is described by his charioteer to Bharata, as being well acquainted with Daṇḍaka forest (Ayodh. K. xcii. 3). At Úitra-kúṭa, further south at Atri's hermitage, and further south again at Śarabhaṅga's hermitage, the ascetics complain to Ráma of molestation by the Rákshasas. The head-quarters of the Rákshasas will be seen to have been in Jana-sthána near the Godávarí, and their raids could hardly have extended to Úitra-kúṭa, if any kingdom intervened between that hill and Daṇḍaka. A comparison of Ráma's life in exile with the journeys of the Paṇḍavas during their exile will strengthen this view. Ráma does not appear to have shunned meeting with kings or entering into towns, and, in fact, he visited Guha who was only a Nisháda; but after leaving that king's town we come across no indications of any kingdom till we reach Jana-sthána. The only references are to forests; the only persons whom Ráma meets are ascetics and Rákshasas. One other point may be mentioned: when conversing with Sítá, in the forest at Úitra-kúṭa, Ráma drew her attention to the trees scored by the tusks of elephants (Ayodh. K. cv. 10). This natural touch, unless we put it aside as a mere fancy of the poet, must refer to wild elephants, and shows that Úitra-kúṭa could not have been far from their dense native forests.

In later times the limits of this immense forest were greatly contracted, and according to a list of tirthas said to have been repeated to the Páṇḍavas in the Mahá-Bhárata (Vana Parva, Tírtha-yátrá P. lxxxv. 8183 and 8184) which I shall discuss in connection with Śarabhaṅga's hermitage, Daṇḍaka forest is placed somewhere between the Bhopál State

and the sources of the Godávarí; but the extreme copiousness and minuteness of that list prove it is the product of a much later period.

There were paths or tracks through these forests. It is often stated that Ráma received directions how to go from one place to another, and followed the road (*pathin* and *márga*) in his travels, e.g. to Úitra-kúṭa (Ayoḍh. K. lvi. 1 and 5; and also ci. 15), to Rishyamúka and Pampá (Araṇ. K. lxxvi. 2 and lxxvii. 2), and to Kishkindhá (Kishk. K. xiii. 7). This might be expected naturally. The ascetics and the forest tribes would need and make routes from place to place, to avoid being bewildered and lost among the endless mazes of trees, where the eye alone would be of little service.

From Úitra-kúṭa Ráma and Sítá went to Atri's hermitage, where Atri and his wife An-asúyá welcomed and entertained them (Araṇ. K. ii.). Leaving them and entering the Daṇḍaka forest beyond (*id.* v. 23), Ráma reached a large group of hermitages (*id.* vi.), and, passing on, encountered and killed the great Rákshasa Virádha (*id.* vii. and viii.). When showing Sítá all the places of interest on their return journey northward from Lanká, Ráma pointed out these hermitages, and said, "Here appear the dwellings of the ascetics, where Atri is the lord of the family, who has the lustre of the Sun and Agni. In this region I slew the giant Virádha; here thou sawest the female ascetic who follows righteousness; and here appears the Muni Atri's great hermitage, whose wife An-asúyá gave the scented cosmetics" (Yuddha K. cviii. 38-40). From these passages it appears that the group of hermitages was under Atri's rule, and was deeper in the forest than Atri's own hermitage, for in coming northward the arrangement of all the places would be reversed. I have found no further indications as to where these hermitages were, but, if Śarabhanga's hermitage, which was the next stage in Ráma's journey, may be placed, as I propose, somewhere near Narwar, on the northern slope of the Vindhya Mountains in the Bhopál State, these hermitages

must have occupied a middle position between that spot and *Citra-kúta*.

Ráma next reached Śarabhanga's hermitage (*Araṇ. K. ix.*) which appears to have been a sort of central resort for ascetics, for a large number of religious devotees met him there and renewed the complaints against the Rákshasas. The famous hermitages were generally situated either on a hill or at the junction of two large rivers. There are two other passages which help to indicate the position of this hermitage. In the list of tirthas mentioned in the *Mahá-Bhárata* (*Vana Parva, lxxxv. 8176-8185*) the pilgrim's course is arranged thus—along the Godávarí to its junction with the *Veṇá* (the modern *Wain Gangá*), northwards to the junction of the *Varadá* (*Warda*) with the *Veṇá*, then to two places called *Brahma-sthána* and *Kuśa-plavana* (which must have been situated along or near the course of the *Veṇá*) to the forest *Deva-hrada*, which is at the source of the river *Kṛishṇa-veṇá*. The *Kṛishṇa-veṇá*, which is mentioned often in connexion with the *Veṇá* or *Su-veṇá* (*Vana Parva, clxxxix. 12,909*; and *Bhíshma Parva, ix. 335*), appears probably to be the tributary of the *Veṇá* which flows north of *Nagpur*; hence the forest *Deva-hrada* would have covered the plateau between *Deogarh* and *Seoni*. Thence the pilgrim's course seems to have passed westward to the *Játi-smara-hrada* and *Sarva-hrada* to the holy *vápi Payoshní*, i.e. apparently the river *Payoshní*, the modern *Tapti* with its tributary the river *Purna*, which was considered the main stream; and thence to *Daṇḍaka* forest and Śarabhanga's hermitage, and to *Śúrpáraka* where *Jámadagnya* dwelt. *Śúrpáraka* appears to have been the country on the east side of the *G. of Cambay*; *Dr. Burgess* identifies it with the modern *Súpára*, near *Bassein* (*Arch. Survey of Western India, Káthiáwád and Kachh, 1876, p. 131*). Śarabhanga's hermitage then may have been situated anywhere on the *Satpura Range*, or (Vámost anywhere on the western part of the modern *Vindhya* I shere, or anywhere between them. The second passage *Daṇḍa*—another list from the same *Parva* (*xc. 8380*). This

list, which is less copious, divides the tirthas among the four regions, and places Śarabhanga's hermitage in the northern region, while it assigns the rivers Vená and Payoshní to the south, the Avantis (who were near Ujjain, see *Megha-Duta*, i. 31) to the west, and Mount Kálanjara to the east; the river Narmadá and the Vaidúrya Mountains are placed partly in the south and partly in the west. These mountains appear to be the Satpura Range (*Vana P.* cxxi.). Comparing these two passages, and remembering that the Vindhya Range was generally considered the boundary between the north and south, I think the only spot where Śarabhanga's hermitage can be placed is on the northern slope of the Vindhya Mountains, somewhere in the Bhopál State, say near the town Narwar.

From there, travelling a long way, Ráma crossed the river Mahá-javá, "very swift" (*Araṇ. K.* xi. 2). I have not found any river of this name elsewhere, not even in the remarkably copious list of rivers in the Mahá-Bhárata (*Bhishma Parva*, ix. 321-345). The word may therefore be only an adjective, but whether it is a name or an adjective is not of much importance, for it plainly designates some swift stream. It probably means the upper part of the river Narmadá, somewhere between Sohagpur and Narsinghpur. There is no other river with which it might be identified; the Sone is quite out of the question, being far too much to the east, besides being a male river. It cannot, I think, be objected to this identification that the Narmadá would have been mentioned by name, for it might well be that in the then state of the country, one vast forest little explored, the river's course had not been traced and was hardly known.

After crossing that river, Ráma saw a wide blue forest on a hill (*Araṇ. K.* xi. 2). This would be the wide plateau of Pachmarhi and Seoni, the Mahádeva Hills.

Entering this forest, Ráma arrived at the Rishi Sútíkshṇa's hermitage (*Araṇ. K.* xi. 3). This hermitage, being on the plateau, must be placed somewhere near the sources of the river Vená (*Wainganga*). I have not found any passages to identify it more closely.

Setting out again Ráma travelled a long way and reached a charming sheet of water, which the Muni Dharma-bhṛita told him was the ancient Pañcápsaras lake made by Muni Manda-karṇi, according to the legend (Araṇ. K. xv. 5-19); and in the hermitage there Ráma dwelt ten years (*ibid.* 22-28). Very few particulars are given, and none that help to identify the spot with any accuracy. It certainly was not south of Sutikshna's hermitage, for Jana-sthána was in that direction, and Ráma went there afterwards. It may have been east or west. The former seems more probable, for Vidarbha lay to the west and he did not go there: also the Megha-Duta shows that there was a hill called Ráma-giri somewhere near Chhattisgarh, and Mr. Beglar (as I have noticed) has given reasons for connecting Ramgarh Hill in that part of the country with Ráma. Further than this it seems impossible to go.

At the end of the ten years Ráma returned to Sutikshna and by his advice went four yojanas south from Sutikshna's hermitage to the hermitage of Agastya's brother Prána-sama, and then south by the side of Vana-shaṇḍa, about a yojana to Agastya's hermitage (Araṇ. K. xv. 29, 39-43; xvi. and xvii.). Agastya told him, "This that you see is the great forest of the Madhukas; one must go by its north, if one goes to the Nyagrodha. Next situated on the upland (*sthali*) of a mountain not far off is the beautiful flowering forest Pañcavaṭi; going quickly from here thou shalt see it" (*id.* xix. 22-24). Ráma went there (*ibid.* 27), and describes it as a charming region suitable for a hermitage, and not far off was visible the river Godávari, where metallic ores seem to have been abundant (*id.* xxi. 10, 11, 17, 24).

In considering these passages it will be most convenient to work backwards. The only hilly country near the Godávari is near Nirmal and Kohal, two small towns on its north bank, about midway between its junction with the Pranhita and its junction with the Manjira. Pañcavaṭi, or Pañcavaṭa, as it is also called (Ádi K. iii. 13), was the name of a region there (*id.* i. 45), and the forest which covered it was called Pañcavaṭi (Araṇ. K. xix. 23). This region, then, is probably the hilly country near Nirmal or Kohal.

This region, *Panćavaṭī*, was either in *Jana-sthāna* or bordered on it; for it is stated "On Śara-bhanga's going to heaven, Rāma did reverence to the ascetics and went to *Jana-sthāna*; and after reverently saluting Agastya the great Rishi, the two descendants of Raghu along with Sítā went to *Panćavaṭī*" (Yuddha K. cx. 16, 17). Śúrpa-nakhá, the *rákshasí*, who encountered Rāma there (Araṇ. K. xxiii. 12), is called "a resident in *Jana-sthāna*" (*Ādi* K. i. 47), and Rāma was residing there when he met her (*id.* iv. 49 and 50). Also the fourteen thousand *rákshasas*, who aided her brother Khara against Rāma, and were killed by Rāma, are called "inhabitants of *Jana-sthāna*" (Yuddha K. cx. 20, 21; and M. Bh., *Droṇa Parva*, lix. 2226, 2227); and the fight took place in *Jana-sthāna* (Yuddha K. cviii. 32, 33). The passages already quoted indicate that *Panćavaṭī* was north of the *Godávarí*; and the description which Rāma gives Sítā of the places passed on their homeward journey from *Lanká* (Yuddha K. cviii. 32-36) shows that *Jana-sthāna* was reached before that river, and was, therefore, south of it. Hence it appears that *Jana-sthāna* was the region on both banks of the *Godávarí*, probably the country around the junction of that river with the *Pranhita* or *Wainganga*. Its name implies that it was an inhabited country. Its people, therefore, were an aboriginal tribe, whose features and characters have been distorted into the *Rákshasas* or demons; for *Rávaṇa*, when approaching Sítā in the guise of a *bhikshu* and asking her who she is, remarks, "Here come not *Gandharvas*, nor gods nor men; this is the *Rákshasas'* abode" (Araṇ. K. lii. 44).

The story of Rāma's life, briefly narrated in the *Shoḍaśa-rājika* of the *Mahá-Bhārata*, contains a most interesting reference to *Jana-sthāna*. Rāma, "at his father's command, for fourteen years, dwelt in the forest with his wife. And he slew the *Rákshasas* in *Jana-sthāna*, fourteen thousand, for the protection of the ascetics. While he dwelt there, the *Rákshasa Rávaṇa*, by bewitching him and his follower, carried off his wife *Vaidehí*. Him, the offender, *Pulastya's* offspring, unconquered by others, Rāma enraged slew in

battle" (Droṇa Parva, lix. 2225-2229); and "the svadhá and worship, which had been destroyed by the Rákshasas in Jana-sthána, he, the lord, offered to the pitris and gods, after slaying the Rákshasas" (*ibid.* 2241, 2242). This version of the story of Ráma appears from its simplicity and quaint melancholy to be very ancient, and to be entitled to special consideration. It suggests that Jana-sthána was an inhabited tract, that its occupants had been Aryans, or, at least, had observed the Aryan worship, that they were conquered by the Rákshasas, and that Ráma defeated these barbarians and restored the Aryan ascendancy there.

We may next consider Agastya's hermitage. He was famed as the conqueror of the Southern Region. His conquest and sway are described in most eulogistic language in Araṇ. K. xvii. 17, etc., a passage which Sir W. Muir has noticed in his Sanskrit Texts (vol. ii. p. 431), and which seems marred by the common oriental hyperbole. If any such supremacy was once real and extensive, it must have diminished to very small limits at the time of Ráma's exile, for all the versions of Ráma's life agree in representing the Rákshasas as dominant in the Dekhan, and in ascribing their defeat to him. The Rámopákhyána, while mentioning Ráma's visit to Śarabhanga, makes no allusion to his meeting Agastya. Agastya's hermitage in the passages quoted (Araṇ. K. xv. 29, and 39-43; xvi. and xvii.; and Yuddha K. cviii. 36) is placed between the Mahadeva Hills and Godávarí, and, according to the distance mentioned, five yojanas, would have been somewhere about thirty miles south of those hills.

Agastya is a personage who is often mentioned, and who looms large in Hindu mythology; and there is much complexity in the references to sites connected with him. More than one place in after times claimed the honour of having been his hermitage, and other places asserted claims to sanctity derived from him. In a list of tirthas in the Mahá-Bhárata he is said to have had a hermitage in the Southern region (Vana P. lxxxviii. 8344), no doubt the site we are now considering; but in the same list he is

also said to have had a fine hermitage at Prayága, which is considered to be in the Eastern region (*id.* lxxxvii. 8314-8316); and a hill in the same region, probably not far from Prayága, was named after him (*ibid.* 8317). There was also a tírtha called Agastya-saras, which lay apparently somewhere in Malwa (*id.* lxxxii. 4085). The Páñḍavas visited his hermitage, apparently at Durjayá (*id.* xcvi. 8540-xcix. 8645), but it is not clear where that place was. In the Rámáyana Viśvá-mitra took the youthful Rámá and Lakshmaṇa to a region which was depopulated by the Yakshinī Tádaká, and which had been formerly inhabited by Agastya; and that region, according to the geographical details mentioned, lay in the modern district of Sháhábád, in the tongue of land between the Ganges and Sone (Ádi K. xxvii; xxviii. 8-12). These passages, however, give no aid towards identifying the site of the hermitage which we are considering.

There are other passages which connect Agastya with the extreme south of the peninsula. His tírtha Saubhadra was on or near the sea, and is placed among the Páñḍyas or among the Dráviḍas (Ádi Parva, ccxvi. 7839-ccxvii. 7882; and Vana P. lxxxviii. 8339, and cxviii. 10,217). Lastly Sugriva, in the geographical instructions which he gave Hanúmán and his companions (Kishk. K. xli.), said they should see Agastya seated in front of the Malaya Mountains near some large river, apparently the Káverí (*ibid.* 21-24); and, again, that Agastya's abode was on a mountain in some fabulous region seemingly beyond Ceylon (*ibid.* 50). These passages, by their character and subject-matter, seem to indicate a later development of Agastya's story. This discussion, then, carries us no step forward.

According to the poem Agastya's hermitage lay about thirty miles south of the Mahadeva Hills. Apparently between it and Panćavaṭi intervened the great forest of the Madhukas, which he pointed out to Ráma; it would have covered the wide tract watered by the Warda and Penganga rivers, and containing the Indhyadri Range. Along the north of that forest ran the path to the

Nyagrodha. This word means the "Indian fig-tree," and it was the name of a brother of Kámsa who was long posterior in time (Hari Vamśa, xxxviii. 2028); but I know of no meaning which suits this context. Possibly we should read Vidarbha instead, for the kingdom of Vidarbha existed at that time, and Agastya married Lopá-mudrá, daughter of that king (Vana Parva, xcvi. and xvii.). If so, the path would be probably one travelling westward along the river Purna (tributary of the Tapti), the ancient Payoshní. Considering these faint indications, we might propose to place Agastya's hermitage somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nagpur.

Vana-shaṅḍa means a "multitude of words"; nothing is said as to its position or size; and it may have been only broken wooded country on his left as Ráma travelled southward.

PART II.

When Sítá was carried off by Rávaṇa, Ráma and Lakshmaṇa began their famous search for her. The direction in which they went first from Jana-sthána was westward according to the Rámáyana (Araṇ. K. lxxiv. 5), and south according to the Rámopákhyaṇa (cclxxviii.). A south-westerly course would satisfy the requirements of both narratives. They saw a great forest broken up among lofty hills (Araṇ. K. lxxiv. 5), and beyond that they entered the dense forest Krauncálaya (*ibid.* 7) where they met the giant Rákshasa Kabandha (*ibid.* 19). This forest is called Daṇḍaka in the Rámopákhyaṇa (cclxxviii.). During this part of their journey, and before they met Kabandha, they crossed the river Mandákiní (Yuddha K. cx. 38, 39); it can only be the river Manjira, a southern tributary of the Godávarí; there is no other stream of any note south of that river and near it. Starting then from the Godávarí, south of Nirmal and Kohal, they went south-

west, and would have crossed the Manjira probably near Kowlass. They would then have entered the southern extremity of the Balaghat Hills, which lie between that river and the Godāvāri; this would be the hilly forest region where the Krauncālaya forest began, and spread north-westwards and northwards till it blended with the great Daṇḍaka forest above. Travelling across these hills, they may have met Kabandha at about the middle on the western slope; and this would suit what follows.

Kabandha gave them the advice to ally themselves with Sugrīva, the exiled prince of the *vānaras*, or so-called monkeys, and directed them to go to Lake Pampá and Mount Ṛishyamúka (Araṇ. K. lxxv. 57-66). He said, "There is a lake called Pampá near here (*abhitas*); in its neighbourhood is a mountain called Ṛishyamúka" (*ibid.* 57); and described the route, "Here goes the path (*panthá*), by which these charming flowering trees make a show, stretching towards the west. Traversing many countries, from hill to hill, from forest to forest, ye two shall then arrive at the charming lake Pampá" (*id.* lxxvi. 2, 5). There is one contradiction in these two passages: the first speaks of the lake as near (*abhitas*) where they met Kabandha; and the second describes the road as traversing many countries, hills and forests. The latter description, however, is rather a stereotyped phrase, and occurs in other passages; hence it must not be taken too literally. In the Mahá-Bhárata Kabandha talks of Pampá as in sight, or almost in sight, for he says, "This (*eshá*) is Pampá, which has auspicious water, and is visited by geese and duck, which has lakes (or pools, *taḍákiní*) near Mount Ṛishyamúka" (Rámopá-khyána P. cclxxviii. 16,088). It appears, therefore, that Pampá and Ṛishyamúka were within a moderate distance from where Kabandha was, and the Rámáyana declares the distance was about two days' journey, thus—Accordingly Ráma and Lakshmaṇa, following the road (*márga*) which he showed them in the forest to Pampá, proceeded eastwards, and traversed hastily countries piled up with hills (*sailair ácítán*) to see Sugrīva. Stopping one night on the

ridge of the hills, they set forward again at dawn next day. After travelling a long way (*dúram adhvánam*) through various woods, they reached the west bank of Pampá (Araṇ. K. lxxvii. 2-5). Two days' journey through hilly country would mean a considerably smaller distance on the level, and Ṛishyamúka might have been visible from where Kabandha spoke, if they met him about the middle of the Balaghat Hills on the western side.

One of the passages quoted (Araṇ. K. lxxvi. 2) makes Ráma's course westward (*praticīm diśam árítya*), while another (*id.* lxxvii. 2) declares he proceeded eastwards (*prácīm diśam tasthatas*). This glaring disagreement must be due to some error, and it seems to me the error must be in the word *prácīm*, "east," because eastwards the Dekhan between the Godávarí and Kṛishná rivers, slopes away gradually to the Bay of Bengal, and no hills of any note exist, whereas westwards it rises into the spurs of the Western Ghats; and the foregoing passages, and, indeed, the whole of this part of the poem, demonstrate that Ráma entered upon hills and mountainous ground. The statement in the second of these passages, that Ráma reached the "west" bank of Lake Pampá, need not invalidate this conclusion, for, though a person travelling eastward would naturally strike the western side of a lake or mountain first, yet the westward road, which he followed in its windings among the hills, might well take a bend and reach the lake on its west side; and this might even be expected if Pampá lay on the western slope of Ṛishyamúka, so that its west bank were more accessible. This would be the actual condition, if the identification which I propose be satisfactory.

These passages show that Pampá and Ṛishyamúka were close together, and to the same effect are other passages. "In front (*purastát*) of Pampá is Ṛishyamúka hill" (Araṇ. K. lxxvi. 27); and at Śavari's hermitage, which was near Pampá, Ráma said to Lakshmaṇa, "Come along, let us go to Pampá, which has beautiful woods, at no great distance from which the mountain Ṛishyamúka appears" (*id.* lxxviii.

17); and it is said Ráma met Hanúmán on Pampá's bank (Adi K. i. 61), though really he had left the lake and was advancing to the mountain (Aran. K. lxxviii. 21-27 and lxxix.). Pampá is called a *nadi*, or river, in one place (Kishk. K. ii. 5 and 6); and the word *taḍákiní* applied to it in one of the passages quoted above is better suited to a river than a lake; but the general tenor of the allusions to it indicate that it was a lake.

In identifying Pampá and Rishyamúka, then, we must look for a lake, and a mountain or range of hills close together in the west of the Dekhan, south of the Godávarí, and west of the Balaghat Hills, yet not as far west as the Western Ghats, which are the ancient Sahya Range, for that range is specially mentioned in Yuddha K. ii. 33-35. Rishyamúka may be a single mountain, or a chain of hills, for the words *parvata*, *giri*, etc., are often applied in the singular to the Himavat, Vindhya, and other ranges. The conditions seem to be best satisfied by identifying Rishyamúka with the range of hills which stretches from Ahmadnagar to beyond Naldrug and Kalyani, dividing the Manjira and Bhima rivers; and Pampá with some lake on the western side of that range in the neighbourhood of Paranda, and Sholapur. Some atlases show two lakes called Koregaon and Pangaon close together in this locality, but the best maps that I have consulted contain no such lakes. How the difference arose I do not know, and I cannot suggest any definite identification of Pampá. The country west of this, in the neighbourhood of Poona, contains very ancient remains.

It appears that Pampá was a well-known hermitage site, and Válmíki naturally describes it in glowing language (Aran. K. lxxvi. 5-19; and lxxviii. 25-27). The Śramaṇá Śavari had a hermitage on the western side of the lake and not far from it; Ráma, arriving on that side, reached her dwelling first (*id.* lxxvii. 6), and afterwards proceeded to the lake (*id.* lxxviii. 17 and 21). Before her time it had been occupied by Matanga and other rishis, and Matanga gave his name to the forest around. Kabandha told Ráma,

"Near Pampá is an empty hermitage, and the Rishi Matanga's Forest is there" (*id.* lxxvi. 23 and 26); and Śavarí, when showing Ráma the forest, said: "See the charming great forest abounding in flowers and fruit, resembling a bank of clouds, filled with all sorts of deer and birds; this is famed on earth as 'Matanga's Forest'" (*id.* lxxvii. 19-21). This forest, then, would have covered the country from Sholapur towards Poona, west of the Rishyamúka range. I may add that "Matanga's field-basin" (*kedára*) is mentioned in a list of tirthas in the Mahá-Bhárata (Vana P. lxxxv. 8158-8160), and "Matanga's hermitage" in another list (*id.* lxxxvii. 8321); but the context does not enable us to fix the site of the former any closer than the Dekhan, and the latter is placed in the east region and cannot, therefore, be connected with Pampá and Rishyamúka.

Apparently the celebrity of this spot extended a considerable time backwards, for Kabandha also said: "There is a beautiful lofty cáitya of Brahmá, which was constructed in olden time there by very wise high-souled dvijas" (Araṇ. K. lxxvi. 30 and 31). The empty hermitage, no doubt, belonged to Matanga and the other rishis, and it seems that, after they all died or left the lake, Śavarí took possession of it. She was the last ascetic there, and had no companions. Her name seems significant. Śavarí means "a woman of the Śavaras"; the Śavaras were a large aboriginal tribe, and are still scattered about Central India under the names Savars, Sabars, Suirs, etc. Śramaṇá means "a woman of low caste," and "a female mendicant." May it be inferred that she was a Śavara woman, who had learnt from the rishis something of their rites, and continued their worship after their departure? And that the abandonment of Pampá by the rishis was connected with the invasion of Jana-sthána by the Rákshasas?

The story now brings in the *vánaras*, or so-called monkeys, who were, no doubt, an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the forests. Sugríva, the exiled prince, with Hanúmán and his three other companions, is said to have been dwelling at Rishyamúka (Araṇ. K. lxxv. 63), in a cave within the

mountain, directly in front of the lake (*id.* lxxvi. 34-36). It was there Sítá is said to have seen them, and to have dropped her garment and ornaments, while Rávana was carrying her off (*id.* lx. 3-12). When Ráma approached with Lakshmana, Sugriva, suspecting they were emissaries from his rival Bálin, fled away to the north peak of the Malaya Mountains (Kishk. K. i. 1-16). Hanúmán went in the guise of a bhikshu, or mendicant, and accosted the brothers; and they offered mutual friendly explanations (*id.* ii. and iii.). The meeting is placed on Pampá's bank (*Ádi* K. i. 61) and at Rishyamúka (Kish. K. iv. 1). Hanúmán returned to Malaya and fetched Sugriva to Rishyamúka; Ráma and Sugriva made a compact of friendship, and the latter brought Sítá's garment and ornaments out of the cave (*id.* iv. v. and vii.).

The mention of the Malaya Mountains here may deserve a little notice. In later Sanskrit writings those mountains comprise only the small range south of the Nilgiris, called the Travancore Hills, or Cardamum Mountains. If we accept this definition, Sugriva, in his flight, must have traversed a very great distance, and must, in doing so, have passed by the country of Kishkindhyá where Bálin reigned. This seems surprising and rather inappropriate. May it be suggested that the Malaya range comprised also the southern portion of the Western Ghats at that time? This would considerably diminish the length of the Sahya Range, as it was known in later times; but the range does not, I believe, receive as much notice in the Rámáyana as might be expected in a story laid among its eastern slopes. The derivation of the name Malabar Coast also would be more obvious, if the Malaya Range had once such a large extension.

From Rishyamúka Ráma and Sugriva travel along a road to Kishkindhyá; on the way they pass the Saptajana Munis at some hermitages, and, after journeying a long way, see Kishkindhá city (Kishk. K. xiii. 1-27). If the city be placed at or near Bellary, as I propose, the Munis, whose hermitages would presumably be on some hill or near

some river, might be placed somewhere near the junction of the Kṛishṇá and Bhímá rivers, or a little higher up in the neighbourhood of Kulbarga. Otherwise the poem appears to contain no allusion here to the Kṛishṇá or any of its large tributaries—rivers that could hardly have been unknown when mountains far to their south were well known.

Ráma and Sugríva reached Kishkindhyá. He killed Bálin, the reigning king, and enthroned Sugríva in his stead. He and Lakshmaṇa then went to a hill called Prasravaṇa and took up their abode in a great cave in it (Kishk. K. xxvi. 1-4), as the rainy season had begun and no operations could be undertaken (*id.* xxvii.-xxix.). It is also said their residence was on the ridge of Mályavat (*id.* xxvii. 1). When the rain passed off, Lakshmaṇa demanded Sugríva's help towards finding Sítá, and Sugríva repaired to Ráma at Mount Mályavat (*id.* xxxviii. 11, 36). Summoning his vassal *vánaras* from every region, Sugríva despatched them in four bands, east, south, west and north, to discover within one month where Rávaṇa kept Sítá in captivity. Meanwhile Ráma stayed at Mount Prasravaṇa (*id.* xlv. 19 and xlvii. 7-11). Hanúmán and his band, who went to the south, found Sítá in Lanká city and returned with the news to Ráma at Mount Prasravaṇa (Sundar. K. lxvi. 1). Ráma and Lakshmaṇa and the *vánara* hosts at once start from Kishkindhyá. They see the great Vindhya Range clad with trees and creepers (*id.* lxxiii. 45); they reach and cross it; they pass on to the Malaya Range, and then reach Mount Mahendra; from it they look down on the sea and descend to a magnificent forest on the shore (*id.* lxxiv. 1-14).

It appears from this narrative that Mályavat and Prasravaṇa are the same mountain or chain of hills, or one is the range and the other a particular peak in it. This conclusion is corroborated by other passages; Ráma, when showing Sítá the various places of interest on their return journey from Lanká, points out Kishkindhá and Mályavat, and says, "Here appears Kishkindhá with its variegated

forests, Sugriva's charming city, where I slew Bálin. This is the peak of Mályavat, the brilliant gate of Kishkindhyá, where I spent the four months of the rainy season" (Yuddha K. cviii. 24 and 25). The Rámopákhyaána mentions only Mályavat, and says Ráma dwelt four months on its ridge (cclxxix. and cclxxxi). There is only one contrary passage so far as I know, viz. Hanúmán says, when he resolves to visit Lanká, that Ráma and Lakshmana are dwelling at Rishyamúka (Sund. K. iii. 58), but that seems to be a mistake.

Kishkindhá, or Kishkindhyá, was the name of a country, and also of the chief town in it. It was not near Rishyamúka, otherwise Sugriva would have had no safety at that hill, and Kishkindhá town is said to have been a long way even from the Sapta-jana Munis' hermitages (Kishk. K. xiii. 27). It appears from some passages that Mályavat was within the country Kishkindhyá (*id.* xxxviii. 11 and 36; xlvi. 7-11; and Sund. K. lxv. 13); and also from Ráma's words on the return journey (Yuddha K. cviii. 24 and 25), already quoted, that Mályavat was on the north of Kishkindhyá (for on their northward course the country or town appeared first, and the mountain later), and that they were probably not far apart, for the mountain is called the gate of Kishkindhyá. All these conditions seem to be best satisfied by identifying Mályavat with the curved lines of hills in the neighbourhood of Kupal, Mudgal, and Raichur, and placing the town Kishkindhá at or close to Bellary. The country Kishkindhyá would have included the region around Bellary, with the Tunga-bhadrá and Vedavati for its chief rivers. This locality is an ancient inhabited site. It was thickly studded with Neolithic settlements, and Palæolithic remains also have been found here (see paper by Mr. R. B. Foote, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1887, vol. lvi. part. ii. with map). In later times it was the centre of several kingdoms. Mr. Sewell places Kishkindhá at or near Vijaya-nagara in this locality (Arch. Survey of Southern India, vol. i. 322).

The name Prasravaṇa deserves some notice. It appears

to be applied to two, if not three, different mountains; first, this Mályavat range, as already shown; secondly, to a hill in the extreme south; and, thirdly, to some hill presumably near the spot where Rávana seized Sítá, for, in her distress, she appealed to the craggy hill Prasravaṇa and the river Godávarí to tell Ráma she was carried off (Araṇ. K. lv. 44 and 46); but the third may, perhaps, be the same as the first. The second, however, is distinct, though it is not clearly described. This Prasravaṇa is said to be at the side of Malaya (Sund. K. iii. 45 and 79), and Mahendra appears to be another name for it (*id.* iv. 3 read with iii. 79). Hanúmán and his companions, when searching the South region for Sítá, reach a lofty hill with broad summits, which is described as situated on the north side of the Southern Ocean, and not far from Malaya (Kishk. K. lxiii. 22, 27 and 28); it is not named specially, but seems to be the same as this Mount Prasravaṇa. With regard to this hill I shall have more to say when discussing Mount Mahendra.

One of the first points to challenge notice in the story of Ráma's southward march is the mention of the Vindhya and Mahendra Mountains. About the Malaya Mountains there is no difficulty; they are the Travancore Hills, as already mentioned, with perhaps a portion of the Western Ghats included.

At the present day the name Vindhya is given to the range that stretches all along the north of the river Narmadá, but formerly it did not apparently include the western half of that range; that part, with the Aravalli Mountains, seems to have composed the Páripátra Range, and the name Vindhya denoted the chain of hills stretching eastward from about Bhopál to Behar. A careful examination of the rivers and mountains in the fifty-seventh canto of the Márkaṇḍeya Purána appears to prove this. The rivers Mahí, Úarmaṇ-vatí (Chambal), Śiprá (near Ujjain), Pára (Parbati), Sindhu (Sindh), and Vetra-vatí (Betwa) are all declared to rise in the Páripátra Mountains. Ráma had already crossed the Vindhya Mountains when travelling

from Citra-kúṭa to the Godávarí. In this part of the poem the Vindhya Mountains are placed between Kishkindhyá and the Malaya Mountains. It cannot be supposed that Ráma, after reaching Kishkindhyá, which was certainly far south of the Godávarí, and forming the alliance with Sugriva, on whom it had been foretold his success depended, would have retraced his steps to the north of the modern Vindhya, and separated himself from Sugriva by that immense distance; nor can we suppose that the poet who has described Ráma's course in continuous detail (and, if the foregoing identifications are satisfactory, with considerable geographical accuracy) down to Kishkindhyá, suddenly lost his position, and confused the salient features of the Dekhan. Similarly with regard to Mount Mahendra, which is here placed beyond the Malaya Mountains, we cannot suppose that the poet has blundered so seriously with the famous mountain or mountain-system of that name, which, as was well-known, was situated in the land of the Kalingas, near the Orissa Coast.

The proper conclusion must be that the Vindhya and Mahendra Mountains here mentioned denote other mountains in the south of the peninsula—south of Málavyat and Kishkindhyá, from where it is repeatedly stated Ráma started. This view is not fanciful. The fact that the same name is given to different objects is noticed by Sir W. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts, and the instances are often striking. Maináka is the name of three mountains—one the famous half-fabulous mountain in the north or north-east (*e.g.* Kishk. K. xlv. 37), another the fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon (Sund. K. vii. and elsewhere), and the third a mountain in the west of India (Mahá-Bhárata, Vana Parva, lxxxix. 8364 and 8365). There are also two mountains called Málavyat, one in the north (*id.* Bhishma Parva, vi. 203, and vii. 281 and 282, and elsewhere), and the other the hills which we have just been considering. There were two countries named Kosala, one distinguished as Northern, and having its capital at Ayodhyá, and the other called

Southern, comprising the modern Chhattisgarh district. There are two rivers called Mandákinī, one beside Ūtra-kūṭa and the other south of the Godávarī, both of which have already been noticed; both are mentioned in the list of rivers in the Mahá-Bhárata (Bhíshma Parva, ix. 342 and 344). In the same list of rivers (lines 321-345) will be found two Sindhus (the Indus and the tributary of the river Jumna), two Ūndra-bhágás, two Kauśíkís, two Payoshnís, two Sarasvatís, two Karíshinís, two Báhudás, and two Durgás. A comparison of other passages will produce a large number of similar instances; thus, in the Tírtha-Yátrá Parva of the Vana Parva of the Mahá-Bhárata, lists of tírthas are given, from which it appears there are two rivers, called Vaitaraṇí (not to mention the river in the infernal regions), one in or near Kuru-kshetra (lxxxiii. 6054 and 6055), and the other in Orissa (lxxxv. 8148 and cxiv. 10,097-10,099). There are also two mountains called Go-karṇa, and two called Gandha-mádana. Both Go-karṇas are mentioned in the Mahá-Bhárata, one in the north (Bhíshma P. vi. 246) and the other in the south, near the sea-shore (Vana P. lxxxv. 8166-70 and lxxxviii. 8341). Of the Gandha-mádanas, the mountain in the north is too famous to require more than mention, and that there was another in the south will appear from the following considerations. The Rámáyana says Mount Go-karṇa is visible from Mount Gandha-mádana (Sund. K. xxxii. 40); and, according to the Rámopákyána, Rávana, when going from Lanká to avenge Khara's death, "passed beyond Tri-kūṭa and Kála-parvata, and saw the deep monster-infested ocean, and, passing beyond that, arrived at Go-karṇa, the tranquil abode beloved of Śiva," and there met Mária (colxxvi. 15,998-16,000), with whose help he carried off Sítá. The Kúrma Purána mentions a river, Gandha-mádana-gáminí, as rising in the Śuktimat Mountains; and it may be noted that there are hills called the Gandha-mádan Hills, near Rani Jhorial, in Orissa (Gen. Cunningham's Arch. Survey Reports, vols. vii. 156 and xvii. 64-66). I quote these passages, not to identify the second Gandha-mádana hill, but to show that there is a second hill of that name.

Taking it then that the Vindhya and Mahendra Mountains here mentioned are mountains in the south of India, we may attempt to identify them. It may be granted that the Vindhya and Mahendra Mountains referred to in Kishk. K. xxxvii. 2 and 27, and other passages, are the well-known mountains of those names, but it can hardly be the former which is meant in the following passages. The southern region is said to be overspread by the Vindhya and forests (*Vindhya-kánana-sankirṇa*; *id.* xlix. 21 and 22). Again, when the female Muni Svayam-prabhá brought Hanúmán and his comrades out of the subterranean cavern, she pointed out to them, "Here is the Vindhya Range, full of caves (or glens, *kandara*) and ravines—here the Mount Prasravaṇa—here on one side the ocean" (*id.* lii. 26 and 27). It was on the side of the Vindhya Mountains, according to the Rámáyana (*id.* liii. 5; Sund. K. xxxii. 24; and Yuddha K. cx. 45), but on the Malaya Mountain, according to the Rámopákhyaṇa (ccxxxi.), that they all sat down despondent then. Also the vulture Sampátī (whose tidings of Sítá would come far more appropriately in the south than at the well-known Vindhya Mountains) said that, when he fell from the sky on this (*asya*) Vindhya Mountain, he looked about, and recollecting the scenery, concluded "on the shore of the southern ocean this must be the Vindhya" (Kishk. K. lix. 4-7). Considering these passages, and all the circumstances to which I have referred, it seems to me the Vindhya Mountain meant here must be the hills and plateau of South Maisur. These stretch across from the Western to the Eastern Ghats, and from a dividing ridge in the south, somewhat like the Vindhya Range in the north: so that the same name may not inaptly be applied to them. The waves of the sea are compared to the ridges of these mountains (Sund. K. xciii. 19), a simile very appropriate to a mountainous plateau.

The identification of Mount Mahendra is more difficult. It was close to the sea, for it is said to have the foam of the sea collected about it (Sund. K. iv. 5 and 9), though the Velá-vana, the magnificent forest on the shore near it,

may have intervened between it and the sea (Sund. K. lxxiv. 1-14 already quoted; and Yuddha K. cviii. 20). It seems to have been a hill of some height, for Hanúmán is made to leap from it across the sea to Ceylon (Sund. K. v.; and lvi. 7), and back again from Ceylon on to it (*id.* lv. 19). It is mentioned in the geographical instructions which Sugríva gave Hanúmán (Kishk. K. xli. 32 and 33), but only in laudatory terms. It appears to be the hill which is not named, but is described (Kishk. K. lxiii. 22, 27, and 28) as situated on the north side of the Southern Ocean, and not far from Malaya; I have referred to it above in connexion with Mount Prasravaṇa. No separate hill or group of hills exists agreeing with these conditions; the Palni Hills and the hills near Salem are too far from the sea. There is a hill called Vaḷavanáḍ, thirteen miles east of Tinnevely (Arch. Survey of Southern India, by R. Sewell, vol. i. 314), but it is insignificant. The only way in which we can satisfy the conditions is to identify Mahendra with the most southerly spur of the Travancore Hills; and that makes it not only near the Malaya Range but actually part of it, if that range extended then to Cape Comorin. In this connexion it may be noticed that a temple to Śiva's wife stood on that Cape in early times.

If this identification of Mount Mahendra be satisfactory, the forest Velá-vana, which is mentioned in the Rámopákhyaṇa also (cclxxxii. 16,289 and 16,290), would have occupied the litoral tract from Cape Comorin to Adam's Bridge.

In connexion with Velá-vana, a place is mentioned called Skandhávára, situated on the shore, and it was there Vibhíshana, leaving his brother Rávana, joined Ráma (Yuddha K. cviii. 21 and 22; and Sund. K. lxxxix.). No sufficient particulars, however, are given to allow one to offer any identification.

There is another mountain which is mentioned in connexion with these mountains, and requires notice. It is Mount Dardura; or, as it is otherwise called, Durdura (Sund. K. xc. 25; and Márkaṇḍeya Purána, lvii. 13) or Dardara (Dictionary). It was in the extreme south, for

Ráma reached it on the return journey after leaving Velávana and Skandhávára, and describes it to Sítá, "This mountain is Dardura, resembling a great bank of clouds, where Hanúmán trod the foot of the Malaya Mountain" (Yuddha K. cviii. 23). It was, therefore, close to the Malaya range, and as Kishkindhá was the next object seen (*ibid.* 24), it lay, presumably, between those mountains and Kishkindhá. One of the monkeys, Vinata, is described as inhabiting Dardura, and drinking of the river Parṇásá (*id.* ii. 44 and 45). Hanúmán swears by Dardura, and as he joins the Vindhya Mountains, Meru and Mandara with it in his oath (Sund. K. xxxiv. 7 and 8), it was, presumably, a mountain of note. According to the Rámopákhyaṇa, he and his companions, when coming out of the subterranean cavern, saw "near them the salt sea, the Sahya and Malaya Mountains, and the great Mount Dardura; then, ascending Malaya and seeing the sea," they sank down in despair (cclxxxi. 16,239 and 16,240). I may notice that the Sahya Mountains, in this passage, take the place of the Vindhya Mountains, or Maisur Hills, in the Rámáyana (Kishk. K. lii. 26 and 27, etc.); but the result is much the same whichever version we adopt. Another passage may be cited from the Mahá-Bhárata. Among the gifts brought to the Páṇḍavas it is mentioned "The Óla and Páṇḍya kings offered fragrant sandal-essences contained in golden jars, piles of sandal and aguru wood from Malaya and Dardura" (Sabhá Parva, li. 1891-1893). These conditions seem to be best satisfied by identifying Dardura with the Nilgiris. They are a very noticeable group of hills, their mean elevation is about 7000 feet, and they rise in six peaks above 8000 feet; the highest is Dodabetta, a name which suggests comparison with Dardura. The Palni Hills would also suit the conditions fairly well, but they are of no height, and are almost insignificant in comparison with the Nilgiris.

This brings the examination of the geographical details to a close. If the identifications now offered are reasonable and satisfactory, we must conclude that the author of the

Rámáyana had a real knowledge of Central and Southern India. Válmiki is said to have composed the poem while Ráma was still alive (*Ádi. K. iii.*); and whatever historical truth may be contained in the story of Ráma's Exile and Invasion of Ceylon, the geographical knowledge could hardly have been obtained except from an actual visit to those regions by some person. The discussion may also throw some light on the relative age of that poem and the Rámopákhyána. The application, in the former, of the name Vindhya to a range in South India is remarkable, and can hardly be other than original. Later poets might think it a mistake, and might try to amend it—this might account for the substitution of Sahya for that name in the Rámopákhyána, and would suggest that this poem is posterior to the Rámáyana.

ART. IX.—*Lāmaist Graces before Meat.* By L. A. WADDELL.

THE Lāmas always say Grace before food or drink. Most of these Graces are curiously blended with demonolatry, though they always are pervaded by universal charity and other truly Buddhistic principles. And they throw some light on the later Mahāyāna ritual of Indian Buddhism, from which they are alleged to have been borrowed.

Before drinking, the Lāmas, like the Romans, pour out some of the beverage as a libation to their Lares, and other gods. A common Grace before drinking tea (which is served out eight or ten times daily at the temples and cathedrals—the service being interrupted for this temporal refreshment—) is :—

“We humbly beseech Thee! that we and our relatives throughout all our life-cycles, may never be separated from The Three Holy Ones! May the blessing of The Trinity enter into this drink!”

[Then, here sprinkling a few drops on the ground with the tips of the fore and middle fingers, the Grace is continued :—]

“To all the dread locality, demons of this country, we offer this good Chinese tea! Let us obtain our wishes! And may the doctrines of Buddha be extended!”

The Grace before Food of the Gelug-pa, the most pure of all the Lāmaist sects, is as follows :—

“This luscious food¹ of a hundred tempting tastes, is here reverently offered by us—the animal beings—to the

¹ Zhal-zas.

Jinas (the Dhyāni Buddhas) and their princely sons (Celestial Bodhisattvas). May rich blessings overspread this food! *Om-Ah Hung!*

“It is offered to the Lāma—*Om Guru vajra naiwidya-ah Hung!*

“It is offered to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—*Om sarva Buddha Bodhisattva vajra naiwidya-ah Hung!*

“It is offered to the Tutelaries, Witches, and *Defensores fidei*¹—*Om Deva Dakini Śri Dharmapāla sapariwara vajra naiwidya-ah Hung!*

“One piece (is offered) to the powerful Demon-Lord (*ābhang-bahi-hbyung-po*; Skt. *Bhūtesvara*)—*Om-Agra-Pinda-ashi bhya swāhā!*

“One piece to *hprog-ma*—*Om Harite*²-*swāhā!*

“One piece to ‘the 500 brothers or sisters’³—*Om Harite maha-vajra-yakshini hara-hara sarva pāpi-makshi swāhā!*”

“This food, of little virtue, is offered compassionately and without anger or pride, or as a return for past favours; but solely in the hope that we—all the animal beings—may become holy and attain the rank of the most perfect Buddhahood.”

When any Flesh-meat is in the diet, then the following Grace is repeated seven times in order to cleanse from the sin of slaughter and of eating flesh:—“*Om abira khe-tsa-ra Hung!*” And by the efficacy of this *mantra*, the animal, whose flesh is eaten, will be reborn in heaven.

¹ *Yidam* *Khah-gro Chhos-skyong.

² This is the celebrated man-eating *Yakshini* fiendess, with the 500 children, whose youngest and most beloved son Pingala was hid away by Buddha (or, as some Lāmas say, by his chief disciple, Maudgalayana), in his begging bowl until she promised to cease cannibalism and accept the Buddhist Doctrine as detailed in the *Ratnakūta Sūtra*. See also the Japanese version of this legend and its pictorial illustration by Dr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S., in the *Journ. Soc. Antiquaries*, lii. 1892. The Lāmas assert that Buddha also promised Hariti that the monks of his order would hereafter feed both herself and her sons: hence their introduction into this Grace; and each Lāma daily leaves on his plate a handful of his food expressly for these demons, and these leavings are ceremoniously gathered and thrown down outside the Monastery gate to these *pretas* and other starveling demons.

³ The children of the above Hariti.

The following Grace is for the special benefit of the donors of provisions, tea, etc., to the Monastery, and it is repeated before the Monks partake of food so gifted :—

“Salutation to the all-victorious Tathagata Arhat. The most perfect Buddha. The fiery and most illuminating King of precious Light! *Namo! Samanta-prabha-ragaya Tathagataya Arhate-samayak-Buddha ya Namō Mañjuśrī-ye. Kumāra-Bhutaya Bodhi-sattvaya mahā-sattvaya! Ta-dya-thā! Om ralambhē-nirā-bhase jaye-jaye-lab-dhe mahā-mute-rakshi-nam-mepari-shodhaya svāhā.*” (The efficacy of reciting this *mantra* is thus described, says the Gelug-pa Manual of Daily Worship, in the *Vinaya Sutra*:—
“When this is repeated once, all sins will be cleansed, and the dispensers of the gifts will have their desires fulfilled.” Then here follow with :—)

- “May I obtain happiness by virtue of this gift!
- “May I obtain happiness by virtue of deep meditation, ceremonial rites, reverence and the offerings!
- “May I obtain perfect happiness and The supreme Perfection of the real End (*Mahā Utpanna* or *Atiyoga*)!
- “May I obtain the food of meditation of the hundred tastes, power, and brightness of countenance by virtue of this food-offering!
- “May I obtain rebirths of wisdom, void of thirst, hunger, and disease, by virtue of this repentance-offering!
- “May I obtain unalloyed happiness, free from worldly birth, old age, disease, and death!
- “May the Dispenser of these gifts attain perfection by virtue of them, his liberal gifts!
- “May the human beings, as well as all the other animals, get deliverance by virtue of this vast offering!
- “May all the Buddhists, Nanda, Upananda, etc., the gods of the natural dwelling, the King, this Dispenser of gifts, and the populace generally, obtain everlasting happiness, long life, and freedom from all disease.

- “ May all the human beings, by virtue of this (gift), obtain the auspicious holy body and fore-knowledge.
- “ May the hopes of animals be realized as by the wish-granting jewel (*Chintamani*) and the wish-granting tree (*Kalpadarū*), and may Glory come on all!

MANGALAM.”

ART. X.—*Ssüma Ch'ien's Historical Records. Introductory Chapter.* By HERBERT J. ALLEN, M.R.A.S.

PART I.

IN support of the theory set forth in the pages of this *Journal* (Part III. 1890, Art. IX.) that the Chinese classics, supposed to have been brought to light again towards the close of the second century B.C., were probably forged at that time, it would be advisable to give a literal translation of the first few chapters of the Historical Records by the great historian Ssüma Ch'ien, written *circa* B.C. 91. The introductory chapter is by Ssüma Chêng (the 'Lesser Ssüma'), who lived A.D. 720, and made the Records the study of his lifetime. It is usually printed with the Records, and forms an integral part of it.

ORIGINAL RECORD OF THE THREE SOVEREIGNS

Preliminary Chapter.

T'aihao¹ (Great Brilliant), or P'aohsi, of the surname Fêng (wind), superseding Suijên (fire producer), succeeded Heaven as King.¹ His mother, named Huahsü, trod in

¹ In other legends contained in the *Lushih* of *Lopi*, Fuhsi (by which name this worthy is best known) is said to have been born after a gestation of twelve years, and he is also said to have become king when he was twelve years old. We see also below that he reigned eleven years. Of course the historian had the planet Jupiter in his mind when he invented this fabulous Emperor. The expression 'succeeded Heaven as King,' becomes more intelligible after reference to the late Canon McClatchie's remarks in the Appendix to his translation of the *Yi King* (pp. 407-411), where he points out that "the full title of the highest deity known to the Chinese is 'luminous Heaven, the Supreme Emperor,' who is worshipped in Peking under his triplication, 'Heaven, Earth, and Man,' which three are but one *Ch'i*, or Air, whose title is '*Shangti* or the Supreme Monad.' This deity is sacrificed to under the title T'ai hao or Fuhsi. Fuhsi, in his human character is the son of *Chien*, or Heaven, while in his deified character he is Heaven himself." It is plain that there was a confusion between the father and son in this worship

(which he maintains was nothing but a phase of phallic worship), though he 'is in reality the same person viewed under a somewhat different aspect' (Faber, *Orig. Idol.* p. 22). "The great monad is declared to be both male and female, and the great father and mother of all things. Chien, or Heaven, being the head of a gigantic deity, we have a clear connection established between the Shangti of Confucius, and the Bel of ancient Babylon, who 'was the recognized head of the Babylonian pantheon,' and therefore properly identified by the Greeks with their Zeus or Jupiter" (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. p. 246). In the *Zendavesta* (Yaçna, i. 34) Ahuramazda signified the planet Jupiter, who presided over six subordinate genii, five of whom were the same as the five Chinese elements. The planet was called the year-star from the analogy of the twelve lunar revolutions of the year, Jupiter revolving round the sun in eleven years and 318 days, or nearly twelve years. It is noticeable that Fuhsi is stated to have had a 'serpent's body,' as showing the acquaintance of the historian with Hindoo chronology. Fergusson (*Chinese Researches*, p. 247) gives a comparative table of the Hindoo Nakshatras with their assignment to the twelve Hindoo months in the order as stated in Burgess' Translation of the *Surya Siddhanta*; and the twelve Chinese animal cycle names derived from the *Hsü* or lunar mansions in the order as stated by Perny. He observes that the Hindoos omitted the twenty-second of the Nakshatras in the order of twenty-eight, when they reduced the number by one, and the Chinese system is reckoned with only twenty-seven *Hsü*, or the fourteenth *Hsü* is here omitted to make the parallel between it and the Hindoo system. The chief point insisted on here to illustrate the comparison, is, that as the first Hindoo month Kartika represents Jupiter, and the first Chinese *che* and the first name of the twelve animal cycle represent the serpent and Jupiter also, the serpent is assigned the first place in the Chinese series, which has been assigned by the Hindoos to Kartika. This would almost identify Kartika with Shêtko, which is the first name of Ssuma Ch'ien's cycle. The serpent again was a phallic symbol. Cox (*Myth. of Aryan Nations*) says the symbol of the phallus suggested the form of the serpent, which thus became the symbol of life and healing, so that this is the key to both tree and serpent worship. The latter worship began among the Ethiopians, and spread to the Egyptians and Akkadians, who, it has been proved, were the ancestors of the Chinese. India was a great country for the worship of Nagas, a class of serpent demons, having human faces with serpent-like lower extremities, who lived in one of the lower regions below the earth called Patala. This description very closely resembles that given by our historian of Fuhsi. When Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon and Burma, it was grafted on serpent and Naga worship, with which, as well as with the worship of numerous Hindu gods, it continues to be adulterated in the present day. The fifth day of the moon in Sawan is a great fête in Nagpur, where pictures of snakes in all positions are sold as valentines (*Williams' Buddhism*, 220). Looking at the serpent under a different aspect, we find that Brown, in his 'Great Dionysiak Myth,' says that the serpent had six principal points of connection with Dionysos, one of which was connected with fertilizing moisture. Nature-worship is a prominent feature in all eastern religions, and we can understand that when the thunderbolt of Indra flashed, and the annual return of the rains brought life to the parched earth, the primitive Hindoo were overwhelmed with joy and thanksgiving. Turning to Chinese authors we find that, according to the Yi King, the symbol *Chên* 震 (thunder), corresponding to the third of the four primary developments of the creative influence, is synonymous with *lung*, a serpent-like monster, and, in conformity with this dictum, the powers and functions of nature governed by the forces thus indicated, such as the East, spring, etc., are ranked under the symbol *ch'ing lung* (azure dragon), which also designates the eastern quadrant of the uranosphere. The *Shuowên* dictionary (A. D. 200) states that of the 360 species of scaly reptiles, the dragon is the chief; it wields the power of transformation, and the gift of rendering itself visible or invisible at pleasure. In the spring it ascends to the skies, and in autumn it buries itself in the watery depths. The watery principle of the atmosphere is pre-eminently associated with the *lung*. The dragon, as chief

the footprint¹ of a giant at Thunder lake, and bore P'aohsi at Ch'êngchi. He had a serpent's body,² a man's head, and the virtue of a sage. 'Looking³ up he contemplated the forms exhibited in the heavens, and looking down he observed the patterns shown on the earth: he observed also around him the ornamental markings of the birds and beasts, and the different suitabilities of the soil. As to what was near he found things for consideration in his own person, and as to the remote in things in general. He first delineated the eight Trigrams⁴ in order to show fully

among the beings divinely constituted is also peculiarly symbolical of all that pertains to the Emperor, whose throne is entitled the dragon-seat, and whose face is described as the dragon-countenance (Mayers' Manual, i. 451). Now the first of the seven constellations of the Eastern quadrant, named the Horn (α and ζ of Virgo) on the head of the azure dragon is said to be 'the chief of the productive energies of spring.' According to another Chinese author 'the horn constellation is the head of the azure dragon. When it appears the birds and beasts shoot out their horns, and the plants break from their coverings. It is the lord of the metamorphoses of creation.' In the first month of spring—February—according to the Book of Rites, plants and trees shoot out their buds. The dragon was said to cover itself in the mud in the autumnal equinox, and to awake in spring; thus announcing by its awakening the return of nature's energies, it became naturally the symbol of the productive force of moisture, that is of spring, when by means of genial rains and storms all nature renewed itself (Schlegel, *Uran. Chin.* p. 53).

¹ With this 'footprint of a giant' we must compare the honour paid to the sacred S'ripâda, or footprint of Buddha in India, Siam, Burmah, etc., and the passage would show how imbued the historian is with Buddhist sentiments. We find similar miraculous conceptions throughout the Classics, e.g. the ancestress of the Chow dynasty conceived after treading in the toe-print of a god (*L.C.* iv. p. 465). Mr. Clement Allen says that the ode in which this story is related is 'the only one in the whole classic of poetry which he can acknowledge to be a solar myth,' although he is not sure that Houchi, whose birth is here described, had a real existence.

² See note on p. 269.

³ Here follows a quotation from part 2, chapter 2 of book iii. of the Book of Changes, called 'Confucius' Commentary.'

⁴ The eight Trigrams, said to have been developed by Fuhsi from a drawing or plan revealed to him on the back of a dragon-horse, are specially referred to in the Book of Changes, and are named as follows: Heaven, or male principle; thunder; water; mountains; earth, or female principle; wind; fire; and dew, or watery exhalations. These eight are reducible to two, the male and female principles, and they again to an ultimate unity or Supreme God. A ceaseless process of revolution is held to be at work, in the course of which the various elements or properties of nature, indicated by the diagrams, mutually extinguish and give birth to one another, thus producing the phenomena of existence (Mayers' Manual, ii. p. 241). I cannot help suspecting that the original drawing was a representation of the Linga, and when we read in the commentary of Confucius "that the River gave forth the plan, and the Lo gave forth the scroll," we must understand that the delineation of the object in question was first seen in the Lo country, brought there, doubtless, from India, where its worship is so prevalent.

the *virtus* of the gods, and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things. He worked out a system of recording by tablets in lieu of¹ knotted cords,' and marriage rites were then first instituted, a pair of skins being given as wedding presents. 'He made nets to teach men how to snare animals and to fish,' and so he was called Fuhsi (hidden victims). He kept beasts for sacrificial purposes in his kitchen, and so he was called P'aohsi (kitchen victims). There being a dragon omen, he enrolled dragons among his officers, and they were styled dragon leaders. He made the thirty-five-stringed lute. Ruling under the influence of the element Wood,² he directed his thoughts to the season of spring; thus the Book of Changes says 'The god came forth from Orient brightness, and made (the year begin with) the first month of spring.' This god was Great Brilliant. His capital was in Ch'ên. In the East he built a *fêng* monument on Mount T'ai.³ Having reigned eleven years he died.

¹ Knotted cords were used for recording events among the Peruvians and other branches of the Accadian stock. The chiefs of the ancient Tungus gave warrant to their commands by means of carved sticks, and the Man tribes in China are said to have used them in making agreements (Watters' Essays, p. 120).

² The five planets with their corresponding elements, etc., which revolve in rotation, each dynasty being supposed to be under the influence of one or the other, are as follows:

Jupiter	wood	azure	spring	east	rain
Mars	fire	red	summer	south	heat
Saturn	earth	yellow	mid-year	centre	wind
Venus	metal	white	autumn	west	fine weather
Mercury	water	black	winter	north	cold.

The worship of the sun, moon, and planets was, doubtless, brought from Chaldæa, where, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, the temple of the seven spheres, built about 1100 B.C., was dedicated to the seven planets, and coloured with the colours attributed to them by the Sabeian astrologers, but which are not the same colours as those ascribed to them by the Chinese (Chalmers' Origin of the Chinese, p. 24).

³ Mount T'ai, to the north of the town of T'ai'an in Shantung province, has the epithet of 'honorable' attached to it, being the most famous of the mountains of China, and burnt sacrifices are offered at the T'ai altar to Heaven by the Emperor of China in the second month of every year. Hills were frequently chosen for adoration in sun worship as being nearer to the deity, and so in China the Emperor goes to the East, that being the quarter whence everything is said to originate, as Seüma piao says. It would be interesting to trace what the first ceremony of the '*fêng*' was, for, of course, this one is not really historical. "In the 3rd month of the Yuanfêng year (110 B.C.) the Emperor ordained that a stone should be set up on Mount T'ai, and that (a libation) should be poured out. In the 4th month of the year, His Majesty

His posterity in the 'Spring and Autumn' period (721-480 B.C.) were Jênhsü, Hsüchü,¹ and Ch'uanyü, who all, one after the other, bore the surname Fêng.

Nükua, also of the surname Fêng, had the body of a serpent, the head of a man, and the virtue of a holy man. He came to the throne in the room of Fuhsi, under the title Nühsi. He made no hand-drums, and only fashioned the reed organ; accordingly the Book of Changes does not refer to him, and he had no share in the revolutions of the five elements. Nükua is said by one author to have also reigned under the influence of the element Wood. Now several generations after Fuhsi, the elements metal, wood, etc., came round in regular rotation, and Nükua being the first to attain special distinction on account of his great merits, and also as one of the three sovereigns, was hurriedly referred to as the 'wood king.' In his last year one of the princes named Kung kung, whose duty it

went to Mount Liangfu, and offered sacrifice to the lord of the soil. On the day *I mao* he ordered the literary men, and the fur-cap-wearing gentry among his attendants, to kill a bull by shooting it with arrows. He then performed the *fêng* ceremony on Mount T'ai, at the foot of the hill to the East, following the ceremonial styled *kiao*, in honour of the great Unity. He set up a *fêng* monument twelve feet wide and nine feet high, and below it were lodged the royal genealogical tablets covered with secret writing. The ceremony being over, the Son of Heaven, accompanied solely by the young prince who assisted him in mounting his chariot, ascended Mount T'ai, and again performed the ceremony of the *fêng*, the view thereof being interdicted to all. The next day he descended by the shady path. On the *ping chên* day he performed the *shan* ceremony on Mount Sujan, at the foot of Mount T'ai on the north-east side, the observances being similar to those performed on sacrificing to Queen Earth. The Son of Heaven on all occasions personally prostrated himself before the altar, his vestments being yellow, and music being always played. . . . It was officially stated that inasmuch as the previous period (beginning 116 B.C.) was styled 'original tripod' in consequence of a valuable tripod having been exhumed, so this year should bear the style 'original fêng monument.' The primitive form of the character 'fêng' represented the 'top of a trident above the soil,' and its first meaning seems to have been to heap up earth for an altar (Legge's Cl. III. ii. 1, 10). It also signifies a fief, or territory over which a prince is lord; great; wealthy; to seal up; a title of nobility. The *shan* ceremony was often performed at the same time as that of the *fêng*. *Shan*, according to the *T'ung chien kang mu*, means to clear away the earth and sacrifice, or to level ground for an altar (cf. L. C. III. v. 6, 4). From the foregoing it seems certain that the *fêng* ceremony was the erection of a stone in the shape of the *phallus*, while *shan* meant to hollow out earth in the shape of the *yoni*.

¹ Hsüchü and Ch'uanyü were names of towns in Shantung province, the former being an old name for Tungpingchow, and the latter being a name for Mêngyin, a district town in Yichow department (Playfair's Cities, 7717; 4859).

was to administer the criminal law, became violent and played the tyrant. He did not rule properly, for he sought by the element water to subdue that of wood. He also fought with Ch'uyung¹ and was not victorious, when, falling into a rage, he butted with his head against the Incomplete mountain, and brought it down. The 'pillar of heaven' was broken and a corner of the earth was wanting. Nükua then fused five-coloured stones to repair heaven, cut off the feet of a tortoise² to establish the four extremities of earth, collected the ashes of burnt reeds to stop the inundation, and so rescued the land of Chichow. After this the earth was at rest, the heaven made whole, and the old things were unchanged. Nükua died, and Shénning began his reign.

The blazing god, Shénning, was of the Chiang family. His mother, named Nutêng, was Yukua's daughter and Shaotien's wife. Influenced by a sacred dragon, she brought forth the blazing god with a man's body and an ox's head.³ He grew up on the banks of the Chiang river, whence he derived his surname. As he ruled by the influence of the element fire, he was called 'blazing god,' and named his officers by the help of fire. "He⁴ cut down trees to make agricultural implements, bending timber into the shape of plough handles and spades, and taught the people the art of husbandry. As he was the first to

¹ Ch'uyung, also called Ch'ungli, was the god of Fire (Mayers' Manual, i. 87, 121).

² 'Cutting off the feet of a tortoise to set up the four corners of the earth' is something like the Hindoo notion of the world being supported on the back of an elephant standing on a tortoise. One of Vishnu's incarnations was the tortoise, whose back formed a pivot for Mount Mandara (William's Hinduism, p. 105).

³ Fire and ox were both representatives of the male energy. The Greeks made their Taurine Bacchus, or bull with a human face, to express both sexes (Knight's Worship of Priapus, p. 34). The Chinese Yang and Yin theory is the exact counterpart of the doctrine of the Magi with their principles of good and evil, the former represented by light and the latter by darkness. The sect of the Magians was revived by Zoroaster in about the thirty-sixth year of Darius, and he introduced one supreme god who created both first causes, and out of these everything else. He also directed worship, first to the sun as the most perfect fire, and then to their sacred fires (Fishes, Flowers, and Fire-worship, p. 96).

⁴ The following few lines are a quotation from 'Confucius' Commentary to the Yi King' as it is called.

give lessons in agriculture he was styled 'divine husband-man.' Then sacrifices were offered at the close of the year, and red thongs used for garlanding¹ plants and trees. He was the first to taste the different herbs, and the first to make use of them for medicinal purposes. He also made the five-stringed lute." He taught people how to hold mid-day markets, when they bartered their wares and retired, every one having got what he wanted. He reduplicated the eight Trigrams, and thus obtained sixty-four symbols. He first of all had his capital at Ch'ên, and then dwelt at Ch'üfou. After reigning 120 years he died, and was buried at Ch'angsha. Shĕnnung originally came from Liehshan (burning mountain), so Tso (ch'iu ming) speaks of the son of the burning mountain called 'Pillar,' and also Lishan (whetstone mountain). The book of rites says: this was the individual of the whetstone mount who was in possession of the empire. Shĕnnung took for his consort the daughter of 'Rushing water,' named T'ingpa, who bore a son, the Emperor Ai (alas), who had a son, Emperor K'ô (conqueror), who had a son, Emperor Yü-wang (elm net). There were altogether eight generations, lasting 530 years, after which Hsien-yüan arose. His descendants were Choufu, Kanhsü, Hsilu, Ch'ichi, I-hsiang, and Shĕnlu, who were all of the Chiang tribe, and princes, or else one of the presidents of the four mountains. Under the Chou dynasty a great prince, the chief of Shĕn, was a loyal minister of the king, and Hsülieh, of the Ch'î State, was the leader of the princes of the Middle Kingdom. Now the bounties conferred by the holy men were great and extensive, so their reigns were glorious and long, and their progeny numerous. According to one author the three

¹ Binding trees with garlands is part of the old tree-worship, the tree being also a phallic emblem. Our May-day is similar to the festival of Bhavani, celebrated by the Hindoos, who erect a pole, adorn it with garlands, and then worship the powers of nature. Sir W. Ouseley says 'as votive offerings, or as tokens of veneration, wreaths, fillets, and chaplets or garlands were often suspended from the sacred branches. . . . Statius records a vow, promising that a hundred virgins of Calydon, who ministered at the altars, should fasten to the consecrated tree, chaplets, white and purple interwoven (Cultus Arborum, p. 30).

sovereigns were the sovereign of Heaven, the sovereign of Earth, and the sovereign of Man. From the beginning of creation the relations between prince and subject were carefully worked out, and as the accounts cannot be entirely rejected, they are appended hereto. When heaven and earth were first set up, there were twelve sovereigns of heaven, who lived in retirement, in a state of inaction, converts from the busy world, kings ruling under the influence of the element Wood. The period began with these 12 brothers Shêti, who reigned 18,000 years each. The 11 sovereigns of Earth, kings ruling under the influence of the element fire were 11 persons, from 'Bear's Ear' and 'Dragon gate' mountains, who also reigned 18,000 years each. The 9 sovereigns of Man,¹ who rode in cloud chariots drawn by 6 winged creatures, came from 'Valley mouth,' and were 9 brothers, who each held sway over one of the 9 provinces, and built cities and towns. They reigned for 150 periods, that is for 45,600 years. After the sovereigns of Man came the Five dragons, Suijên, Tat'ing, Pohuang, Chung yang, Chuan-hsü, Li-liu, Lilien, Hêhsü, Ts'unlu, Huntun, Haoying, Yuch'ao,² Chujang, Kot'ien, Yink'ang, and Wu-huai, for these are the styles of the imperial dynasties after the age of the three sovereigns, but there being no record in the chronological lists, we cannot tell the names of the kings, the lengths of their reigns, or the localities of their capitals. In a poem of Han's it is stated that in ancient days over 10,000 persons erected *fêng* monuments on Mount T'ai, and hollowed out ground for altars on Liangfu. Confucius observes on this that he does not know all these persons, and Kuan Iwu says that 72 persons built *fêng* monuments on Mount T'ai, of whom he³ knew 12. Now the first of these was Wuhuai, but

¹ Fergusson (*op. cit.*) points out that the nine brothers, sovereigns of man, closely resemble the nine sons of the Indian sovereign, Acnydrouven, who reigned each over one portion of the nine regions into which the earth was divided.

² Huntun and Yuch'ao are names for the years B.C. 93 and 101 respectively (L.C. iii. proleg. iii. app.).

³ The other names after Wuhuai are said to be Fuhsi, Shênnung, the Fire Emperor, the Yellow Emperor, Ch'uanhsü, Tiku, Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang,

before Wuhuai, and after the sovereign of Heaven, the chronology covers such a vast period of time that one cannot enumerate all the emperors and kings. At any rate the old books are lost, and one cannot argue it out beforehand, yet we should never say that there were no such emperors or kings. So the 'Spring and Autumn' classic has it recorded that from the creation to the capture of the Lin¹ (B.C. 481) 3,276,000 years,² divided into ten epochs, have elapsed, or 370,600 years (according to some authors). The first epoch was called that of the 9 chiefs, the 2nd the Five dragons, the 3rd Shêti (Jupiter), the 4th Holo, the 5th Lient'ung, the 6th Hsüming, the 7th Hsiufei, the 8th Huit'i, the 9th Shênt'ung, and the 10th Liuchi. Now it was arranged in the time of Huangti that the Liuchi should be added to the other 9 epochs. The above is inserted here by way of supplementing the record.

and Ch'êng, son of King Wu and nephew of Chowkung. Kuan Iwu, or Kuanchung, is stated to have been minister of Ch'i 685 B.C. (Mayer's Manual, 293). Dr. Edkins says that the myth of these seventy-two emperors was invented for the purpose of flattering the Emperor Ch'in Shih huang and glorifying the T'ai mountain. He says that religious romance began about B.C. 400 (cf. China Review, xiii. p. 407).

¹ The capture of the Lin or Ch'ilin, which has been identified with the giraffe, is said to have happened two years before Confucius died.

² If the principle of the Babylonian antediluvian period be identified as Mr. Oppert states with the Scripture period of 1656 years, owing to their analogous division by 72, the period of 3,276,000 years is similarly connected with the chronology of the ten antediluvian patriarchs of the Bible by it being also divisible by 72— $3,276,000 \div 72 = 45,500$ (Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 86).

HISTORICAL RECORDS.

CHAPTER I.—*Original Record of the Five Gods.*

Huangti¹ (Yellow god) was the son of Shaotien. His surname was Kungsun, and his prename Hsienyüan. Born a genius he could speak when a baby, as a boy he was quick and smart, as a youth simple and earnest, and when grown up intelligent. In the time of Hsienyüan, Shênnung² became enfeebled. The princes made raids on each other and harassed the people, but Shênnung could not chastise them, so Hsienyüan exercised himself in the use of weapons of war, so as to be able to punish irregularities. The princes all came and did homage, but Ch'ihyu³ (stupid criminal), the fiercest of all, could not be subdued. 'Blazing god' (*i.e.* Shênnung) would oppress the princes, so they turned to Hsienyüan, who practised virtue, marshalled his men, controlled the five elements, cultivated the five kinds of grain, pacified the nations, and went over all parts of his country. Training black bears, grizzly bears, foxes, panthers, lynxes, and tigers, he, with their aid, fought with 'Blazing god' in

¹ In the annals of the Bamboo books we find these further details about this fabulous monarch, *viz.*, that Huangti's mother Fupao saw a great flash of lightning surrounding the star Chu (a Dubhe) of the great bear constellation, whereupon she became pregnant, and gave birth to Huangti after twenty-four months gestation at the hillock of Shou (Shantung province). He was called prince of Yuhsiang state, and the second son of the prince of Shaotien. The term Yuhsiang is frequently used by the historian to designate a country as well as a personage, *e.g.* the records of King Wên, of the Chou dynasty, and the state of Ch'u records. M. Lacouperie gives 2332 B.C. as the rectified date of the first year of Huangti, the ordinary date according to the common scheme being 2697, while 2388 B.C. is the date in the Bamboo annals. In the Tsoch'uan this Emperor is also given the name of Hung. The Yuhsiang state is, according to a commentator, Hsinchêng district in the prefecture of K'ai-fêng, Honan province. For remarks on the names Shaotien and Hsienyüan *vide* my article entitled 'Chinese Antiquity' in Vol. XXII. for 1890 of this Journal.

² According to Huangfumi it was not Shênnung himself, who is here referred to, but his descendant Yuwang. Under the usual chronological scheme Shênnung reigned from B.C. 2737 to 2698.

³ Ch'ihyu is, according to a collection of legends, said to have been the chief of a band of eighty-one brothers, who had bodies of beasts with foreheads of iron, spoke like men, ate dust, made weapons of war, and oppressed the people: so Huangti ordered Yinglung to attack Ch'ihyu, who calling on the chief of the winds and the master of the rain for aid, a great storm arose. Huangti then sent the daughter of heaven, Pa (god of drought), to check the great rain caused by the enemy, and Ch'ihyu was taken and slain at Cholu, now Pao-anchow.

the desert of Panch'uan, and, after three battles, realised his wishes. Ch'ihyu was a rebel, who did not obey the Emperor's command, so Huangti, levying an army of the princes, fought against Ch'ihyu, captured, and slew him in the desert of Cholu. The princes all agreed that Hsienyüan should be the Emperor in place of Shênning, under the title Huangti. Those in the empire who would not submit, Huangti pursued and chastised, and when they were subdued he left them. He made cuttings in hills, opened roads, and was never at rest. Eastward his empire extended to the sea, Ball hill,¹ and the ancestral T'ai mountain; westward to 'Hollow cave'² and Cock's-head hills; southward to the Yangtze river and Hsiunghsiang hill; while in the north he drove out the Hsünyu. He made a treaty on Kettle hill, and built a city on the slopes of Cholu. He was constantly changing his residence, while his troops formed an encampment about him. He ordered his officers to be named after cloud omens. He appointed a chief and deputy superintendent over international affairs, and the various states being at peace, he worshipped the demons and spirits of the hills and streams with the *fêng* and *shan* ceremonies in numbers. He obtained a valuable tripod,³ and made calculations of future events, appointing 'Chief of the winds,' 'Strength-governor,' 'Everfirst,' and 'Great Swan,' to direct the people to act in accordance with the celestial and terrestrial

¹ Ball hill is on the south-east coast of Shantung, near the old town of Langye.

² 'Hollow cave' is said to have been the name of a hill in Kansu province, where Huangti studied philosophy from a supernatural being called Kuang-chêngtzü, the essence of his teaching being as follows: "See nothing, hear nothing, let your spirit be wrapped in contemplation, and your body will assume its right form. Attain absolute repose and absolute purity, do not weary yourself, nor injure your vital powers, and you will live for ever. If the eye becomes incapable of seeing, the ear of hearing, and the mind of thinking, the body will never die. Ponder on inward thoughts and shut out external influences, for much learning is a curse." These are, of course, simply Buddhist doctrines.

³ We are reminded of three historical events, which must have been present to Ssuma's mind when he wrote this account, viz. the discovery of a large tripod in the year B.C. 113, the inauguration of the *fêng* and *shan* sacrifices in the year B.C. 110, and the adjustment of the calendar B.C. 104. The first two were considered to be of sufficient importance to justify the six-year periods, 'Original tripod' period, and 'Original fêng' altar period to be named after them respectively. It is noticeable that the historian makes every one of the 'Five gods' busy himself in framing a calendar, a work on which the historian was himself engaged in the year B.C. 104.

arrangements, the dark and bright prognostications, the disputations on life and death, the planting of the crops, plants, and trees in their seasons, and the transformations of birds, beasts, insects, and moths. He also prepared a record of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars; the flow of the tides; and the properties of clay, stones, metals, and gems. He devoted much careful attention to these things, and his observation was applied to ascertaining how fire, water, wood, and other elements could be used economically. There was an auspicious omen of the earth's energy, and he was therefore called 'Yellow god.' Huangti had twenty-five sons, of whom fourteen received surnames. He lived at Hsienyüan hill, and married a woman of 'Western range' land called Leitsu, who was his principal wife, and bore him two sons, both of whose descendants held Imperial sway. The eldest, named Hsüanhsiao, or Chingyang, dwelt on the Chiang stream, and the other, who was named Ch'angyi, dwelt on the Jo stream. Ch'angyi married a woman from the Shu hills (Szüch'uan) named Changp'u, who bore him a son, Kaoyang, who possessed the virtue of a saint. Huangti died, and was buried at Ch'iaoshan, and his grandson, Ch'angyi's son Kaoyang, came to the throne under the title Emperor Ch'uanhsü.

Emperor Ch'uanhsü, or Kaoyang, was Huangti's grandson and Ch'angyi's son. Calm and unfathomable in his designs, and thoroughly versed in all matters, he exercised his talents in cultivating the ground; he recorded in their seasons the movements of the heavenly bodies, relied on spiritual influences in framing laws, taught reform by controlling the passion nature, and sacrificed with purity and sincerity. Northward his rule extended to 'Dark mound,' southward to Annam, westward to the moving sands, and eastward to 'Coiling tree.'¹ Of animate and inanimate things, of spirits

¹ A native commentator observes "The beyond sea classic says 'In the Eastern sea there is an island called Tuso, on which there grows a large peach tree which twists and coils about for 3000 *li*. To the north-east there is a door called the spirit-door, where the myriad spirits dwell. The god of heaven sends a holy being called Yülei, who keeps these spirits in check, and if any of them work harm to men, they are bound with reed withes, shot with arrows made from the peach-tree, and thrown to the tigers who eat them.'"

great and small, of those on whom the sun and moon shone, all were equally subject to him. Emperor Ch'uanhsü had a son, Chiungchan. Ch'uanhsü died, and Hsüanhsiao's grandson Kaohsin came to the throne under the title of Emperor Ku.

Emperor Ku, or Kaohsin was Huangti's great grandson, his father being Chiaochi, whose father was Hsüanhsiao, whose father was Huangti. Neither Hsüanhsiao, nor Chiaochi came to the throne, but Kaohsin did hold Imperial sway. Kaohsin was a clansman of Ch'uanhsü. Being born a genius he spoke from babyhood. He distributed his benefits everywhere, regardless of self. Intelligent enough to understand things afar off, and clever enough to search into minutiae, he followed Heaven's laws, and knew the people's needs. Humane yet dignified, kind yet truthful; he practised self-culture and all men submitted to him. He secured the revenue of the land, and spent it economically. He governed and instructed all his subjects, and they profited by the instruction. He made a calendar of the days and months past as well as future. He knew all about spirits, and worshipped them respectfully. His appearance was elegant, and his virtue eminent. His movements were well-timed, and his dress gentlemanly. Emperor Ku was thoroughly impartial all over his empire. There was no one on whom the sun and moon shone, or on whom the rain and wind blew, who was not devoted to him. Emperor Ku married a daughter of Ch'ênfêng, who bore a son named 'The highly meritorious.' He also married a daughter of Ch'ütz'ü, who bore a son Chih. Emperor Ku died, and Chih reigned in his stead. Chih reigned badly and died, and his brother 'The highly meritorious one' reigned under the title of Emperor Yao.

Emperor Yao was highly meritorious. His benevolence was like that of heaven, and his wisdom that of a god; when approached he was genial as the sun, and was looked out for as clouds in dry weather. He was rich without being proud, and esteemed yet not lax. He wore a yellow hat and plain silk dress, and drove a red car

drawn by white horses.¹ "He was able to display his supereminent virtue, by bringing into close alliance the nine degrees of kindred, and they being rendered harmonious, he forthwith regulated the people, and his people having become enlightened, the various states were at peace. He then commanded Hsi and Ho in reverent accordance with their observations of the wide heavens to record in a calendar the laws affecting the sun, moon, stars, and zodiacal spaces, and respectfully to communicate to the people the seasons (adapted for labour). He also commanded Hsi's younger brother to reside at Yüyi, called the bright valley, so as to hail with respect the rising sun, and arrange the labours of the spring; and the day being of medium length, and the culminating star (the central one of the) 'Bird' quarter of the heavens, he was to determine midspring, when the people begin to disperse, and birds and beasts to breed and copulate. He further commanded Hsi's third brother to reside at the southern frontier to arrange the transformations of summer, and respectfully observe the extreme limit (of the shadow), and the day being at its longest, and the star in the zenith that called 'Fire,' he was to fix the exact period of midsummer, when the people are most widely dispersed, birds moult, and beasts change their coats. He further commanded Ho's younger brother to reside in the west at a place called Dark Valley to respectfully convoy the setting sun, and arrange the completing labours of the autumn, and the night being of medium length, and the

¹ Here follows the whole of the first chapter of the Book of History, called 'Canon of Yao,' with the exception of the first paragraph, and a few words at the end. It is not quoted word for word, however, simpler words being occasionally employed, the meaning being retained. Dr. Legge translates the opening passage thus (L. C. III. 17): "He was able to make the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of the nine classes of his kindred, who all became harmonious. He also regulated and polished the people of his domain, who all became brightly intelligent. Finally, he united and harmonized the myriad states of the empire." In the great learning, however (Comm. i. 4), Dr. Legge translates: "He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue;" and this we are told in the same classic is to be carried out by the following process: (1) investigation of things, (2) completion of knowledge, (3) making the thoughts sincere, (4) rectification of the heart, (5) self-cultivation, (6) regulation of the family, (7) ordering the state, and (8) tranquillization of the empire.

culminating star Hsü (β in Aquarius) to determine mid-autumn, when people begin to feel comfortable, and birds and beasts look smooth and glossy. He further commanded Ho's third brother to reside in the northern region in what was called the sombre capital, to examine the hidden things, and the day being at its shortest, and the culminating star Mao (ϵ in Pleiades) to determine midwinter, when people get into cosy corners, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick. The year consisted of 366 days, an intercalary month being added to adjust the four seasons. Authentic directions were given to the various officers, and their several labours commenced. Yao said, 'Who can obediently manage these matters?' Fangch'i said, 'There is your adopted son Tanchu,¹ who is developing his intelligence.' Yao said, 'Oh! he is unscrupulous and wicked; I cannot employ him.' He said again, 'Who will do it?' Huantou said, 'The minister of works, who is generally popular, and has displayed merit, could be employed.' Yao said, 'The minister of works is talkative; if he is employed, his depravities, although he is apparently respectful, would overspread the heavens, he will not do.' He said further, 'Alas! O president of the four mountains, the waters of the flood rise up to heaven, and in their vast expanse encompass the mountains, and overtop the hills; the common people are troubled about it. Is there a capable man whom I could set to deal with the matter?' They all said, 'Kun might do it.' Yao said, 'Kun disobeys orders, and ruins his companions. He will not do.' The President said, 'Ah! well! try him, and if he is found useless, have done with him.'" Whereupon Yao adopting his suggestion, employed Kun "for nine years, but his work was not completed. Yao said, 'Alas! O president of the four mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years; you are able to carry out the decrees, do you occupy my throne.' The president replied, 'My moral qualities are

¹ Tanchu means red cinnabar, which was the basis of the mystical compounds by which the alchemists of our historian's days pretended to be able to produce gold, and confer the gift of immortality.

of such a low order that I should disgrace the Imperial throne.' Yao said, 'You must all recommend one of your esteemed relations, or even an obscure stranger.' All the courtiers said to Yao, 'There is an unmarried man of the lower orders called Shun of Yü.' Yao said, 'Yes, I have heard of him, what is he like?' The president said, 'He is the son of a blind man; his father was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his brother arrogant, but he managed by his dutiful conduct to be reconciled to them, so they have gradually improved, and not been extremely wicked.' 'Shall I try him?' said Yao. He then married his two daughters to Shun, and watched his behaviour towards them. Shun sent the two women down to the north of the Kuei river," and treated them with the ceremony due to them as his wives. Yao praised Shun, and told him¹ "carefully to show the harmony of the five human relationships, and when they could be obeyed," they became universal among the various officials, who "at the proper times arranged the visitors at the four gates in the right order, and when the visitors at the four gates were submissive," the princes and strangers from distant regions became one and all respectful. "Yao sent Shun into the hills and forests among rivers and swamps, but although fierce winds and thunderstorms prevailed, Shun did not miss his way." Yao then taking Shun to be a holy man, called him and "said, 'For three years your deliberations have been excellent, and I have found that your words can be carried into practice. You shall ascend the Imperial throne.' Shun yielded in favour of some one more virtuous than himself, and was unhappy, but on the first day of the first month Shun accepted Yao's resignation in the temple of the accomplished ancestor," who was Yao's great ancestor. "So the Emperor Yao being old ordered that Shun should be associated with him in the government of the Empire."² In order to observe

¹ Here follows the second chapter of the Book of History, styled 'Canon of Shun,' quoted in its entirety, except the first paragraph. A few sentences are interspersed here and there, which have the effect of bringing out the meaning.

² A sentence interpolated from Mencius V. i. iv. 1.

Heaven's decrees, Shun thereupon "examined the gem-adorned armillary sphere, and the jade transverse, so as to adjust the position of the 'Seven Directors.' He then offered a special sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, sacrificed purely to the six honoured ones,¹ looked with devotion to the hills and rivers, and worshipped with distinctive rites the hosts of spirits. He called in the five tokens, chose a lucky month and day, gave audience to the president of the four mountains, and all the governors, returning the tokens in due course. In the second month of every year he went eastward on a tour of inspection, and on reaching T'aitsung he presented a burnt-offering, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. He then gave audience to the chieftains of the East, putting in accord their seasons and months, and rectifying the days. He rendered uniform the standard tubes, the measures of length and capacity, and the scales; and regulated the five kinds of ceremonies. The five gems, the three kinds of silks, the two living animals, and one dead one were brought as presents to the audience, but the five implements were returned at the conclusion. In the fifth month he went to the south, in the eighth month to the west, and in the eleventh month northward on his tours of inspection, in each case observing the same ceremonies as before, and on his return he went to the temple of the ancestral tablets, and offered up a single ox. Every five years there was one tour of inspection, and four audiences of the princes at court, when they presented a full verbal report, which was intelligently tested by their works, and chariots and robes given according to their deserts. Shun instituted the division of the Empire into twelve provinces, and deepened the rivers. He gave delineations of the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five chief punishments, the whip being employed for public officers, the stick in schools, and a money penalty

¹ It is doubtful who the six honoured ones are. Some commentators maintain that they are the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought.

being inflicted for redeemable crimes. Inadvertent offences, and those caused by misfortune were to be pardoned, and those who offended presumptuously or repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Be reverent, be reverent' (said he), 'and in the administration of the law be tranquil.'" Huantou¹ approached, and spoke about the minister of works. 'I cannot even give him a trial as a workman,' said Yao, 'for he is really profligate.' The president of the four mountains recommended Kun as the proper person to look after the deluge. Yao regarded it as impracticable, but the president vehemently requested that he might be tried, so the trial was made, but without good results. Of old the people had felt that it was undesirable that the three Miao tribes in the districts of Chiang, Huai, and Ching should so often rise in rebellion; so Shun on his return spoke to the emperor requesting that "the minister of works might be banished to the ridge of Yu" to reform the Northern Ti tribes, "that Huantou might be detained on mount Tsung," to reform the Southern barbarians, that "the chief of the three Miao tribes might be removed to Sanwei (three cliffs)" to reform the Western Jung people, and that "Kun might be imprisoned for life on Mount Yu" to reform the Eastern barbarians. "These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire." Yao had sat on the throne seventy years, when he secured Shun's services for twenty years;² "then, being old, he

¹ A few sentences, which are almost a repetition of the observations about the superintendent of works and Kun as controller of the flood, are here interpolated.

² An interpolated sentence. Dr. Legge (L. C. III. p. 40) says: "It seems to me that every unprejudiced reader of the classic must understand this as meaning twenty-eight years, reckoning from Shun's accession to the administration of affairs, mentioned page 4, so that Yao's death would occur in the hundredth year of his reign, B.C. 2257. The matter is complicated, however, by what is related in the Historical Records, that Yao, getting Shun in the seventieth year of his reign, employed him for twenty years, and only then resigned to him the administration, dying himself eight years after. This account would make Yao's reign extend over ninety-eight years. The conclusion we draw from the classic is all against this view." The commentators are at variance on the point. Huang Fumi, a celebrated scholar, who lived 216-218 A.D., says that Yao Shun, 'quoted in fifty years, and was 'associated with Shun in the government' interspersed here and longer. Some of the interpolated sentences are similar to

² A sentence interpolated V.

directed that Shun should be associated with him in the government of the empire, and presented him to Heaven." Yao had abdicated the throne "twenty-eight years when he died, and the people mourned for him as for a parent, no music being played for three years throughout the empire," for which reason he was remembered. Yao knew that his son "Tanchu was a worthless fellow," who was not fit to reign, and so the authority was conferred on Shun. As it was conferred on Shun, the empire got the advantage and Tanchu was injured. If it had been conferred on Tanchu, the empire would have been injured, and Tanchu gained the advantage. Yao said, 'We certainly cannot cause the empire to suffer loss, and the advantage go to an individual.' In the end the empire was given over to Shun. "After the death of Yao, when the three years' mourning was over, Shun gave way to Tanchu, and retired to the south of the southern river. When the princes went to an audience at court, they did not present themselves before Tanchu, but before Shun; litigants did not go before Tanchu, but Shun; and the singers did not sing in praise of Tanchu, but of Shun. Shun said, 'It is from Heaven.' Afterwards he went to the capital, sat on the Imperial throne,"¹ and was styled Emperor Shun.

Shun of Yü was named Ch'unghua (double splendour); Ch'unghua's father was Kusou; Kusou's father was Ch'iaoniü (bridge cow); Ch'iaoniü's father was Chümang²; Chümang's father was Chingkang; Chingkang's father was Ch'iungchan; Ch'iungchan's father was Emperor Ch'uanhsü; Ch'uanhsü's father was Ch'angyi. From him to Shun we have seven generations. From Ch'iungchan to Emperor

¹ The foregoing seven lines are also from Mencius V. i. v. 7.

² This descent of Shun is puzzling, for it would make Shun's great-great-grandfather Yao's contemporary, although Shun married Yao's two daughters. This is an instance of the carelessness of which the historian is frequently guilty. The name of Shan's great-grandfather, Chümang, suggests 句芒 the genius of spring, one of the five spiritual beings who correspond to the five points, although the name is not written with the same characters (Mayers' Manual, ii. 155).

Shun they were all insignificant common people. Shun's father, Kusou, was blind, and his mother having died, Kusou married again and had a son, Hsiang, who was arrogant. Kusou loved his second wife, and frequently tried to kill Shun, who avoided him; when he made slight mistakes he was punished, yet he obediently served his father, stepmother, and brother, and was day by day generous, careful, and never negligent. Shun was a native of Ch'ichou, ploughed on Li mountain, fished in Thunder lake, made pots on the bank of the river, fashioned various articles at Shouch'iu, and went now and then to Fuhsia. Shun's father, Kusou, was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his brother, Hsiang, arrogant. They all tried to kill Shun, who was obedient, and never by chance failed in his duty as a son, or his fraternal love. Though they tried to kill him they did not succeed, and when they sought him he got out of the way. When Shun was twenty years old he was noted for his filial piety, and when he was thirty the Emperor Yao asked if he was fit to reign. The presidents united in bringing Shun of Yü forward as an able man, so Yao gave him his two daughters in marriage in order to observe his conduct at home, and bade his nine sons put him in charge of a post so as to note his behaviour abroad. Shun lived within the bend of the Kuei river, and was especially careful. Yao's two daughters did not dare, on account of their rank, to be proud, but waited on Shun's relations, and were constant in their wifely duties, while Yao's nine sons became more and more generous. When Shun ploughed on Li mountain, the inhabitants yielded the boundaries; when he fished in Thunder lake, the men on the lake yielded to him the best place; and when he made pots on the bank of the river, his vessels had no holes or flaws in them. If he dwelt in a place for a year he formed an assemblage, in two years it became a town, and in three a metropolis. Yao gave Shun clothes made of fine grass-cloth, and a lute, and built him a granary and shed for his oxen and sheep. Kusou again tried to kill Shun by making him go up and plaster the roof of the granary,

while he set fire to it from below, but Shun, protecting himself from the fire with a couple of bamboo hats, came down and escaped with his life. Kusou after this told Shun to dig a well, which he did, making a secret tunnel at the side to get out at. When Shun had gone right in, Kusou and Hsiang filled up the well with earth, but Shun came out by the secret passage.¹ Kusou and Hsiang rejoiced, thinking that Shun was dead, and Hsiang said, 'The plot was mine, but I will go shares with my father and mother; I will take Shun's wives, Yao's two daughters, and the lute as my share, while the oxen, sheep, granary and shed shall belong to my parents.' He remained, however, in Shun's house playing on the lute, and when Shun went thither Hsiang, startled and not well-pleased to see him, said, 'I was just thinking of you, and getting very anxious.' 'Quite so,' said Shun, 'and so you possessed yourself of all these things.' Shun again served Kusou, loved his brother, and was still more careful in his conduct. Yao thereupon tested Shun as to the five cardinal rules, and the various officers were under control.² "In former days the Emperor Kaoyang had eight talented sons;" the world benefited by them, and "they were called the eight benevolent ones. The Emperor Kaohsin had also eight talented sons, and men called them the eight virtuous ones. Of these sixteen men after ages have acknowledged the excellence, and not let their names fall to the ground. In the time of Yao he was not able to raise them to office, but Shun raised the eight benevolent ones to office, and made them superintend the land department and direct all matters, arranging them according to their seasons. He also raised the right virtuous ones to office, employing them to spread throughout the country a knowledge of the duties

¹ These various attempts of the relations of Shun to kill him, and their after behaviour, are also related, although in slightly different language, in Mencius V. i. II. 3.

² Here follows a long extract from the Tsoch'uan (vi. 18. 9). The Emperor Shaohao, although mentioned here, is not included in the historian's chronological scheme. He is generally placed between Huangti and Ch'uanhsü (B.C. 2597-2514). After the extract a few sentences are repeated, and the 'Canon of Shun' quotation is then concluded, except the last few words.

pertaining to the five social relationships, for fathers became just, mothers loving, elder brothers sociable, younger ones respectful, and children dutiful; within the empire there was peace, and beyond it submission. In ancient days the Emperor Hung (Huangti) had a son devoid of ability, who shut himself off from duty, and was a villain in secret, delighting in the practice of the worst vices, and all men called him Chaos. (The Emperor) Shaohao had a descendant devoid of ability, who overthrew good faith, hated loyalty, extolled specious and evil talk, and all the people called him Monster. Ch'uanhsü had a son devoid of ability, who would receive no instruction and acknowledge no good words, and all the people called him Block. These three men everyone was distressed about until the time of Yao, but Yao could not send them away. Chinyün had a son devoid of ability, who was greedy in eating and drinking, and pursued wealth blindly. All the people called him Glutton, hated and compared him to the three other wicked men. Shun received visitors at the four gates, but banished these four wicked ones to the four borders of the empire to manage hobgoblins; and those at the four gates rightly said "there were no wicked men among them." Shun "went to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, and, amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, did not go astray." Yao then knew that Shun was fit to accept the empire, and "being old, caused Shun to be associated with him in the government," and when he went on a tour of inspection Shun was promoted and employed in the administration of affairs for twenty years; and Yao having directed that he should be associated in the government, he was so associated for eight years. Yao died, and "when the three years' mourning was over, Shun yielded to Tanchu," but the people of the empire turned to Shun. Now Yü, Kaoyao, Hsieh, Houch'i, Poyi, K'uei, Lung, Ch'iu, Yi, and P'êngtsu were all from the time of Yao promoted to office, but had not separate appointments. "Shun having then proceeded to the temple of the accomplished ancestor, deliberated with the president of the four mountains, threw

open the four gates, and was in direct communication with officers in all four quarters of the empire, who were eyes and ears to him. He ordered the twelve governors" to talk of the Emperor's virtue, "to be kind to the virtuous, and keep the artful at a distance, so that the barbarians of the south might lead on one another to be submissive. He said to the president of the four mountains, 'Is there anyone who can vigorously display his merits, and beautify Yao's undertakings, and whom I can make prime minister?' They all said, 'There is Baron Yü, the superintendent of works,'" he can beautify the Emperor's labours. "Shun said, 'Ah! yes, Yü, you have put in order the water and the land, but in this matter you must exert yourself.' Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, while declining in favour of Millet, Hsieh, or Kaoyao. Shun said, 'Yes; but do you go and set about it.' Shun said, 'Ch'i, the black-haired people begin to be famished. Do you, Prince Millet, sow in their seasons the various kinds of grain.' He also said, 'Hsieh, the people do not love one another, and the five orders of relationship are not observed. You, as minister of instruction, must carefully diffuse abroad those five lessons of duty, but do so with gentleness.' He also said, 'Kaoyao, the southern barbarians are disturbing the summer region, while robbers, murderers, villains, and traitors abound. Do you, as minister of crime, exercise repression by use of the five kinds of punishment—for the infliction of which there are three appointed places—and the five banishments with their several places of detention, and the three degrees of distance. Be intelligent and you will inspire confidence.' Shun said, 'Who can direct the workmen?' They all said 'Ch'ui can do it'; so he made Ch'ui minister of works. Shun said, 'Who can superintend my uplands and lowlands, pastures and woods, birds and beasts?' They all said, 'Yi is the man'; so Yi was made imperial forester. Yi did obeisance with his head to the ground, and declined in favour of the officials Fir, Tiger, Black Bear, and Grizzly Bear. Shun said, 'Go and act harmoniously.'" Fir, Tiger, Black Bear, and Grizzly Bear

were accordingly his assistants. "Shun said, 'Ah! president of the four mountains, is there anyone who can superintend the three ceremonies?' They all said, 'Baron Yi is the man.' Shun said, 'Ah! Baron Yi, I will make you arranger of the ancestral temple. Day and night be careful, be upright, be pure.' Baron Yi declined in favour of K'uei or Lung, but Shun said, 'Let it be so,' and made K'uei director of music and teacher of youth. 'Be straightforward' (he added) 'and yet mild; lenient and yet stern; firm, yet not tyrannical; impetuous, yet not arrogant. Poetry gives expression to the thought, and singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression. Notes accompany that utterance, and are harmonized themselves by the pitch-pipes. The eight kinds of instruments can be adjusted, so that one shall not take from or interfere with another, and spirits and men are thereby brought into harmony.' K'uei said, 'Oh! I smite the stone; I tap the stone, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.' Shun said, 'Lung, I dread slanderous speakers and injurious deceivers, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you minister of communication. Day and night you will issue and receive my orders, but be truthful.' Shun said, 'Ah! you twenty and two men, be reverent, and you will aid in their proper seasons the undertakings of heaven.' Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations there were degradations and promotions both far and near. The people's labours generally prospered, while the people of the three Miao tribes were divided and defeated." These twenty-two all completed their labours. Kaoyao was chief minister of crime, and the people were all subservient and obtained his genuine services. Poyi was director of ceremonies, and both upper and lower classes were retiring. Ch'ui was head workman, and the various kinds of work were successfully accomplished. Yi was head forester, and hills and swamps were brought under cultivation. Ch'i was director of agriculture, and the various crops ripened in their seasons. Hsieh was minister of instruction, and the people were friendly

together. Lung superintended the foreign department, and men from afar arrived. The twelve governors did their duty, and the people of the nine provinces did not dare to rebel. But Yü's labours consisted in making great cuttings through the nine hills, making thoroughfares through the nine swamps, deepening the nine rivers, and regulating the nine provinces, each of which by their officials sent tribute, and did not lose their rightful dues. In a square of 5000 *li* he reached the wild domain.¹ To the south he governed Annam; on the north he reduced the western Jung tribes, Hsiohih, Chüsou,¹ and the Ch'iang of Ti; on the north the hill Jung tribes and the Hsichên; and on the east the tall island barbarians. All within the four seas were grateful for Emperor Shun's labours; and Yü then "performed the nine tunes,"² and the result was that strange creatures and "phœnixes flew to and fro."² Men of illustrious virtue in the empire began from the days of Emperor Shun of Yü. When Shun was twenty years of age he was noted for his filial piety, at thirty Yao raised him to office, at fifty he assisted in the administration of Imperial affairs, when he was fifty-eight Yao died, and when he was sixty-one he sat on the Imperial throne in Yao's stead. After he had occupied the Imperial throne thirty-nine years, he went on a hunting expedition to the south, died in the desert of Ts'angwu, and was buried at a place called Lingling (broken hillocks) in the Chiuyi range in Chiangnan province. After Shun had come to the throne, and was flying the Imperial flag, he went to pay a visit to his father, Chüsou, and addressed him in a grave and respectful manner,³ as a son should do. He raised his brother Hsiang to the rank of prince. Shun's son Shang-chün was also degenerate, so that Shun, being prepared, recommended Yü to the notice of Heaven, and seventeen years later he died. When the three years' mourning was over, Yü also yielded to Shun's son just as Shun had yielded

¹ References to passages in 'Tribute of Yü' (L. C. III. pp. 147, 127).

² Reference to a passage in 'Yi and Tseih' (L. C. III. 88).

³ Reference to a passage in 'Counsels of the Great Yü' (L. C. III. 66).

to Yao's son, but the princes gave their allegiance to Yü, and he thereupon came to the Imperial throne. Yao's son Tanchu, and Shun's son Shangchün, both held territory so that they might be enabled to perform sacrifices to their ancestors; they paid the due observances, such as religious ceremonies and music, and they went to the audiences as the Emperor's guests. The Emperor did not dare, without due notification from his ministers, to act on his own responsibility. From Huangti to Shun and Yü all the sovereigns had the same surname, but different dynastic appellations, and so displayed their illustrious virtue. So Huangti was called Yuhsiung (possessor of bears); Emperor Ch'uanhsü was Kaoyang; Emperor Ku was Kaohsin; Emperor Yao, Taot'ang; Emperor Shun was Yuyü (possessor of foresters); and Emperor Yü was Hsiahou (prince of Hsia); and he had also the name Ssü (sister-in-law); Hsieh had the family name of Shang with the personal name Tzü (son); and Ch'i had the family name Chou with the personal name Chi (queen).

The historian has to remark on this as follows:¹ Most scholars say that the five gods are deserving of honour, but the Book of History only refers to Yao, and those who come after him, while the book of the 'hundred families' speaks of the Yellow god. The style of the latter work is not, however, very refined, and the officials and gentry hardly ever refer to it. Confucius handed down these works, viz. 'Tsai yü's questions,' the 'virtues of the five gods,' and 'the genealogies and names of the gods,' but the literati doubt that they have been so handed down. I have travelled westward as far as 'hollow cave' hill, northward beyond Cholu, eastward I have crossed the sea, while

¹ In the historian's observation which concludes the chapter, we find a remark to the effect that all the old men he met in his travels spoke to him about Huangti, Yao, and Shun, mentioning where they lived, etc. Most sinologists of the present day are agreed in stating that these worthies were not historical characters, and so if they were emanations from Ssüma's own brain, he probably tried to persuade the old men that they really did exist, which would account for their repeatedly referring to them. At any rate, one cannot help suspecting that the historian did invent these characters, and also that he is the author of parts of the Book of Mencius.

southward I have floated on rafts along the Yangtzü and Huai rivers, and all the elders whom I met again and again talked of the places where the Yellow god, Yao, and Shun dwelt, and how very different their customs and teachings were. In short, those who are attached to the ancient literature must be familiar with their sayings. I have looked at the 'Spring and Autumn' classic, and the 'Narratives of the States,' which make the 'virtues of the five gods' and the 'genealogies and names of the gods' very clear. I have inspected these works, but not thoroughly examined them, and the portions I have quoted are none of them unimportant. There are defects in the book, and occasionally the views of others may be noted. Scholars should not think too deeply over the book, but take the general drift of it, when it can hardly be called superficial. There are a few investigations into doctrine, which I have discussed in the concrete, and then selected some of the more elegant sentences for quotation. Thus I have compiled the first chapter of the 'Original Records.'

[*To be continued.*]

ART. XI.—*Mañicūdāvadāna*, as related in the fourth chapter of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* [Paris, dev. 78]. By LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S.

THE *Svayambhūpurāṇa* [Paris, dev. 78] is probably a literary recast of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* named by copyists *Vṛhat°* and *Mahāsvayambhūpurāṇa*, and existing in many copies in the Paris, Cambridge, and London (A. S.) Libraries, and also in India. The topics of this work are identical, but the language is, to some extent, different, and the treatment of the matter fairly independent. The same can be said, so far as I am acquainted with the facts, about the Madhyama recension of the S. P. [London A. S. Library and Cambridge]. The number of chapters differs in the S. P. [Paris, dev. 78], and other redactions (being respectively 12, 20, and 8); prose¹ and verse of very varied rhythm occur intermingled throughout the book, whilst, on the contrary, the *Vṛhat°* and the *Mahāsvayambhūpurāṇa* are both, from beginning to end, written in classic *ṣlokas*. The *Mahā°*, as noticed in Bendall's Buddhist MSS. Catalogue, is only a second recension of the *Vṛhat°*: all the verses of the *Mahā°*, together with the prologue itself, are faithfully reproduced in the *Vṛhat°* edition, the distinctive mark of the two redactions being the separation between the first and the second chapters.

The chief purpose of the work is the glorification of Nepal, of the tirthas, hills and rivers which have been sanctified by some holy manifestation of *Svayambhū*. As has been already pointed out by Bendall, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* seems to be the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindu

¹ In the second, third, fourth, and twelfth chapters.

Māhātmyas. See, for instance, the appendices of the Skandapurāṇa, which are entirely devoted to an emotional description of the holy bathing-places, and specially the Svayambhūketramāhātmya. [Burnell Cat. of Tanjore MSS.]

As I have observed in Mr. C. Bendall's notes of travel ("Journey of Archæological Research in Nepal and Northern India"), there exists in Nepal, near Kaṭhmandu, a Svayambhū-caitya, much celebrated in the country. Without any hesitation one must affirm the strictest connection between this monument and the Svayambhūpurāṇa, which is, strictly speaking, the "Literature of the spot," the so-called Māhātmya of the Svayambhū-caitya.¹ This opinion, to be found in Mr. Bendall's work, is undoubtedly confirmed by numerous and quite reliable identifications given in the Vamçāvali translation, another historical and mythological compilation, translated from the local dialect by Mr. Wright as "History of Nepal," and mostly derived from the Svayambhūpurāṇa.

Whatever may be said about the truthfulness of these identifications, the book has in itself one undeniable mark of a local and mythological record. The proper names, the special or technical appearance of many of the details, are amongst its most striking peculiarities.

Nevertheless I am afraid the word "local" does not perfectly express the treatment and the object of the compilation; most probably the reader will be confused if he looks to the S.P. only for geographical or technical notices. The Svayambhūpurāṇa is, indeed, written about the Svayambhū-hill or caitya, a little peak near Kaṭhmandu and Pattān; but, for the devotee of Svayambhū, the Svayambhū-hill itself is the "hub" or, to speak Sanskrit, the "nābhi" of the world. Everything, whether deity or holy manifestation, is but an occasional form of Svayambhū; thus can the character of the document be explained and understood. The author indulges in a rather long description of Nepal, which becomes successively in the course of

¹ See Wilson, Bauddha tracts from Nepal.

centuries, a miraculous lake, a marvellous mountain, a beautiful and well-watered country. Svayambhū is, of course, the king and the teacher of the world, venerated as the first principle by the Buddhas themselves, born at a given moment upon a divine lotus, which has miraculously risen up in the lake from a wonderful root. This root was, many years before, planted by one ancient Buddha. In fact, Nepal is identified in the Svayambhū-hill.

On the other hand the S.P. pretends to be a compendium of the Buddhist pantheon. It abounds in details relative to Mañjuḥṣa, Mañjuçrī, and Khagānana. The heroes of magnanimity, that is to say, the Buddhas, play, of course, with the Rodhisattvas, a leading part in the performance of its divine drama. To Çāntaçrī is also attributed, in many circumstances, a preponderant action, also to the Nāgas. I would call the attention of the reader to the words relative to Cīna, and the *Vidyā* pilgrimage, as we may call it, to the *Pañcaçirṣa* mountain, towards the northern side of the Himālaya.

The doctrinal tendency is decidedly monotheistic. This view often finds expression in eloquent and emotional hymns. The name itself, of the book, is suggestive¹; that is to say, we have not to deal with the so-called genuine Buddhism, but with a system modified in two contradictory directions: the latter Buddhism becomes, in this work, theological and monotheistic; in another direction it tends to become superstitious and local.

But let us deal with the object of this notice, the Mañicūdāvadāna. I have just tried to give a hasty idea of the compilation into which it has been introduced. The author of the Svayambhūpurāṇa, contained in the Paris, dev. 78, has inserted, rightly or wrongly, many stories and developments in a work already completed. Other parts have been abbreviated. As there occur in the Svayambhūpurāṇa some chapters about the twelve tīrthas and upatīrthas celebrated in Nepal, the editor indulges himself in relating

¹ In the same manner Avalokita is named Prajāpati and Lokeçvara.

some legend or avadāna with which the river is more or less associated. The author, I think, does so for a double purpose: the S.P. being at the same time a manual of pious thoughts and a practical book for the pilgrims, each story must, or can, be meditated upon, in visiting each holy spot. The whole twelfth chapter can be quoted as a confirmation of this view.

The *Mañirohiṇī* river is situated in the country near Kaṭhmandu, running from the Svayambhū region. Its name occurs in the Vṛhat° and in the Mahā° S.P. The Mañirohiṇīrtha, or Maṇitīrtha, is a celebrated one. It so happens that at the end of the third chapter [Paris, dev. 78, cf. 40a] occurs the name of Maṇicūḍa. The narrator Ḍākyaśiṅha, relating the good dispositions of Jyotiḥpāla (a devotee of an ancient Buddha), continues in the following manner: "After several births he became, in the town Sāketa, the (king's son) named Maṇicūḍa. I will relate now on this occasion the Maṇicūḍa narrative. Hence come the Mañirohiṇī river and the Maṇicūḍa mountain." Then follows, in the next chapter, a rather long relation of the Maṇicūḍa story: a king who becomes a Bodhisattva, practices every Buddhist perfection, and before all others especially the perfection of charity. The king is so-called from the jewel, which was the splendid and beneficent ornament of his head. The redaction, as we shall see later, is entirely remodelled, and differs in some details from the ordinary course of the legend.

By the same process there have been introduced in the S.P. many well-known avadānas (the Mahākapijātaka, etc.), traditionary doctrines about the physical nature of the body (from Suçruta), descriptions of tantric ceremonies (especially dealing with Nāga worship in order to obtain rain). Everything is welcome in the S.P., which is at one and the same time an historical, mythological, and tantric record.

The story of Maṇicūḍa does not differ much from any other holy legend in Buddhism. Equally as to the Vyāghrī-jātaka, for instance, or to the Pūrṇa legend (Burnouf, Introduction), we may ascribe to it as a motto the remark

of the Jātakamālā: “*Na Bodhisattvacaritaṃ sukham anumoditum apy alpasattvaiḥ prāg evācaritum.*”¹ “It is very difficult for mean creatures to approve the actions of a Bodhisattva; much more, of course, to follow his example,” or that other: “*Atyayam aviganya ditsanti satpuruṣāḥ.*”² The good ones (Buddhas) like to give without measure—such stories of extraordinary charity and self-denial, of holy madness, can be written and read again and again; they will, moreover, be always wonderful and very impressive. One cannot read without emotion the legend of the hero of charity (Pradānaçūra) giving his blood and body for creatures, and answering in the following way to servants, who would like to die in his place: “By many exertions I have obtained the favour to be asked for my body and my blood by the thirsty rākṣasa” [Maṇicūdāvadāna, S.P. 78, IV. 209, and following].

These numerous stories of charity are the expression of one of the most elevated sentiments in Buddhism. Amongst them, the Maṇicūdāvadāna seems to be a very noticeable and precise instance of the Dānapāramitā worship. The same doctrine about the merit of giving one's body can be found in the Saddharmapundarikā, and the Dānapāramitā plays a very important part in Pāli Jātakas, such, for instance, as the famous Wessantara and Sivi legends. Though there is no Maṇicūda Jātaka, the giving of one's body is lauded in the Vyaggha Jātaka as much as in our story.³

Another circumstance induces me to offer this text to the Buddhist student. The Maṇicūdāvadāna is a very celebrated one. It exists in several redactions and in many copies. First, it has been reproduced in the compilation named “Divyāvadāna” [MSS. of Burnouf 98, Bibl. Nat.].

¹ Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern. p. 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 19. Read also p. 41. Na paraḍḍhkhāturāḥ svasukham avekṣante mahākārupikāḥ.

³ See about the Amisa- and the Dhammadāna, several passages of the Saddhammasaṅgaho.—It is, at present, very difficult and dangerous to have any opinion about the respective antiquity of the Sanskrit and Pali literature. Both can be old and genuine; both can be of modern development; both are equally interesting.

Secondly, it occurs in the collection of Buddhist Nepalese Literature noticed by Rajendralālamitra. In the Cambridge Library there are three recensions of the Maṇicūdāvadāna, Add. 874, 1375, and 1398. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses also (under No. dev. 96) a separate edition of the Maṇicūdāvadāna. This last exactly agrees, so far as I can judge in such a case, with the text summarised by Rajendralālamitra; nor does it differ widely from the text of the Divyāvadāna and from the Cambridge copies. Many discrepancies are found in details, or, more probably, various readings, but not so much as to call for special attention. The redaction is identical, and the larger part of the differences in the portions I have compared probably owe their origin to errors of the copyist.

All the above enumerated MSS. can be in consequence looked upon as one and the same redaction of the Maṇicūdāvadāna.

It is very different with the text given in the Svayambhūpurāṇa. The general course of the narration is, indeed, just the same, the Maṇicūdākathā of the Svayambhūpurāṇa being sometimes a true reproduction, a *rhythmical translation* of the classical avadāna. Nevertheless the contrasts are manifest; the language, the rhythm, and also some particularities of the story.

The fourth chapter of the S.P. (Maṇicūdākatha) contains two parts. First a rhythmical narration (çlokas) which follows the natural course of the avadāna, though the preliminary questions and answers are wanting. Buddha and the Bhikṣus are not, as is the rule, introduced. At the end, after the classical identifications, when the Buddha, speaking to Maitreya, has established the connection between the persons long past and those at present existing, there are a few lines about the tīrtha in relation with Maṇicūda and the other so-called *Makāras* (see çl. 466-476, 428-429, and 356-377). The counterpart of this geographical-mythological *exposé* is not to be found, of course, in the separate Maṇicūdāvadāna, which ends quite regularly with the sentence about good, mean, and bad works. The text

is written in *çlokas*, which are quite regular with the exception of two composed only of long syllables. The classical *avadāna* is written in prose, intermingled with *çlokas*, *āryā*, and *triṣṭubhs*. The two redactions are intimately connected.

The second and most interesting part of the *Maṇicūḍa-kathā* is a short narrative in prose, manifestly interpolated, and very inaccurately written. It deals with the marriage of the *Bodhisattva*; it is abruptly introduced in the *avadāna*; here we find quoted persons and facts which do not occur in the classical redaction. There are also contradictions with the rhythmical part of the *Maṇicūḍa-kathā*. This part belongs to another tradition. The writing of the dev. 78 is very good and very readable. But in these leaves the text is very corrupt, giving, for instance and in very clear characters, the reading *trituvana* and *trijuvana* for *tribhuvana*. One may say, in consequence, that the copyist used for copying this passage a different document.

The text of the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* will offer to the reader much more interest than a translation, as the language is clear with a few exceptions, and not, I hope, failing of any originality. I will only give, by way of notice, a condensed indication of the topics of the narration. It will thus be easy to find out an interesting passage. This is the method followed with so much skill by M. Sénart in the edition of *Mahāvastu*.

In the course of the *résumé*, I shall take the opportunity of pointing out the discrepancies of my text with that of the classical *avadāna*.

Finally I may add that in the 'Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India,' for Nov. 1893, there is given the Sanskrit Text and an English version of a *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* from the third book of *Kshemendra's Avadānakalpa-Latā*.

1.

Bhagavat raconte à Maitreya l'histoire de l'origine de la Manirohī. Cette rivière est une des manifestations de sa gloire.¹

Il y avait à Sāketa un roi Brahmadata doué de toutes les qualités d'un bon roi. [5] Sa femme, Kāntimati, par la vertu de l'enfant divin qu'elle doit mettre au monde, désire pratiquer d'extraordinaires générosités. Elle expose sa pensée au roi, se justifiant par la sentence "Śaṅcitam yat parityājyam yad dattam anugo nidhiḥ." [12] Les diseurs d'horoscope attribuent ce désir à la présence de l'enfant divin [13], et le roi obéit aux demandes successives de la reine. Celle-ci, avec la permission du roi, riant doucement, monte sur le trône du lion et par la grâce de celui qu'elle porte en son sein prêche au peuple la louange du Dharma et la pratique de la charité,² dont elle donne l'exemple [3 a. et 3 b.] [28]; applaudissements [29]. La reine se rend dans le parc, orné par le roi; elle guérit les maladies, nourrit et revêt les pauvres: "Le futur Bouddha écarte les ténèbres de la maladie et de la naissance, comme le soleil celles de la nuit." [37] Naissance d'un enfant admirable—astérisme et signes particuliers—[5 a.] [43] De ces signes le plus merveilleux, c'est sur le front du Bodhisattva, "un joyau à huit pointes, rivalisant avec le soleil, qui rafraîchit la chaleur, chauffe le froid, et qui, au moyen d'une liqueur distillée par lui, détruit les poisons, prévient les malheurs, protège contre maladies, eau, feu, disette et épidémie"; cette liqueur change le fer en or. [46] Dans le Garbhāgāra [et non pas dans l'udyāna?] illuminé, l'enfant commence l'éloge du joyau et révèle cette dernière propriété dont le roi ravi fait l'expérience; Brahmadata prodigue en aumônes ces richesses inattendues. [6 a.] [52] Cérémonie de la naissance; nom du prince: Mañicūda ou Ratnacūda.

¹ Mañicūdvādāna dāv. 96: 1 a. Evam mayā cṛutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān cāvastyaṁ viharati sma. 2 b. 2. tac chrūyatām bhūtapūrvam bhikṣavo sminn eva bhadrakalpe sākete nagare brahmadatto nāma rājā rājyaṁ kārayati.

² 96. 3 a. 5. gāthā en tristubh.

[56] Le prince grandit et pratique la charité. Les mendiants affluent : tous s'en vont satisfaits. [63] [6 b. 5] On prépare une "maison de charité" [dānaçālikā] pleine de vivres, de vêtements, de richesses, or, esclaves, remèdes [70] Au son de la cloche les peuples sont appelés. Distributions, exhortations à la vertu. Souhais : Vive le Roi ! [76] [7 a. 5] Bhadrāgiri et Ājāneya, le cheval et l'éléphant merveilleux de Maṇicūḍa, qui est disposé à les donner comme à sacrifier sa propre vie [77].

[7 b. 1] Or, dans l'himālaya vit le sage Bhavabhūti ;¹ il trouve, réfugiée dans un lôtus, une jeune fille qu'il conduit à l'ermitage et qu'on nomme Padmāvati [Ici s'intercale la version en prose résumée plus loin]. [80] Il juge Maṇicūḍa digne d'elle et la lui amène : "Ô Roi, cette femme est marquée de tous les signes favorables, tu dois la prendre pour Reine, la consacrer, faire avec elle le sacrifice, m'en attribuer le mérite."² [84] Réponse : "Le ferai le sacrifice à ton intention et t'en donnerai le mérite. Mérite ou démérite n'ont pas de valeur pour autrui."³ Le Bodhisattva épouse Padmāvati, la consacre et vit avec elle. [88] Naissance d'un enfant, nommé Ratnottara. Générosités de Brahmādatta qui abandonne le trône à son fils. Le jeune prince (Ratnottara) grandit, est proclamé prince héritier [94].⁴

Le Bodhisattva convoque les foules près du Maṇḍalavāṭa, qui doit servir au sacrifice : sermon sur les 3 souillures du corps, les 4 de la voix, les 3 de l'esprit—importance de la charité expliquée dans un vers spirituel [Dānād uccapadāṃ prāptaṃ saṅgrahād adhamā gatiḥ Payodānaṃ payodānāt payodhīnāṃ payograhāt]. Importance du pātra, du moment astronomique, des conditions morales—Le Bodhisattva offre

¹ . . . himavatikandare . . . bhavabhūtir nāma bhārgavagoṭraḥ prativasati |

² Sā tenāçramapadāṃ nītvā (nītvā) saṃvarddhitā padmāvatiḥ cāsyā nāma kṛtāṃ yadā yauvaṇavati samvṛttā tadā sa rāṣis tām ādāya bodhisattvasya sakāçāṃ gatvā kathayati : mahārājeyaṃ kanyā sarvalakṣaṇasampannā tavāham eṇāṃ bhāryārthe nuprayacchāmi [7 b.].

³ 8 a. 2. maharṣe na hi puṇyam apuṇyam vā paramasāntānaṃ saṅkrāmati aṭha tavaivaṃ rocate ceddhi naivāham (vaivāham) kanyayā tvāṃ uddiçya yajñam iṣtvā . . .

⁴ Ces derniers détails ne sont pas reproduits dans le dev. 96.

ses richesses, pour que, donneurs à leur tour, ceux qui les auront recues travaillent au salut du monde et au leur : "Avec une âme pure, par ces charités issues de charités ;"¹ menaces et promesses. [110] Résultat du discours de ce roi "ivre de charité" : plus de vol, de pauvreté, de maladie, ni de convoitise [113].

Les gardiens du monde passent au dessus de la ville de Sāketa mais ne peuvent dépasser le palais du roi. Rapport en est fait à Indra, installé dans la Sudharmā, qui s'inquiète à son tour de la vertu de Maṇicūḍa.² [121] Apparition de Brahmā à quatre figures. Discours de Brahmā (Vidhi) à Indra (Maghavan, Kauçika) : "Associez-vous à Maṇicūḍa dans son œuvre de charité, comme dans le sacrifice, le vent s'associe au feu mangeur de ghr̥ta" [128] [13 a. 2].

Cette même nuit, le Bodhisattva se rappelle la promesse faite à Bhavabhūti : avec Brahmaratha comme Purohita, le roi fait préparer tout ce qui est nécessaire au sacrifice, qui sera nirargada, sans borne aux générosités et en même temps non sanglant : "aucun être vivant ne sera détruit" [137] [13 b. 3].

[13 b. et 14 a. dev. 96] Cinq brahmanes demandent de l'argent, le 1^{er} pour marier sa fille, le 2^{me} pour acheter des remèdes, le 3^{me} (ruiné parce qu'il a le mauvais œil ?) pour racheter sa femme, le 4^{me} pour reprendre sa femme enlevée par des voleurs, le 5^{me} enfin, qui est un vieillard, pour vivre sans devoir travailler pour un maître. [145] Le Bodhisattva montre une profonde tristesse—Inquiétude des brahmanes—Réponse de Maṇicūḍa. Les brahmanes partent ravis, comblés de biens [151] [14 b. 5]. Préparation du mahāyajñavāta et des yajñopakaraṇa ; convocation des foules ; "Que tous les hommes viennent au grand sacrifice nirargada, emportent les richesses, jouissent de leurs souhaits réalisés !" [15 b. du 96] Présence des rois, notamment Duḥprasāha—Sermon de Maṇicūḍa, "miséricordieux comme un nuage" ; conver-

¹ 96. 10 b. 1. stances dites par Maṇicūḍa en l'honneur de la charité, triṣṭubhas et çlokas. [-11 a. 6.] la finale, 109-113, n'est pas reproduite.

² Maṇicūḍāvadāna, 12 a. 3-12 b. 2. triṣṭubhas et çlokas.

sion de l'assemblée qui forme désir du nirvāna et voeu de charité. [16 a. du 96] [161] Le roi se réjouit de son sacrifice auquel tous s'associent (sacrifice anāvṛtadvāra ou nirargada). Formules connues "Ma naissance est utile, mes richesses sont utiles, ma souveraineté royale, ma vie sert à quelque chose ! [167].

Le 20^{me} jour Çakra apparait dans le feu du sacrifice sous la forme d'un rākṣasa,¹ horrible, affamé : Le peuple fuit. Le monstre demande au roi, respectueux, de soulager la faim dévorante qui le ronge, "Le nom même de la nourriture a péri pour moi."² Promesse formelle du roi de satisfaire le rākṣasa. On apporte un monceau de choses à manger. [18z] Le Rākṣasa rit sinistrement et réclame de la chair fraîche et du sang chaud : "Car le roi est lié par sa promesse." [187] Le roi trouve cette unique solution de sacrifier son corps et son sang. [192] Le rākṣasa renouvelle sa demande ; le roi forme voeu de bodhi et parle, très bon³ : "N'aie pas peur, ô mon ami spirituel, sans doute, comme tu veux, tu mangeras de la viande, tu boiras du sang et seras rassasié. Pour moi, t'ayant aujourd'hui repu avec ma viande et mon sang frais, je traverserai l'océan de charité, que naviguent les Bodhisattvas. Aujourd'hui, quittant avec le secours de mon ami spirituel ce monde corrompu, j'obtiendrai d'être un mahāvajrakalevara (p)⁴ [204] La terre frissonne "comme un bateau sous l'effort du vent."⁵ Le Roi prie un homme habile à cette besogne, de lui ouvrir un artère, le plus important des ruisseaux du sang ; Refus. Calme et de sa propre main le Bodhisattva se prépare à sa sanglante générosité en disant la sainte formule, "Hommage au

¹ Pour faire la Bodhisattvamimāṃsā ; cf. 167 b.

² 17 a. du 96. le discours du rākṣasa est en vers et les deux rédactions ont une ressemblance frappante : p.l. 96. 17 b. : Çabdān api annapānasya na labhe darçanaṃ kutaḥ et notre texte, 176. Peyānasya svaram api nāçṛvaṃ darçanaṃ kutaḥ.

³ En çloka dans le 96. Comparez adya tvāṃ tarpayisyāmi svair ahaṃ māmāṣṇonitaiḥ et le 201 a. de notre texte.

⁴ Par son sacrifice il obtiendra d'avoir un corps de diamant ; mais ce corps ne sera plus qu'un cadavre : je comprends mahāvajra-kalevara.

⁵ 20 a. du dev. 96. Pracacāla mahī kṛtṇā naur ivāmbasi vāyunā et 204 b. pracacāla mahī siddhā vāyunā naur ivāmbasi.

Bouddha, au dharma, au saṅgha, hommage ! Pour la bodhi je nourrirai le rākṣasa avec mon sang ; étant Bouddha je nourrirai le monde avec les fruits de mon dharma, j'irai à l'autre bord de la charité, monté sur ce bateau qui est un ami spirituel." [211] Intervention inutile des spectateurs "en faveur de ce corps, instrument de vertu." [217] La veine est ouverte. Maṇicūḍa donne son sang à boire, parlant au monstre "comme à un fils unique." [21. 96 b.] [225] Le flot de sang paraissant tarir, Maṇicūḍa s'en afflige. Le rākṣasa qui ne comprend pas la cause sublime de cette tristesse, demande une explication. Réponse du Bodhisattva [229].¹ Le rākṣasa, ayant bu, demande à manger. Intervention du peuple. "Quels sont les devoirs d'un roi ? Si tu veux absolument nourrir le Rākṣasa avec de la viande, nous mettons notre corps à ta disposition." [239] Refus du roi : "Je vais au nirvāna, et par ma mort ferai le salut de plusieurs ; c'est à moi et non pas à vous que le démon demande à manger et combien (il m'a été) difficile d'obtenir un semblable solliciteur !" (Avec plus de netteté, c'est l'idée exprimée plus haut "tu es mon ami spirituel.") [245] Le Bodhisattva découpe des morceaux de viande, dans ses bras, sa poitrine . . . et les donne saignants au Rākṣasa. Sa fermeté d'âme ; néanmoins pitié pour le monde qu'il va délaisser [96. 23 a. āryā et ṣlokas mêlés]. Il tombe au milieu des lamentations du peuple. La reine se jette sur lui, se livre à toutes les plaintes d'une femme amoureuse. ". . . et si tu as décidé de partir, prends moi ! avec toi j'entrerai dans les flammes marchant à la conquête du bonheur" [23 b. 4. ṣlokas et āryā]. Les larmes se mêlent au ruisseau de sang, le concert des lamentations résonne comme un orage. [269] Maṇicūḍa revient à lui ; à sa prière le monstre continue son repas. [25 b.] [275] Pluie de fleurs. Le Rākṣasa se révèle sous sa véritable forme ; éloge du Bodhisattva : à quel état merveilleux aspirez vous par une telle charité ? [282] Réponse : "Je ne désire pas

¹ 22 a. du 96. Il est inexactement écrit bhāvam ajñāya pour ajñūya.

le bonheur des perles, bonheur soutenu par la douleur, fait d'une joie non savourée, ce bonheur exempt de paix ! J'obtiendrai la bodhi parfaite, Bouddha infiniment charitable." [286] Réponse. Prière de se souvenir de lui au jour de sa bodhi—Promesse [290]. Maṇicūḍa retrouve sa première beauté [293].¹

Vingt et unième jour du sacrifice. Don au Purohita du cheval et de l'éléphant mentionnés plus haut. Indignation de Duḥprasāha qui les réclame pour lui même. Refus de Maṇicūḍa qui ne peut pas reprendre ce qu'il a donné [28 a. 6]. Générosités faites en faveur de Bhavabhūti. Retour avec la reine dans la capitale [29 a.] [301].

[29 b-31 b.] Le Ṛṣi Vāhika raconte comme quoi Mārīci, dont il est l'élève et qui vient d'achever son instruction, lui demande comme salaire, la femme et le fils d'un homme consacré par un sacrifice—hésitation du Bodhisattva. [309] La reine tombe aux pieds de son mari : " Remplis le désir né de ton cœur—Dans une autre vie tu seras mon mari, moi ta femme dévouée ; ton désir est fécond comme l'arbre aux souhaits de la charité : mon dévouement pour toi ne peut-il pas être une vache d'abondance ? " [313] Le Bodhisattva, d'une main, tient une cruche en or ; de l'autre, il conduit Padmāvati et son fils—il pleure—pluie de fleurs—tremblement de terre—" O brahmane ! prends possession de ma femme et de mon fils, je prends possession de la Bodhi ! "—La reine et Ratnottara sont initiés à la vie des munis par le Ṛṣi Mārīci [320].

Duḥprasāha fait réclamer insolemment l'éléphant Bhadrāgiri—Réponse dédaigneuse du peuple²—Le Roi, au contraire, offre son royaume et sa vie, si Duḥprasāha veut accepter, mais il refuse l'éléphant qui ne lui appartient plus. [331] L'ennemi s'avance. Les ministres demandent la permission de combattre. Réponse du roi qui les comble d'étonnement.³ Le roi, navré des misères de l'existence,

¹ Les narrations sont quelque peu divergentes. Le 96 contient une satyagāthā en tristubh dite par Maṇicūḍa.

² 32 a. du 96. Tout les mots de notre poème y sont reproduits.

³ 33 a. du 96. Deva tvam kārūpiko nihitadāḍhaḥ ; cf. 332.

pense "à quoi bon la royauté, et comment pourrais-je m'en délivrer?"¹ [339] Quatre Pratyekabuddhas descendent vers lui, il s'accroche à leurs vêtements et il est merveilleusement transporté dans l'himālaya [342]; désespoir du peuple. [343] Départ des Jinas avec promesse de retour—vie et réflexions de Maṇicūḍa dans la forêt² [351].

Le Rṣi Gautama représente au Saint qu'il doit retourner dans le royaume et pratiquer de méritoires générosités [356].³ Réponse "La guirlande à souhaits de la charité ne porte-t-elle pas tous les fruits?" et il crée les sept makāras (c'est-à-dire, sept objets bienfaisants dont le nom commence par Ma). Un lac découpé avec la main dans la montagne; la Maṇidhārā, dont le gardien a la forme de Mahākāla; un Maṇicaitya; la yoginī nommée Maṇipūrvā; une source nommée Manohara; la montagne Maṇigiri. [364] Il s'adresse alors à Gautama: "Il y aura dans l'âge Kali une divinité généreuse (varadātri: Varadā), porteuse de mille formes; et dans ce lieu sera le roi des tīrthas. Par la grâce de la terrible Tārā ce pays sera comme un autre Népal. Je demeure ici jusqu'à la neuvième (année), je suis venu ici pour la gloire, pour être un pont, pour être un moyen de passage." [366] Gautama dit un hymne à Vajrayoginī [maṇiyoginī] dont le Maṇigiri est la résidence: "Celui qui récite joyeusement cette louange obtient l'objet de ses souhaits, habite le Ratnacūḍika (maṇigiri), se réjouit dans la ville de la yoginī." Gautama se retire, Maṇicūḍa continue ses austérités [377].⁴

Le ministre Subāhu gouverne en l'absence du roi. Il se rend chez Mārīci, lui achète le jeune prince qu'il installe

¹ Longuement développé dans le 96. Tous les termes du S.P. y sont reproduits.

² Écrit en clokas dans le Maṇicūḍāvādāna: le roi convertit les bêtes sauvages, et les devatās; il leur prêche le dharma (trīṣṭubh) [35 b-37 a.].

³ 37 a. 1. Athātra gautamo nāhama maharṣir āgatyā tasya tasya bhāvām jijñāsituṃ tapovane bhayaṃ sandarçayan . . . (cf. 351) le discours est en clokas: tapovane mahārāja nānāduṣṭabhayaṃkare nīrvāse rākṣasādīnāṃ katham sṭhātum pramodasi (362 a.). Réponse à Gautama en clokas et en āryā (386 in fine). Félicitations de Gautama. "Sādhu sādhu mahābhāga . . ." (39 a.).

⁴ Le Maṇicūḍa 96 ne présente aucun passage parallèle.

sur le trône. Bataille avec le Roi (duhprasāha) [381]. [ceci complète le récit interrompu au vers 351].¹

Sur l'avis d'Indra, Dharma fait l'épreuve du Bodhisattva.² Déguisé en chasseur, il poursuit Padmajā [Padmāvātī]. Le saint entend les cris de sa femme, la rassure de la voix, terrifie le kirāta [est ce encore Dharma ?] par la menace d'une malédiction du grand muni (Mārici ? protecteur naturel de Padmāvātī, v. 320). Mañicūda dit à sa femme : " Dans ce monde où la séparation est fatale, pourquoi désires-tu m'être réunie ? Par une séparation d'un instant ici bas, nous aurons la perpétuelle union. Vois les sept makāras, issus du dharma. Là est mon désir Retourne vers le muni." ⁴ [392] Intervention de Māra le mauvais, déguisé sous une apparence humaine. " Comment, Ô Māra, ne comprends-tu pas que je suis un Bodhisattva appliqué à sa tâche ? Pourquoi chercher à me troubler, tandis que j'accomplis des œuvres difficiles ?" ⁵ [397] ⁶ La reine se retire, raconte l'histoire au muni qui la renvoie auprès de son fils [399].

Resté seul, le Bodhisattva appelle de ses vœux l'occasion d'exercer la charité. Arrivent cinq brahmanes envoyés par Duhprasāha, dont le royaume (hastināpura) est dévasté par la maladie (v. 45). Ils demandent la Pierre miraculeuse qui orne le front du Bodhisattva [406] Mañicūda s'excuse de la peine qu'ils ont eue de venir le trouver ; il n'hésite pas ; après avoir répandu la liqueur que distille la perle (merveilles, tremblement de terre), il repousse la Vanadevī qui

¹ 39 a. du 96. Prose. Nos vers en sont visiblement décalqués.

² 39 a. 5. Prose, śloka, triṣṭubh. L'épisode est plus longuement développé que dans notre texte. " Dharma gaccha mahāvijñā mañicūdamimānsayā-padmāvātīṃ balād dhṛtya mañicūdaya darçaya . . ." Remarquez la scansion mimānsayā.

³ Même anomalie. " Te kirāta bodhisattvasya pratiçrutyā çāpabhayabhītās . . ."

⁴ Dans le 96 : Le discours de mañicūda est quelque peu différent : . . . Priyaviyogair apriyasamprayogair jātijarāvādhi Le rédacteur du S.P. s'en est inspiré. Il ajoute le passage sur les makāras.

⁵ Après le départ de māra, mañicūda continue son discours à la reine [43 a. 4 a. 4]. Réponse de celle-ci ; son départ ; discours de mārici.

⁶ 42 a. Kāmadhātviçvaro dūṣi māro bodhisattvaṃ kāmavairāgyāt pracyāvayitukāmo . . . mānavakam ātmānam abhinirmāya . . . Réponse du Bodhisattva : he māra kiṃ na jāniṣe bodhisattvam 42 b.

veut venir à son aide;¹ il donne des explications pour l'extraction de cette perle "chose difficile, car la perle descend jusqu'au palais." Le prince se tient les genoux contre le menton, les pieds liés, les mains sur les yeux; et il excite les bourreaux. "Arrachez la perle et placez la dans ma main." Un ruisseau de sang s'échappe, les immortels s'écrient dans le ciel. Le Bodhisattva s'encourage en pensant aux tristes habitants des enfers "Ne peux tu souffrir un instant pour le salut des hommes!" [425] Comme il a été dit, on place la perle dans la main de Maṇicūḍa, car il veut par un raffinement et une élégance de charité la donner de ses propres mains. On a dit que les Bouddhistes étaient "des artistes en moralité" (vv. 229, 407). [428] [dans 96. 44 a. 4-54 a. 2, prose et vers]. Apparition de deux Makāras, le Maṇilinga, ayant la forme du Çrīvatsa, [Dṛṣat trikhaṇḍam agamat tadantar jyotir āviṣat | maitreyāṃṣo pi militaḥ ṣrīvatsākārasundaraḥ | tatra liṅgaḥ sambhavan maṇilinga iti ṣrutatḥ], et la rivière Maṇirohiṇī formée du sang du Bodhisattva par les soins de la déesse de la forêt [428-429 propres au S.P.]. Retour des brahmanes; fin de l'épidémie. "La Cintāmaṇi, la cruche merveilleuse, l'arbre aux souhaits, la vache d'abondance: tout cela n'est qu'imagination; le joyau de Maṇicūḍa est le vrai joyau."—Indra averti par le tremblement de terre,² vient soigner le Bodhisattva: "tu as tout abandonné, ô roi, jusqu'à ta propre nature!" Mārici, avec ses disciples, Bhavabhūti, Padmottara, la reine et le peuple entourent le Bodhisattva. Mārici lui demande si son cœur est troublé par quelque colère.³ Maṇicūḍa proteste que dans le miroir de sa pensée" il n'y a ni haine, ni passion, ni désir.

¹ v. ṣloka 416; 96. 49 b. et 50 a. "Alam alaṅ devate mā mama yācanakān nivāraya. Mā me bodher antarāyaṅ kuru. Bhūtapūrvāṅ devate mama carī-rayācanakābhyāgataḥ [°yācanako bhyāgataḥ] Tasya devatābhir antarāyaḥ kṛtāḥ."

² Longuement décrit ainsi que d'autres phénomènes miraculeux [55 a. et b.].

³ 439. Ghātyamāneṣu vipreṣu kaṣcid rāgo na te punaḥ. 96. 37 a. et b. na te Rājaraṣe eṣaṃ . . . nirghṛṇāhrdayānāṃ pāpakariṇāṃ . . . evaṅ tikkṣaṇāḥ castrāḥ kapālaṅ pāthayatāṃ antike śhātācittam utpannam Réponse "Tivrān aparādhan api kṣamāmi pravānacittāḥ svalpam api nāparādham karomi sattveṣu dḍhabhaktitāḥ . . .

“Bouddha est le gardien du Saṁsāra.” Il prononce une Satyagāthā, et par la vertu de la vérité, une pierre deux fois plus brillante apparaît à la place de l’ancienne.¹ Prodiges [448]; arrivée des cinq Pratyekabuddhas (62 b.) [451]. Le roi retourne à Sāketa, réconforte Duḥprasāha par de bonnes paroles. “Tu as été pour moi comme un navire pour la traversée de la patience” [457]. Il consacre son fils, et se retire dans la forêt avec sa femme² [458]. Dans d’autres existences, il devint le mahābrahmā nommé Çvetaketu, le roi de la Dharmamedhā. [459]. Suit la série des identifications (62 a. du 96) [463]. Mérites qui ont obtenu à Maṇicūḍa cette destinée sublime [466] [63 b-66 b. du 96].

⁴ Conclusion : “C’est ainsi, ô Maitreya, que dans le Népal j’ai, moi aussi, dressé un grand pilier de gloire, comme Mañjuçrī de prospérité supérieure (cf. 363) [467]. Le soleil étant dans la 13^{me} station lunaire, à la pleine lune de Caitra (eurent lieu) les créations des cinq makāras, et dans un jour lunaire pur (çucyādyādyatithau) l’apparition du Ratnaliṅga (Maṇiliṅga) et de la Rohiṇikā (Maṇirohiṇī) [468]. Là, à cette place, le culte, le bain sont féconds en fruits, quand le soleil entre dans le bélier ou aux éclipses de lune et de soleil, [469] à la pleine lune de Çravaṇa; à partir de ton arrivée, ô Maitreya, le bain dans ce lac de Maṇicūḍa est regardé comme fécond. [470] Au confluent de la Maṇirohiṇī avec la Manoharā, est le Maṇitīrtha; à partir de cette place la Maṇirohiṇī s’appelle Maṇimatī. [471] Ce héros (Maṇicūḍa³) développe la création de neuf Makāras, et par la puissance de la vérité est créé le dixième Makāra. [472] Tout homme, (même) sans énergie, qui vient

¹ 586. du 96. et çloka 448. La gāthā est écrite en triṣṭubh : yathā svadeham hi mamādyā datvā kṛpāvaçād bodhiparāyanasya | nābhūn manovipratīsarajataṁ mātsaryadinatavivarjitam ca || le texte est en prose.

² Le 96 donne une longue description de la prospérité du royaume et du jambūdvīpa.

³ Deham utarjya samaye çvetaketvabhīdho bhavat | mahābrahmādhībrahmāsau dharmamedhādhipo jīta | voir Raj. Mitral. Cat. p. 122.

⁴ A ceci correspond dans le 96, la finale habituelle : Ekāntaçuḅklānām karṇaṇām

au Maṇitīrtha et qui s'y baigne, obtient en conséquence la vue des Makāras. [473] Au milieu (du cours) de la Vāṇivati (Vāgmatī) est l'excellent confluent de la Maṇimatī : Là est le suprême tīrtha, puisque c'est la grande réunion des trois (rivières, cf. trivenī). [474] Celui qui honore les caityas construits en sable, et les images (de Maṇicūḍa? tanmūrtīr), en faisant l'offrande du homa et des piṇḍas, il obtient une grande récompense [475].

“Les mortels qui, avec foi, écoutent cette lecture riche en rubis (maṇikya), obtiennent, ici bas, les sept vṛddhis et plus tard le séjour de la Bienheureuse (sukhāvati)” [476].

Le titre complet du chapitre est le suivant : “Quatrième chapitre du grand Purāna de Çrisvayambhū, sur l'origine du lac de Maṇicūḍa, et des neuf autres Makāras.” On voit que l'histoire de Maṇicūḍa est absolument subordonnée à la glorification, au Māhātmya des cultes locaux.

2.

Le rédacteur du Svayambhūpurāṇa a fait place dans son livre à une tradition différente sur le mariage de Maṇicūḍa ; il a intercalé un récit en prose dans la narration en vers. Celle-ci n'est pas altérée par cette incise. Pour bien marquer la séparation des deux parties, notre texte reproduit exactement le même vers avant et après le passage en prose [v. śloka 80. Dev. 78. 43 b. in fine et 46 b. 3^{me} ligne].

Kṣemendra dans l'Avadānakalpalatā présente les faits dans l'ordre que nous venons de voir. Il ne fait aucune allusion aux circonstances qui, d'après la Maṇicūḍakathā du S.P., ont précédé le mariage du Bodhisattva.

Le muni Bhavabhūti mène Padmāvati au roi Brahmadata, et la lui propose comme épouse pour son fils ; les femmes du palais, Kāntimatī à leur tête, ne se lassent pas d'admirer la jeune fille. Maṇicūḍa refuse, prétextant le vœu de charité qu'il a fait. “Je suis un donneur, je désire donner

ma propre chair, je désire le bois de pénitence, et vous auriez, comme elle même, à vous repentir de ce mariage. Je ferai un sacrifice et vous en appliquerais les mérites, mais je veux donner et non pas prendre.” Bhavabhūti se retire, initie Padmajā à la vie ascétique. [44 a. in fine]. Brahmadatta dit à son fils : “ Tu es un Kṣatriya, marie toi, aie des enfants, pratique des générosités raisonnables, sinon va dans la forêt : Bien que tu me sois cher, si tu es mauvais, je te rejette.” Le Bodhisattva se sauve pendant la nuit ; au point du jour la déesse de la forêt le conduit à l'ermitage de Gautama qui l'honore et le reçoit. Un jour, une Yakṣiṇī, Rayaanāvati aperçoit la princesse abandonnée au désespoir ; elle l'aborde, apprend ses malheurs et promet de la marier au Bodhisattva. Elle s'adresse d'abord à Bhavabhūti et lui conseille de donner la jeune fille à Mañicūda (mahottama) : Le pénitent répond que Mañicūda refuse. Elle se rend à Sāketa près de la reine Kāntimatī qui lui demande une femme pour son fils : La déesse dessine le portrait de Padmāvati, et reconforte la reine affligée. La déesse rend visite à Gautama, puis de nouveau à la reine : elle fait représenter un mariage, [mūrtivaivāhikam karma], prend le sūtra nommé Āsanabhedika et la servante Kuntala ; de retour à l'ermitage : “Gautama, dit elle, il faut lier ce cordon au cou du Bodhisattva ; par la vertu magique de cet objet il tombera au pouvoir de l'amour.” Mais les efforts sont inutiles : Réponse de Mañicūda “Since the state of householder is much troubled with illusion, in order to follow my own will, always I go to the tree, Ô Maharṣi, from your abode” [45 b.]. Le muni raconte ceci à la déesse qui se déguise en une Piṣāci affamée : elle demande au Bodhisattva de lui donner son corps à manger¹ : Mañicūda y consent volontiers et repousse Gautama qui veut le défendre. La Piṣāci révèle sa véritable forme “Ton corps m'appartient, tu es mon esclave ; monte dans ce char et viens vers Padmāvati.” Et

¹ Traces de rythme. La piṣāci parle en ślokaś.
Bodhisattvo si dātāsi tvām āpannāsmi durgatiḥ.

elle part avec le Donneur (dātā) et Gautama, se dirigeant vers l'ermitage de Bhavabhūti. Ils trouvent Padmāvati, bien qu'elle pratique la vie d'un ascète, tourmentée par le souvenir de son amour. La déesse représente au Bodhisattva qu'il doit secourir cette femme et cédant à l'avis de Bhavabhūti, de Gautama et de Rayanavati, le prince consent au mariage ; cérémonie—" Dans quelques mois, dit Rayanavati à Bhavabhūti, rends toi à Sāketa et donne Padmā au jeune prince." Rayanavati va trouver Maṇicūda dans l'ermitage de Gautama et lui fait remarquer qu'un Bodhisattva doit avoir femme et enfant pour pouvoir, en les donnant, pratiquer la parfaite charité. " Vous voulez la Bodhi et ne voulez pas de femme! [46 b.] J'ai été envoyée par Brahma pour vous faire remplir la pratique de la Bodhi (Bodhicaryā)." Du reste, le Bodhisattva s'est donné lui même à Rayanavati et celle ci prétend le donner à la jeune fille. Le Bodhisattva remercie la déesse et approuve ce qu'elle dit. Rayanavati rend compte à la Reine Kāntimatī du succès de ses efforts, le Roi Brahmadata vient chercher son fils et rentre avec lui dans la capitale.

Ce récit ne paraît pas être très logique dans tous ces détails ; le nom de Rayanavati (Rayanāvati et Rayanavati) est mystérieux ; on se demande s'il faut lire Lāvaṇyavati,¹ ou bien confondre cette Yakṣiṇī avec la déesse de la forêt ? (aranyavati = vanadevī). Le passage où la déesse impose au prince le mariage comme un moyen de Bodhi, devrait précéder la décision qu'il prend de se marier. Notez aussi que l'artifice de la Piṣāci paraît inspiré par la donnée traditionnelle du Rākṣasa nourri par le Bodhisattva : c'est avec l'histoire de l'extraction de la perle, l'épisode essentiel de l'avadāna.

La Maṇicūdakathā (j'appelle ainsi le récit contenu dans le S.P.) a été rédigée d'après le Maṇicūdāvadāna classique dont j'ai plus haut énuméré les exemplaires connus. La parenté des deux textes est indiscutable. Le premier passage venu offre des éléments de comparaison suffisamment

¹ Voir Raj. Mitra's Cat.

clairs pour l'établir. Non seulement la tramé des deux récits se superpose exactement, mais des phrases entières sont calquées l'une sur l'autre, et en règle générale tous les mots de notre version du S.P. sont empruntés au texte classique : souvent le compilateur n'a pas eu à modifier la place des mots et la marche de la phrase. La comparaison entre les passages où le Maṇicūdāvadāna classique est rédigé en vers, et les passages correspondants du S.P. est encore plus instructive : tel vers a été systématiquement modifié, par exemple :

[20 a. du dev. 96] Pracacāla mahī kṛstnā naur ivāmbasi vāyunā et 204 b. Pracacāla mahī saḍḍhā vāyunā naur ivāmbasi.

Comparez [dev. 96, 60 a. et b.] le discours des Pratyekabuddhas :

Sādhu sādhu mahārāja ṣobhanam te kṛtam yat sāketa-nagarāgamanam [nagaragamanam] adhvāsītum yadi tvayādyā nādhivāsitam abhaviṣyan niyatam ayaṁ janakāyaḥ padmottaro rājā saha mātṛā sarvaḥ ca te viṣayavāsī janakāya uṣṇam ṣoṇitam chardayitvā nirāsibhūtaḥ kālagato' bhaviṣyat tat saketam [sādhuketaṁ] nagaram gatvā dharmeṇa rājyam pālayeti.

Et 449, 450.

Sādhu sādhu mahārāja pūrṇam aṅgikṛtam tava
Pratyāgamanakālo yaṁ vayam api samāgatāḥ
No cet sabhūpo loko yaṁ nirāṣibhūta udvaman
Raktam mariṣyati tato gatvā kaulavratam cara.

Udvaman raktam étant la traduction très évidente de ṣoṇitam chardayitvā. Remarquez la place de ces mots dans le ṣloka.

Comparez [463, 466 et 63 a. in fine—66 b. in fine] la relation des actes méritoires qui ont valu à Maṇicūda sa haute vertu de Bodhisattva.

Notamment 466.

Viṣadagdhāṁ bhikṣum ekam viṣapraçamanauṣadhaih
Svastham cakāra tenāsyā maṇiḥ svargagunaḥkaraḥ.

Et 66 b. du dev. 96.

Rājñā maṇicūdena sārthavāhabhūtena viṣopasṛṣṭagātrasya pratyekabuddhasya viṣaṣamanibhir auśadhībhir upalipyā viṣoṣaṣamaḥ kṛtaḥ sa pratyekabuddhaḥ svasthīkṛtaḥ || tam svastham dṛṣṭvā sārthavāhena praṇidhānam kṛtam || yan mayāyam pravrajito viṣopasṛṣṭagātraḥ svasthīkṛtaḥ || anekakuṣalamūlena yatra yatra jāyeyam tatra tatrānena me ṣarīraprakṣālanodakena sprṣṭā sarve vyādhitāḥ svasthaṣarīrāḥ syur iti (sphur) || yo sau sārthavāha eṣa eva maṇicūdo rājābhūt

Nous lisons, 64 a. : Tasya rājñā [rājñāḥ : idhanakṣayād ivāgnir irūpaṁ viçese [sic] nirvānadhātū parinirvṛtasya] ṣarīre ṣarīrapūjām kṛtvā samantayojanasamucchrayaṣ catūratnamayaḥ ṣarīraḥ stūpaḥ kṛtaḥ pratisthāpitaḥ krocam uccatvena.

Comparez encore, 35 a, "iti me sarvalokāṣ ca bhavabhoga-parāyanāḥ | puṇyapāpaṁ yathā kṛtvā yānti svargaṁ ca nārakam" et le ṣloka 347.

Quelquefois la transposition a été faite avec une briéveté non exempte d'obscurité.

ṣl. 147. Tādṛṣo pi mandabhāgyo

et 14 b. 1. || Īdṛṣo ham mandabhāgyo niṣṭhuro niḥkārūnikaḥ kṛpaṇo durāsadaṣ ca yan mayi yācanakā aviṣṛā [aviṣṛambhā] bhavanti sabhayāṣ ca paroparuddham ārocayanta iti ||

Il ne peut pas y avoir d'hésitation. La version la plus riche, la phrase la plus touffue d'expressions synonymes, est le type dont notre résumé rythmé a été transcrit. L'exposé complet, détaillé, où l'on rencontre péle-mêle des récits en prose et des stances d'allure variée a servi de base à l'éditeur du Svayambhūpurāṇa. Dans une foule de passages parallèles il n'y a pas d'expression dans le S.P. qui ne se trouve reproduite ou équivalée dans l'avadāna classique. La réciproque n'est pas vraie.

Aux preuves que je tire de cette comparaison, j'ajoute la preuve que je trouve dans la langue même du Maṇicūḍavadāna. Les formes comme devadundubhiyo (96. 53 a. 3) ;

işir (ṛşir) (56 a. 5). Bho rājarşi kim (57 a. 3) sont inconnues au Svayambhūpurāṇa et démontrent l'originalité relative du Mañicūḍavadāna, issu lui même d'une version prācrite plus ancienne.¹

Le procédé littéraire suivi par le rédacteur du Svayambhūpurāṇa n'a rien de particulièrement intéressant.² Les passages reproduits plus haut peuvent en donner une idée.

¹ Mañicūḍavadāna, 96 dev.

47 a. 4. Satvaḡeṭoḡ (=satvahetōḡ).

55 a. 5. Antariḡṣe ca *veda* (*deva*) *ānūdhīyo* bhinandanti.

56 a. 5. Atha māricir *işir* idam evarūpam . . .

57 a. 2. Atha mārica ṛşir bodhisatvam ; et 4. māricir viśmaya°.

a. 3. Bho kājarşi kim idam ; et 5. na te rājarşe eṣam.

61 a. 5. . . Santarṡa (pṡa) dasareṣu (daçakuçaleṣu) karmapatheṣu pratisthāpayāmāsa.

61 b. 3. Rājarşi brahmacaryam caritvā.

Sa devatānām api mānasāni.

36 a. 1. *Prasādhaktipravāṇāni cakra.*

Dṡṡvātha tam pravrajitam vanasthā.

Guṇais tadīyer avabaddhacittāh . . .

37 a. 1. Gautamo nāhama maharşi.

² We can point that the S.P. author has followed the same method in translating into çlokas the story of Çronakoṭikarṡa [see the Divyāvadānamālā and the S.P. 92 a.].

ART. XII.—*The Vedalla Sutta, as illustrating the Psychological Basis of Buddhist Ethics.* By CAROLINE A. FOLEY, M.A.

THE two Suttas entitled Mahāvedalla and Cūḷavedalla are the 43rd and 44th in the Mūlapaṇṇāsam, or first division of the Majjhima Nikāya, the second book of the Sutta Piṭaka. This book embodies the whole of the Dhamma or Buddhist doctrine "considered in a series of long and short conversations, the principal interlocutor being usually Gotama himself, but occasionally Sāriputta, or some other of his principal disciples."¹ In the Mahāvedalla Sutta it is Sāriputta who answers questions on matters mainly psychological put to him by Mahāk Koṭṭhito, another member of the Order. In the Cūḷavedalla Sutta, Visākha, treasurer to the Buddha's kinsman and convert, King Bimbisāra, of Rājagaha, raises a number of miscellaneous philosophical problems—psychological, logical, ethical, metaphysical—in the course of an interview with Dhammadinnā, a lady, erst his wife, now a member of the Order, who has attained to Arahatsip, and is about to become renowned as the first among the women-preachers of the Buddhist doctrine. If I dwell on the present occasion more upon the contents of the latter Sutta than upon those of the former, it is because readers of this *Journal* have recently had their attention directed to Dhammadinnā and to her dialogue with Visākha by the articles which Mrs. Bode has contributed on "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation,"² consisting of selections from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya.

Readers of this *Journal* will recollect the story of Dhammadinnā and how it came to pass that Gotama pointed her out "as the chief among those Bhikkhunis who

¹ Prof. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 46.

² *Journal* for July and October, 1893.

preach"¹:—how Visākha, on his conversion by the Buddha and his attainment to “the Fruit of the Third Path,” separated from his wife;—how she, emulous and possessed of yet higher spiritual capacity than he, entered the Order and attained to Arahatsip;—how she returned, on missionary work intent, to Rājagaha;—and how Visākha, who had remained a lay-disciple, wondering whether her visit indicated regret for her old life, went to interview her. The story further says that, getting finally out of his depth in his questioning, he was by Dhammadinnā referred to the “Blessed One,” and that the latter pronounced her exposition to be equivalent to what he would himself have said.

Of the substance of that conversation between the separated pair it is only possible to gather from Mrs. Bode’s paper that it began with a question about the five *skandhas*, to which as to all other questions Dhammadinnā replied as swiftly and easily “as one could cut through the stalk of a lotus flower with a hunting knife.” It is in the Cūḷavedalla Sutta that the dialogue, as Mrs. Bode intimated, is given *in extenso*, and though the questions put by the husband are not wholly systematic in sequence, and are very miscellaneous in philosophic scope, there is enough psychological matter in them, as well as in those I shall adduce from the Mahāvedalla Sutta, to enable us to gain some insight into the results which Buddhists had obtained in analysing that content of consciousness to which they applied their ethical principles.

In studying the two Suttas I have had the advantage of consulting the portions of Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Majjhima which deal with them. Mrs. Bode was good enough to transliterate these portions for me from the MS. which she and Mr. Chalmers are, I believe, editing and translating for the Pali Text Society. In them Buddhaghosa repeats the story of Dhammadinnā with a few additional features. To mention one only: When

¹ The *Bhikkhu*, singled out for a like distinction, was Puppha Mantāni-putto. *Anguttara Nikāya*, p. 23.

Visākha tells her that their present relations must cease, instead of the reply given in the Anguttara Commentary, Dhammadinnā is here reported as feeling impressed with the wondrousness of that which had wrought so great a change in him, and as asking him, "Tell me now, this Dhamma, is it to be got by a man only, or by a woman too?" He answers: "What are you talking about, Dhammadinnā, whosoever reaches to attainment in it obtains that share of it to which he is predestined."

This Majjhima Commentary also emphasizes the point, that Visākha throughout the conversation is asking, not as a learner, but as an examiner and critic. He is soon satisfied that she, who no doubt was still dear to him, was happy and peaceful in mind. But her swift and terse replies spur him on to test her with "knot-questions" (*gan̄thipañham pucchissāmi*) and by paradoxes to catch her tripping,¹ whose wisdom and insight disclosed itself more and more as their talk went on. But Dhammadinnā evidently enjoyed dealing with a crux, and, like a daring player, let him lead her into the snare, only to slip through the noose in her own way. It is, perhaps, not without significance, that whereas she contributed only one Śloka (or verse) to the collection of Sisters' psalms, the Therīgāthā, her fancy leads her in that brief utterance to compare herself to one battling against the stream :—

chanda-jātā avasāye manasā ca phuṭā siyā |
kāmesu appaṭibaddhacittā uddhamsoṭā ti vuccatī, ||²

the sense of which may be thus rendered :

In whom desire to reach that holy Rest
Is born and on her mind hath laid its touch,
Whose heart by bonds of appetite no more
Is stayed—Bound-upstream is her name.³

¹ Cf. the picturesque expression *idāni pana avaffi sāram pañham cintetvā*— "but now having thought of an essentially involved question."

² Therīgāthā, No. 12.

³ The brief biography of Dhammadinnā given in Dhammapāla's Commentary on the Therīgāthā, together with that in the Apadāna (which he quotes) make in all four versions of this interesting episode in the life of one of the most eminent 'Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation.'

The Sutta records thirty-three questions put by Visākha to Dhammadinnā, and they occur in the following groups:— five on the ultimate constituents of individuality; two on the prevalent views respecting the nature and seat of a principle of individuality or Ego; four on the eight-fold path of virtue (with an attempt to entangle Dhammadinnā in her own definition of it); an analogous triplet on the interesting notion entitled the Saṅkhāras; five on the characteristically Oriental psychology of hypnotic trance; seven on feeling (the hedonic aspect of sensation), and its connexion with the seven forms of Bias (Anusaya); finally seven on some mental states as correlated, and on Nirvāṇa as unrelated, or absolute.

Visākha opens the discussion as follows:—“Dear lady, there is this saying ‘individuality—individuality.’ Now what, dear lady, is the individuality of which the Blessed One speaks?” She replies:—“By individuality, friend Visākha, the Blessed One speaks of the five Khandhas of Craving (upādānakkhandhā), namely, the Khandhas of (visible) form, of feeling, of perception, of the Saṅkhāras, and of thought. These, friend Visākha, are the individuality (sakkāyaṃ) spoken of by the Blessed One.” Visākha thereupon expresses pleased approval and proceeds to inquire in similar fashion into the meaning of the associated sayings, viz.:—‘The uprising of individuality,’ ‘the cessation of individuality,’ and the course leading to ‘the cessation of individuality.’

‘Sakkāyaṃ’ here occupies the place usually filled by ‘dukkham’ (sorrow or pain), concerning which similar theses, termed the four Noble Truths, were formulated by Gotama in his First Sermon, and were by him claimed as especially his own creation.¹ The first Truth alone is somewhat modified when applied to Sakkāyaṃ, but substantially it holds good both for pain and for that aggregate termed individuality, which pain inevitably attends.

¹ v. Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-sutta, Prof. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 148-162.

Now the bare statement of these four Noble Truths, being part of the elements of Buddhist doctrine (taught, as Buddhaghosa comments, by the Buddha and his chief elders to every youth who sought instruction in the Dhamma) were no test of Dhammadinnā's powers of penetration into its import. Visākha therefore proceeded to ask her a 'knot-question'—a rider, as we might say:—"Now, dear lady, that craving which you were speaking of, is it identical with those five Khandhas, or is it something different from them?" "Nay, friend Visākha," answered Dhammadinnā, "that craving is not identical with the five Khandhas, nor is it separate from them. In speaking of craving in connexion with the Khandhas, friend Visākha, we mean passionate desire (chandarāgo) for the five Khandhas."

Everyone conversant with the elements of Buddhist philosophy is aware, that for it every living person is an assemblage or compound of these five irreducible aggregates (Khandhas), as enumerated by Dhammadinnā. We, indeed, though conceiving individuality oftener under the Dualist aspect of body and mind or soul, might from an Idealist standpoint claim to distinguish in it, taken subjectively, three, if not four, irreducible phases, viz. Sense, Intellection, Feeling, and Conation or Will. This naturally suggests the inquiry, What place does the Buddhist psychology assign for the last phase? Is it a prime factor in consciousness, as is held by the majority of modern Western psychologists, or is it a resultant of the integration of the five Skandhas, as Dhammadinnā's words might seem to imply? Referring to the list of the aggregate mental phases, termed saṅkhāras, given in Childers's Dictionary, we find amongst them 'chando' and 'viriyam'—desire and effort. Now of viriyam we read farther in the list, as given in Prof. Rhys Davids's Manual, that it 'assists all other faculties'; and this reminds us of Aristotle's conception of τὸ ὀρεκτικόν, or conative effort, as being the base-element in appetite (ἐπιθυμία), passion (θυμὸς), and deliberate choice or will (βούλησις). Nevertheless, the fact is clear that Volition does not occupy in Buddhist

psychological analysis a position parallel to Feeling or Intellect, and this is of special moment when we are considering that analysis as presenting data for ethical doctrine.

All the more striking is it to note that when, in the first discourse he ever delivered, Gotama repudiated the prevalent Substantialism with regard to the localization in the individual of a permanent noumenal Ego, he seemed to imply that if this Self (*attā*) could be identified with any psychological factor at all, it would be something of the nature of Will. "The body (*rūpam*), my friends, is not the real self. If it were it would not be subject to disease, and we should be able to say, 'Let my body be such and such an one; let my body not be such and such an one!'" And so again for feeling, and the other Skandhas.¹ Here, in this imperative mood, 'Let it be, let it not be,' we have the very formula of the will—which to students of Schopenhauer may prove of interest. Here, however, Gotama leaves the problem. To have discoursed on whether there were a principle of individuality seated in and informing body or mind, and known immediately by *Opto*, if not by *Cogito*, would have been, so far as surviving records tell, in direct opposition to his methods and doctrine. In another Sutta of this Nikāya—the Cūḷa-Māluṅkya Sutta (No. 64)—we find him explicitly and emphatically discouraging an inquirer from speculating on ultimate questions, such as, *e.g.* Whether the vital principle (*jīvam*) were identical with the body (*sarīram*), and whether it persisted after death, these being quite unprofitable for a virtuous man to waste his time over.

In the same spirit, and probably in his own words, Dhammadinnā replies to the ensuing questions which are put to her on 'Sakkāyaditṭhi,' or current 'views' concerning the principle of individuality. With the usual formula in which the Buddhist doctrine, with a serene and lofty assurance of rectitude, makes allusion to the errors

¹ Mahāvagga, I. 6, 38 (Vinaya, I.).

it opposed, she tells him that "the ignorant unconverted man who perceives not the Noble Ones, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to, the doctrine of the Noble Ones; who perceives not good men, nor is trained according to the doctrine of good men,¹ regards the Self as bodily form, or as something having a bodily form, or bodily form as being in the Self, or the Self as being in the bodily form; or else he regards the Self as feeling, or as something having feeling, or feeling as being in the Self, or the Self as being in feeling": and so on for the other three Skandhas. The companion question and reply give simply the contradictory of the foregoing. Here we are wholly on metaphysical, and not on properly psychological, ground, and I need hardly stay to point out how Western speculation in the same field is in these theories paralleled and anticipated. The modern Materialism which, in deriving mind from body, identifies them in substance; the older Materialism, Tertullian's for example, in which the soul was ethereally corporeal; and the Neo-Platonist view, which held that body was included in and overlapped by soul,² will at once suggest themselves to Western readers.

These four modes of Sakkāyadit̥hi afford good opportunity to Buddhaghosa for that play of illustrative metaphor in which he is apt to revel, and through which, according to our text, some learned persons do come to know the meaning of what has been said (*upamāya p' idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsītassa attham ājānanti*—Mahāvedalla Sutta). His simile for the first mode of Sakkāyadit̥hi adduced is to compare it to identifying the colour (*vaṇṇo*) of a lamp-flame with the flame (*acci*). Then 'self as having bodily form' is like speaking of a tree having growth (*jāyāvantaṃ rukkhamaṃ*); 'bodily form as being in the self' he pictures as perfume 'in' a flower, and

¹ Cf. Sabbāsava-sutta, Majjhima Nikāya, I. p. 7; and *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 297: also Dhammasaṅgani, pp. 182, 220.

² According to Plotinus the soul is immaterial, but not in the body; the body is in the soul which overlaps it, so that part of the soul needs no bodily functioning. Cf. historic sketch in Dr. Bain's *Mind and Body*.

'the self as being in bodily form'¹ as like a jewel in a casket.

If we now turn to the cognate points raised in the Mahāvedalla Sutta, we come across a passage of great interest, admitting the existence of what would by modern psychologists be termed at least an empirical Ego, and throwing light on to the Buddhist notion of *mano*, or mind, which is often ranked with the 'five senses' as if it were a sixth sense. These five senses being qualitatively distinct, and each being unable to be affected by or enjoy the different range and province of the rest, the question is put to Sāriputta—What then is the source of reference or arbitration, and who is it that is successively affected by (or successively enjoys) these several provinces?² The reply is, 'the mind' (*mano paṭisaraṇaṃ*, etc.). This theory, containing in the germ all that modern Western psychology has developed from other sources on the vexed question of the existence of a recipient and re-acting 'Subject,' is not set forth in any other part of the Buddhist canonical books, in so far as these are yet known to us. Nor is the nature and function of 'mano' further inquired into. But the question of the existence of a subject which could use the senses as means of observation is discussed in a very interesting dialogue in the Milinda,³ and decided in the negative. And as the author of the Milinda follows very closely the Piṭaka texts it is safe to assume that this is not the meaning that should be ascribed to 'mano' in the canonical texts.

The next question is, "What is the ground of persistence or continuity of the five senses?"⁴ "Life,"⁵ is the answer.

¹ I have not rendered *rūpaṃ* by 'body,' because (a) I require this rendering for *kāyo* (*v. infra*) and (b) *rūpaṃ* in Buddhist psychology is reserved to denote the object of sight, and not that of touch (*phoṭṭhabbāṃ*), which is the more fundamental meaning of 'body.'

² *Kim paṭisaraṇaṃ, ko ca nesāṃ gocaravisayaṃ pavcesuḥhoṭhīti.* With this rendering of *paṭisaraṇaṃ* cf. the use of *paṭisāraṇa* in Milindapañho, p. 344.

³ Prof. Rhys Davids's 'Questions of King Milinda,' vol. i. pp. 86-89.

⁴ *kim pavāso tiṭṭhantīti.*

⁵ *Āyu.*

“And of life?” “Heat.”¹ “And of heat?” “Life”—a vicious circle which Sāriputta, fully conscious of his position, leaps over by comparing it, not to the hen and the egg, but to the radiance and flame of a lamp.²

The remaining questions asked by Visākha continue for the most part to play around the nature of those ultimate psychical constituents, ranked as the second, third, and fourth Skandhas. Of ‘rūpa’ and ‘viññāṇam’ nothing more is said. In the Mahāvedalla Sutta, however, the latter, which has often been rendered as ‘consciousness,’ is defined by Sāriputta as the ‘understanding,’ and the nature of feeling is adduced as an instance of the objects which are ‘understood.’³ ‘Viññāṇam’ is further declared to be of the same nature as ‘paññā,’ the distinction between them being that the former has reference to knowledge,⁴ the latter to practice.⁵ Thus it would seem that ‘paññā’ is better translated by wisdom, or even conscience, when ethically applied, than by other terms of intellection which are less directly concerned with action.

The nature of ‘saññā,’ the third Skandha, is also inquired into in the same Sutta, and its objects, whatever else they may be, are exemplified as colours. Hence it is not amiss to connect it with the term perception, as now used in English psychology, viz. Intellection on occasion of sense-impression, although the prefix *sañ-* brings it etymologically nearer to our *con*-ception.

The second and fourth Skandhas find fuller treatment in the Cūlavedalla Sutta. “How many ‘saṅkhāras’ are there, dear lady?” is the question. “There are three of them, friend Visākha: the ‘saṅkhāras’ of deed⁶ (*kī.* body), word,⁷

¹ *Utmā.*

² Oil is substituted for radiance when the metaphor illustrates the craving on which life depends. Cf. Ratana Sutta, quoted in Prof. Rhys Davids’s *Buddhism*, p. 114.

³ *kiñ-ca vijānāti: sukhan-ti pi vijānāti, dukkhan-ti pi vijānāti, adukkhamasukkhan-ti pi vijānāti.*

⁴ *pariññeyyam.*

⁵ *bhāvetabbā.*

⁶ *kāyo.*

⁷ *vaci.*

and thought.”¹ Here we find nothing of the fifty-two ‘properties or faculties of the sentient being’ enumerated in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, repeated in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, and quoted by Childers² and Prof. Rhys Davids.³ The threefold division is said by the translators of the Mahāvagga to be of frequent occurrence,⁴ and for purposes of ethical teaching was certainly more convenient than the more detailed and subjectively conceived analysis set out by the compilers of the Abhidhamma. We are reminded of the contrast afforded by the picturesque but unscientific psychology of Plato, bent on inculcating ethical and æsthetical doctrine, and the careful analysing, without ulterior ends, of Aristotle.

Dhammadinnā’s exposition of the nature of the three classes of saṅkhāras is, so far as I can gather, peculiarly her own. “Breathing,” she says, “is the saṅkhāra of body, reasoning and investigation⁵ that of speech, perception and feeling that of thought,” inasmuch as “breathing is a bodily state, bound up with the body,” reasoning and investigation precede utterance, and perception and feeling “are mental states bound up with the mind.”

This simple, if rather meagre, classification is thereupon turned to account in a series of questions and answers on the process of falling into and awaking from the state of hypnotic trance entitled ‘saññā-vedāyita-nirodha-samāpatti,’ or that attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling which differed only from death in not involving the suspension of animation and heat, as it did of the three saṅkhāras,⁶ and which was looked upon by the Indian mind generally as a concomitant of great holiness. The order of evanescence of faculties in attaining it was, that first speech, then action (or movement), and then thought was suspended; and inversely on awaking. But what Dhammadinnā seems

¹ *cittam.*

² Dictionary, *s.v.* *saṅkhāra.*

³ *Buddhism*, p. 91.

⁴ Vinaya, I. 2 f.n.

⁵ *vitakkavicāra.*

⁶ Cf. Childers, *s.v.* *nirodho.*

more concerned to lay stress upon is a point of evolution in ethical discipline somewhat similar to the teaching with which Gotama ended the discourse entitled Cetokhila Sutta,¹ also contained in the Majjhima Nikāya. The point in both cases is that, given the requisite conditions both mental and moral, the attainment of the particular state of holiness is bound to ensue, naturally, spontaneously, and independently of any fluctuations of hope or fear, wish or striving, in the yet unmaturing disciple. "The brother, O Bhikkhus," said Gotama, "thus endowed with fifteenfold determination, becomes destined to come forth into the light, capable of the higher wisdom, sure of attaining to the supreme security," just as eggs duly brooded over are bound to be hatched, whether or no the mother be longing for her little chickens to break open the shell "and come forth into the light in safety." "Not thus, friend Visākha," says Dhammānā in her turn, "is the way of a bhikkhu who is on the point of attaining cessation of perception and feeling, namely to say, 'I shall attain it, I am attaining it, I have attained it.' According as he has been previously developing his heart, so shall it bring him to that state."

The next group of questions brings us to a consideration of the second Skandha, 'vedanā' or feeling, and is of considerable interest as constituting a purely psychological inquiry, followed by its ethical application. "How many (forms of) feeling are there, dear lady?" "There are three of them, friend Visākha, pleasurable, painful, and neutral² feeling." And they are pronounced also to be either bodily or mental, and equivalent to happy sensation,³ unhappy sensation, and sensation which is neither. Apparently, therefore, Dhammānā has settled in her own mind a question which still constitutes 'one of the *cruces* of psychology,'⁴ whether, namely, it is possible to distinguish, besides pleasure and pain, a third mode of feeling

¹ Translated by Prof. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 233.

² *adukkhamasukkhā vedanā*,—feeling which is neither painful nor pleasurable.

³ *vedayitam*.

⁴ Cf. Prof. Sully, *The Human Mind*, II. p. 4.

characterized as 'bare, colourless excitement.' Visākha then follows up with what seems a paradoxical question, although the commentator does not explicitly judge it to be so. "This pleasurable feeling, dear lady, in what respect is it pleasant, in what respect is it painful; and how is painful feeling painful and how pleasurable; and neutral feeling, how is it pleasurable and how painful?" But Dhammadinnā replies imperturbably, "In pleasurable feeling, friend Visākha, pleasure is the constant, pain the intermittent, element; in painful feeling pain is the constant, pleasure the intermittent, element; in neutral feeling pleasure is the conscious, pain the unconscious, element."¹

Whether, after admitting thus much with regard to 'adukkhamasukkhā vedanā,' Dhammadinnā would have been content to define it as 'bare, colourless excitement' I am not in a position to say. It seems to have been of the nature of what our psychologists call 'intellectual feelings,' in which Surprise, the typical form of neutral feeling, plays a part, and its full development to have been that state of 'upekkhā' or equanimity, which replaced the more hedonistic emotion, when the intent and rapt Buddhist had attained the fourth stage of what was called Jhāna.

Visākha then turns to a more ethical aspect of feeling. "In pleasurable feeling, dear lady, to which bias (*anusayo*) are we most prone, to which in painful feeling, to which in neutral feeling?" There were held to be seven of these biases or inclinations:—Sensuality, hatred, false views, doubt, conceit, craving for existence and ignorance. Of these Dhammadinnā judged the first as most easily besetting the happy man, the second the man enduring pain, and the last as most liable to hold sway under neutral feeling. But she denies that this is universally true of the three

¹ I give this rendering with much diffidence, the Pāli being somewhat obscure. *Thitirukkā vipariṇāmadukkā*, is the passage translated into 'pleasure is the constant, pain the intermittent, element.' Buddhaghosa paraphrases it thus:—*sukkhāya vedanāya atthibhāvo sukkham, natthibhāvo dukkhan ti*; with the converse for pain; and then, *adukkhamasukkhāya vedanāya, jānanabhāvo sukkham, ajānanabhāvo dukkhan ti attho*.

modes of feeling; for instance, the first Jhāna, a state 'born of seclusion, full of reflection and investigation' is also characterized by joy and pleasure, but not by sensuality.

There are, as I have said, other points of philosophic interest raised in this pair of dialogues, into which I do not enter. My endeavour has been to inquire only how far they contained matter to establish or correct such notions as have thus far been obtained respecting the mental furniture and procedure of 'man as moral' from the Buddhist point of view. Light on these data seems as indispensable as some clear ideas on the complementary data afforded by the sociological conditions in which Buddhist ethics grew and flourished. It may be said that a psychological basis of ethics, affording no theory respecting either conscience or free will, is at best very defective. These doctrines, however, are comparatively modern in Western ethics, and, if we except perhaps the *δαίμων* of Socrates, have no counterpart in Greek ethical development. Nor is it contended that the Vedalla Suttas exhaust the contents of Buddhist ethical psychology. They do but contribute a brick or two towards a structure which, constructed or re-constructed already in all its main features by Oriental scholars, will only be completed when the remainder of the Buddhist canon is, by the labour of love now being bestowed upon it, rendered accessible to Western readers.

ART. XIII.—*The Nigrodha-miga-Jātaka and the Life of St. Eustathius Placidus.* By Dr. M. GASTER, M.R.A.S.

IN connection with the story of Paṭācārā I had occasion to refer (J.R.A.S. 1893, pp. 869–871) to a series of parallels in Eastern and Western literature, one of which was the life of St. Eustathius Placidus. The second half of this Vita contained those incidents which made me connect it with the cycle of which Paṭācārā seemed to be the prototype. The first half, however, was totally different, and must have been added to the other portion by the compiler of the Life. That "Life" was worthy of being put up as an example to the pious, which contained a greater number of temptations successfully withstood, of sufferings meekly borne, of miracles wondrously wrought. Therefore the miraculous and pathetic portions were enlarged and specially dwelt upon.

In the Life of St. *Placidus* we find thus two distinct tales, one of his conversion, and the other of his sufferings and ultimate martyrdom, which last portion may have been added still later in order to round off the whole tale.

In consequence of the miraculous elements in it this Life has become very popular. Not only is it to be found in Voragine's "Golden Legend," Caxton's translation included, and in the collections of "Lives" of Surius, the Bollandists, etc., but it was also incorporated into the "Gesta Romanorum," the great storehouse of mediæval tales and legends. It figures there as a moral tale, and has as heading the words, "Of the miraculous recall of sinners, and of the consolations which piety offers to the distressed."¹

¹ *Gesta Romanorum*. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. Ch. Swan, revised by W. Hooper, London, 1877, No. cx. p. 191 ff. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, No. 110, p. 444 ff. and the important bibliographical notes, p. 730.

The first portion of this legend contains the miraculous conversion brought about by a *deer*. It is very elaborate, and, as most of these "Lives," amplified by numberless details.

I give it in a somewhat abridged form, omitting repetitions and details, summing up the more important incidents.

"In the reign of Trajan there lived a king named Placidus, who was commander-in-chief of the Emperor's armies. He was of a very merciful disposition, but a worshipper of idols. His wife also participated in the same feelings, and adhered to the same religious rites. They had two sons, educated in all the magnificence of their age and station; and from the general kindness and goodness of their hearts they merited a revelation of the way of truth. As he was one day following the chase, he discovered a herd of deer, amongst which was one remarkable for the beauty and magnificence of its form. Separating itself from the rest, it plunged into the thicker part of the brake. Placidus separated himself from his companions and followed the course it had taken with all the celerity in his power. While he was giving all his strength to the pursuit, the stag at length scaled a lofty precipice, and Placidus approaching to it as near as he could, considered how to secure it. But, as he regarded it with fixed attention, there appeared, impressed upon the centre of the brow, the form of a cross, which glittered with greater splendour than a meridian sun. Upon this cross there was an image of Christ suspended; and, as formerly happened to the ass of Balaam, utterance was supplied to the stag, which thus addressed the hunter: 'Why dost thou persecute me, Placidus? For thy sake have I assumed the shape of this animal: I am Christ, whom thou ignorantly worshippest.' Some assert that the image said these things. Placidus, filled with terror, fell from his horse, and said: 'Declare what Thou sayest, that I may believe in Thee.' Christ explains his divinity, and Placidus said: 'I believe, O Lord, that Thou art He that made all things; and that Thou art He who bringest back the wanderer.' The Lord

answered: 'Go into the city and be baptized; return on the morrow hither, where I will appear again.' Placidus departed to his home and communicated all that had passed to his wife. That very night they were all baptized by the Bishop of Rome." So far the first portion of the history of St. Eustathius Placidus. His martyrdom is placed in the year 120, in the reign of Adrian, Trajan's successor. This is, however, independent of the time when the Life was written. The oldest texts seem to belong to the ninth century. A Syriac version of it exists in a MS. of the twelfth century (1197) (Brit. Mus. Add. 12,174, No. 53).¹

The principal incidents may be summed up in the following manner:—(1) Placidus, a keen hunter; (2) Placidus, of a merciful disposition, but has not yet obtained access to the way of truth; (3) A magnificent, beautiful stag draws his attention away from the rest; (4) Exposes itself to the danger of being killed, in order to speak to Placidus; (5) Christ assumes the form of that stag; (6) Placidus converted.

Without going into many details, it cannot be disputed that some of the ancient "Lives" owe their origin to Buddhist Jātakas. One need only refer to Barlaam and Joasaph. A thorough examination of those Jātakas will further reveal unexpected parallels to some of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles—I think more especially of the Acts of the Apostle *Thomas*, which Gutschmid considers to be based upon a Buddhist Jātaka,² and some incidents in those of Bartholomeus and John. There is no doubt that the publication of all the Jātakas in existence, and their being made accessible through translation, will give a powerful impetus to investigations directed towards the history of ancient hagiology.

As one portion of the legend of St. Placidus had its parallel in an Indian tale, I surmised that the other

¹ v. *W. Wright*, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, iii. 1872, p. 1132 f.

² v. *E. A. Lipinus*, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden, i. Braunschweig, 1883, p. 281.

would also have its origin there. It is well known that legends have often been made up of two or three independent tales, tacked one on to the other to make the legend more interesting and more attractive.

Through the kindness of Mr. R. Chalmers I have been able to see a proof sheet of his translation of the Jātakas (vol. i.), which is published by the Pitt Press under the editorship of Prof. Cowell, of Cambridge. In one of these Jātakas I found, indeed, the original for the history of Placidus' conversion. In comparing the two one must take into account the *rifacimento* to which those Indian tales have been subjected in order to suit them entirely to their new purposes. Only the framework, the leading incidents and the miraculous elements, are retained, the rest is fitted up with rhetorics and arguments borrowed from a different source.

The Jātaka to which I refer is the Nigrodha-miga-Jātaka, of which the following is an abstract¹: "Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was born a deer. At his birth he was golden of hue; his eyes were like round jewels; the sheen of his horns was of silver; his mouth was like a bunch of scarlet cloth; his four hoofs were as though lacquered; his tail was like the yak's; and he was as big as a young foal. Attended by five hundred deer he dwelt in the forest under the name of King Banyan Deer. And hard by him dwelt another deer also with an attendant herd of five hundred deer, who was named Branch Deer, and was as golden of hue as the Bodhisatta.

"In those days the king of Benares was passionately fond of hunting, and always had meat at every meal. Every day he mustered the whole of his subjects and went hunting. Thought his people, 'Suppose we were to sow food and supply water for the deer in his own pleasure; and, having driven in a number of deer, to bar them in and deliver them over to the king.' So they did. Henceforth the king betook himself to the pleasure, and in looking once

¹ It is also translated in full in Prof. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' No. 12, p. 205 ff.

over the herd, saw among them two golden deer, to whom he granted immunity. Sometimes he would go of his own accord and shoot a deer to bring home; sometimes his cook would go and shoot one. At first sight of the bow the deer would dash off trembling for their lives; but after receiving two or three wounds, they grew weary and faint, and were slain. The herd of deer told this to the Bodhisatta, who sent for Branch, and said, 'Friend, the deer are being destroyed in great numbers; and, though they cannot escape death, at least let them not be needlessly wounded. Let the deer on whom the lot falls go to the block by turns, one day one from my herd, and next day one from yours.' The other agreed. Now one day the lot fell on a pregnant doe of the herd of Branch, and she went to Branch and said, 'Lord, I am with young; order me to be passed over this turn.' 'No, I cannot make your turn another's,' said he. Finding no favour with him, the doe went to the Bodhisatta, and told him her story. And he answered, 'Very well; you go away, and I will see that the turn passes over you.' And therewithal he went himself to the place of execution, and lay down with his head on the block. Cried the cook on seeing him, 'Why! here is the king of the deer, who was granted immunity! What does this mean?' And off he ran to tell the king, who, on hearing it, mounted his chariot and came with a large following.

"My friend, the king of the deer, how comes it that you are lying here?"

"Sire, there came to me a doe big with young, who prayed me to let her turn fall on another; and, as I could not pass the doom of one to another, I, laying down my life for her, and taking her doom on myself, have laid me down here."

"My lord, the golden king of the deer, said the king, never yet saw I, even among men, one so abounding in charity, love, and pity as you. Therefore am I pleased with you. Arise! I spare the lives of both you and her."

"The Bodhisatta interceded then with the king for the

lives of all creatures, and obtained from him the promise that they would henceforth be spared. After thus interceding, the Great Being arose, established the king in the Five commandments, saying, 'Walk in righteousness, great king. Walk in righteousness and justice towards parents, children, townsmen, and country-folk, so that when this earthly body is dissolved, you may enter the bliss of heaven. Thus, with the grace and charm that marks a Buddha, did he teach the Truth to the king.'"

So far the Jātaka, as much as it concerns us here. The principal points are absolutely identical with those of the story of Placidus. (1) The king, a mighty hunter. (2) Of a merciful disposition, but has not yet obtained access to the way of truth. (3) The marvellous deer, characterized by specially brilliant horns. (4) Exposes itself to the danger of being killed in order to speak to the king. (5) The Bodhisatta impersonated by that deer, and (6) The successful conversion of the king by the deer.

The specific Buddhist argument, viz. the self-sacrifice, loses its force in the change from Buddhism to Christianity, and is therefore omitted in the story of Placidus.

The date of the Jātaka is not a matter of conjecture. As the central incident is to be found represented among the sculptured medallions of the Stupa of Bharhut (No. 1 in Plate xxv. and No. 2 in Plate xliii. of Cunningham's publication), it must therefore belong to the second or third century B.C., and is thus close upon a thousand years older than the oldest written record of the story of Placidus. The "Divine Deer" alone would suffice to prove the Buddhist origin of the latter, as Buddha, in several previous births, had been "King of the Deer." I know not of any other example of Christ appearing under the form of a deer or any other animal. It is a thoroughly Buddhist conception, which sees in the animal one of the forms of existence and impersonations of Buddha, and has been taken over bodily from the Jātaka to be incorporated into the Life of Placidus, the other half of which is also of the same Buddhist origin.

ART. XIV.—*The Madhura Sutta concerning Caste.* By
ROBERT CHALMERS.

THE Sutta of which the Pāli text and commentary, together with a translation, are here given, is No. 84 of the Majjhima Nikāya. In addition to the interest which attends every addition to our knowledge of the great canonical books of primitive Buddhism, this Sutta may claim a twofold interest of its own, derived (i.) from the form in which the dialogue is cast, and (ii.) from its subject.

As regards the form, whilst the Madhura Sutta is unlike the generality of Suttas in presenting as the chief interlocutor not the Buddha himself but one of his disciples, yet it is not without parallels in this respect. For example, in Sutta No. 44 of the Majjhima Nikāya,¹ the learned Sister Dhammadinnā expounds the Truth to her whilom husband; whilst in Suttas Nos. 15 and 43 Moggallāna and Sāriputta respectively play the chief part, and there are not even the final words of approval with which in No. 44 the Buddha endorses what Dhammadinnā has taught. There is, however, one essential point in which the Madhura Sutta is marked off from even such Suttas as the three mentioned. For, whereas in all those three, even in Nos. 15 and 43, we are carefully, if irrelevantly, informed of the precise spot at which the Buddha was dwelling at the time of the dialogue—in the Madhura Sutta it is expressly stated that the Buddha was no longer living but dead. The only parallel which occurs to me is found in the (unedited) Ghoṭamukha Sutta (No. 94 of the Majjhima Nikāya), where the circumstances leading up to the statement are precisely similar to those of the Madhura Sutta. The important

¹ Analysed in Miss Foley's article in this year's J.R.A.S.

fact which these two Suttas formally prove is that, like Christianity in the hands of St. Paul, Buddhism, after the death of its founder, continued to develop in the hands of his disciples.

In the Madhura Sutta Kaccāna discusses, as the Buddha had discussed in other Suttas, the great Indian institution of caste—or ‘colour’ according to the literal translation of the term used for caste alike in Pāli and in Sanskrit. It is not within the province of this paper to investigate the evolution of the caste-system from the primary distinction of colour between the white Aryan invaders and the ‘black men’ whom they first encountered in India. By the time that Buddhism arose, some five centuries before the Christian era, caste was an accomplished fact; within the Aryan pale, society was more or less rigidly divided into the four ‘classic’ castes. Thus in the Kaṇṇakathāla Sutta¹ (No. 90 of the Majjhima Nikāya) the Buddha is represented as saying—

“There are these four castes—kshatriyas, brahmins, vaiśyas, and śūdras. Of these four castes, two—the kshatriyas and the brahmins—are given precedence, to wit, in salutation, homage, obeisance, and due ministry.”

It is important at this point to note that the Pāli Piṭakas, in specifying the four castes as above, invariably give precedence to the kshatriyas—the rājanyas of the Vedic hymns. As it may be taken for certain that, when this ‘kingly class’ first arose, it was supreme in Indian society, the Piṭakas preserve the ancient tradition in their championship of the established precedence of the kshatriyas against the presumptuous usurpation of the brahmins, and mark the transitional epoch when the brahmin’s claim to pre-eminence,

¹ As the Sutta has not yet been edited, I give an extract from the Pāli text—

“Cattāro ’me, mahārāja, vaṇṇā—khattiyā brāhmaṇā vessā suddā. Imesaṃ kho, mahārāja, catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ dve vaṇṇā aggama akkhāyanti,—khattiyā ca brāhmaṇā ca—yadidaṃ abhivādana-paccupaṭṭhāna-añjalikamma-sāmicikammaṃ ti.”

“Nāhaṃ, bhante, Bhagavantaṃ ditṭhadhammikaṃ pucchāmi; samparāyīkhaṃ, bhante, Bhagavantaṃ pucchāmi.”

though urged with growing arrogance, had not yet extorted universal recognition—more particularly from the kshatriyas. There is an excellent illustration of this in the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (No. 3 of the Dīgha Nikāya), where the young brahmin Ambaṭṭha denounces the Sakyan kshatriyas as follows:— “The Sakyan race is fierce, violent, hasty, and long-tongued. Though they are naught but men of substance, yet they pay no respect, honour, or reverence to brahmins.” And the young brahmin goes on to complain that he himself had not been treated by them in Kapilavastu with the respect which he expected. Without attempting to deny the allegation, the Buddha urges that the Sakyans were at home in their own city, and that Ambaṭṭha had no right to be so angry because no notice was taken of him. Far more important for our present purpose are sections 24–28 of the same Ambaṭṭha Sutta, which deal with the treatment accorded by kshatriyas and brahmins respectively to the son (i.) of a kshatriya youth by a brahmin girl, and (ii.) of a brahmin youth by a kshatriya girl. In reply to the Buddha’s series of questions, the young brahmin is forced to admit that in both cases alike the brahmins will recognize the hybrid offspring as a full brahmin, whereas the kshatriyas will not admit to kshatriya rank anyone who is not the child of kshatriya parents on both sides. “So it is clear,” triumphantly argues the Buddha, “whether you regard it from the male or from the female side, that it is the kshatriyas who are the best people, and the brahmins their inferiors.” Similarly, the young brahmin is forced to admit that, if a kshatriya is expelled by his fellows, the brahmins will welcome him as one of themselves, and he will rank as a full brahmin;¹ whereas an expelled brahmin is never received by the kshatriyas. Hence, even when a kshatriya is in the depths of degradation, still it is true that the kshatriyas are the best people, and the brahmins their inferiors! Having got the young brahmin

¹ This conflicts with Prof. Rhys Davids’ statement (Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 24) that at the rise of Buddhism “no kshatriya could any longer become a brāhman.”

so far in recognizing the lesson taught by the facts of life, the Buddha clinches the matter with a favourite quotation¹:—

“Moreover, it was the Brahmā² Sanañ-kumāra³ who uttered this stanza—

Khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmim ye gotta-paṭisārino.

Vijjācaraṇa-sampanno so seṭṭho deva-mānuse ti.

(The kshatriya is best among folk who heed lineage.

He who knows and acts aright is best among gods and men.)

“Now this stanza, Ambaṭṭha, was well sung and not ill sung by the Brahmā Sanañ-kumāra, well said and not ill said, sensible and not senseless. I, too, Ambaṭṭha, join in saying that the kshatriya is best among folk who heed lineage,” etc.

¹ It occurs in the Majjhima and Saṃyutta Nikāyas, as well as in the above passage in the Dīgha.

² At page 239 of his *Buddhism*, Bishop Copleston strangely mistakes Brahmuno for brāhmaṇa, and translates “It was a brahman”!

³ In note 14 to page 38 of his *Vishnu Purāna* (London, 1840), H. H. Wilson says:—“The Kumāra creation is the creation of Rudra or Nilalohita, a form of Śiva, by Brahmā, which is subsequently described in our text, and of certain other mind-born sons of Brahmā, of whose birth the Vishnu Purāna gives no further account: they are elsewhere termed Sanat-kumāra, Sananda, Sanaka, and Sanātana, with sometimes a fifth, Ribhu, added. These declining to create progeny, remained, as the name of the first implies *ever boys*, Kumāras: that is, ever pure and innocent; whence their creation is called the Kaumāra. . . And the Linga has . . . ‘Being ever as he was born, he is here called a youth; and hence his name is well known as Sanat-kumāra.’ This authority makes Sanat-kumāra and Ribhu the two first born of all; whilst the text of the Hari Vansa limits the primogeniture to Sanat-kumāra. . . . Sanat-kumāra and his brethren are always described in the Saiva Purānas as Yogis: as the Kūrma, after enumerating them, adds: ‘These five, oh Brahmans, were Yogis, who acquired entire exemption from passion’; and the Hari Vansa, although rather Vaishnava than Saiva, observes that the Yogis celebrate these six, along with Kapila, in Yoga works.”

In Pāli, Sanat-kumāra becomes Sanañ-kumāra, still retaining the meaning of *δ εἰ παῖδες*. Buddhaghosa, in his commentary on the above Pāli text as it occurs in the 53rd Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, says:—“*Sanañ-kumārenāti* porānaka-kumārena. Cirakālo patthāya ‘kumāro’ ti paññāto. So kira manussapathe pañca-cūlaka-kumāra-kāle jhānañ nibbattetvā aparihinsajjhāno brahmaloke nibbatti. Tassa so attabhāvo piyo ahoṣi manāpo; tasmā tādisena va attabhāvena carati. Tena tañ ‘Sanañ-kumāro’ ti sañjānanti.” (“Sanañ-kumāra means ‘The maid of yore.’ From very ancient days he has been known as ‘the Maid.’ Tradition says that, when among men in the epoch of the Five Little Maids (?=the five mind-born sons of Brahmā above), he grew to Insight, and, dying with Insight full and undimmed, was re-born in the Brahmā Realm. His old existence was so sweet and dear to him that it was always in such semblance that he went about. Therefore, he was known as Sanañ-kumāra.”)

On enquiry of Sanskrit scholars, I have been unable to discover any trace of this remarkable *gāthā* in existing brahminical literature. Now, it is hardly conceivable that Buddhism could have concocted the verse, and have had the impudence to foist its authorship upon the venerable personality of Sanat-kumāra; the forgery would have been too monstrous, and the exposure too certain. On the other hand, with the growing claims of the brahmins to precedence, so inconvenient an utterance by so eminent a brahminical authority would naturally tend to be relegated to oblivion, and so, in course of time, to be dropped altogether out of the official recension of brahmin texts. But it is to be hoped that the discovery of the *gāthā* in Sanskrit may at once corroborate the Buddha in his favourite quotation, and dispel all *prima facie* suspicion of brahminical *suppressio veri*.

The general feeling of Buddhism in favour of kshatriya precedence is briefly indicated in the statement of Chapter iii. of the *Lalitā Vistara*, which is thus translated by Foucaux:—
 “ Les Bôdhisattvas naissent certainement dans deux familles, celle des Brahmanes et celle des Kchattriyas. Quand c’est la famille des Brahmanes qui est respectée, ils naissent dans une famille de Brahmanes; quand c’est la famille des Kchattriyas qui est respectée [yadā kshatriya-guruko loko bhavati], ils naissent dans une famille de Kchattriyas. *Aujourd’hui, religieux, la famille des Kchattriyas est respectée, c’est pour cela que les Bôdhisattvas naissent dans une famille de Kchattriyas.*”

If we pass from social to intellectual rank, it is interesting to note that—at least, in the Upanishad period, in which Buddhism probably arose—there was anything but a tendency among the brahmins who composed the Upanishads to despise the philosophic attainments of the kshatriyas. In the Upanishads it is the great kshatriya kings who are always represented as teaching the brahmins Vedānta. And in the Chāndogya Upanishad (of which there is a translation by Professor Max Müller in vol. i. of the *Sacred Books of the East*), frequent references are made to the superior learning of kshatriyas. It is a kshatriya sage

who appears in Book i. 8, 1, silencing the brahmins, and again in Book v. 3. At the end of Book v. 3, occurs a very remarkable passage in which Gautama, the father of the Gautama gotra, who had gone to the court of the King of Pañcāla for instruction in the knowledge of a future life, is thus addressed by the king:—

“Since, o Gautama, thou hast thus spoken to me and since this wisdom never came to the brahmins before thee, therefore among all people (*or* in all worlds) to the kshatriya caste alone has this instruction belonged.”¹

In the Vāseṭṭha Sutta (No. 35 of the Sutta Nipāta and No. 98 of the Majjhima Nikāya) the Buddha appeals to comparative morphology to show that caste distinctions are unscientific. There are numerous generic and specific marks distinguishing the several grasses and trees, worms, moths, beasts, birds, and fishes; but these numerous marks are not found on men as on all other living creatures; the distinctions between man and man are individual, not specific or generic. Herein, Gotama was in accord with the conclusion of modern biologists that “the *Anthropidae* are represented by the single genus and species, Man,”—a conclusion which was the more remarkable inasmuch as the accident of colour did not mislead Gotama, as it did within living memory the citizens of a free and enlightened republic.

II.

So far, this sketch of caste from the Buddhist point of view has been confined to what the Kaṇṇakathāla Sutta calls *ditṭhadhammika*, i.e. facts of the visible world. It remains to consider the Piṭaka view of caste with reference to *samparāyika*, i.e. matters concerning the life hereafter. On this head the Piṭakas are emphatic in asserting the irrelevancy of all caste distinctions; the saving

¹ See also the same legend in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Truth was open to attainment by all castes alike in equal degree. Of the many illustrations which might be adduced to show the worthlessness of caste in the higher life, one of the most picturesque occurs in the *Kaṇṇakathāla Sutta*, and is here given in an English version.

Says the King to the Buddha: "There are these four castes, sir—*kshatriyas*, *brahmins*, *vaiṣyas*, and *śūdras*; let us suppose them to be imbued with the five forms of strenuous exertion to win Release. In this case would there be any distinction, sir, any difference between these four castes?"

"Here too, sire (replies the Buddha), I do not admit any difference whatsoever between them, that is to say as regards Release compared with Release. Just as if, sire, a man were to kindle a fire with dry herbs, and another man were to kindle a fire with dry *sāl*-wood, and a third were to kindle a fire with dry mango-wood, and a fourth with dry fig-wood—what think you, sire? Would these divers fires kindled with divers wood show any difference whatsoever in flame as compared with flame, in hue as compared with hue, in brightness as compared with brightness?"

"No difference at all, sir."

"Even so, sire, is the inward illumination which is kindled by effort and nursed by strenuous exertion. I say that there is no difference whatsoever herein, that is to say in Release as compared with Release."

III.

The *Madhura Sutta*, as will be seen *infra*, deals with the caste system under five heads. It teaches that caste (i.) cannot ensure material success in life; (ii.) cannot save the wicked from punishment hereafter; (iii.) cannot debar the good from bliss hereafter; (iv.) cannot shield evildoers from the criminal law; and (v.) cannot affect the uniform veneration extended to the *religieux*, whether he be sprung from

the highest or the lowest of the four castes. In all these important respects the four castes are exactly equal.¹ The Madhura Sutta does not go on to state, nor does any Sutta with which I am acquainted venture to state, that in every possible respect the four castes were on one identical footing of equality. Such a statement would have evinced a certain blindness to facts. For, though in all essentials caste was an empty name to the Buddha, nevertheless, the distinctions of caste had a residual sphere of petty activity, and ranked among the 'accidents' of life. Whilst caste had no part in the higher life (which was alone worthy of an earnest man's attention), and was irrelevant in the less trivial of mundane relations, yet there undoubtedly remained a region where, in the absence of higher qualifications, the hereditary distinctions of caste were accepted as an appropriate *differentia* between little men. But into this trivial region Gotama disdained to enter. He was content to explode the caste theory, without denouncing it as a formal institution.

The MSS. which I have used in settling the Pāli text of the Madhura Sutta are four in number—two Burmese (B) and two Sinhalese (S). The Burmese MSS. are (i.) the Mandalay manuscript (B^m) taken from King Theebaw's library, and (ii.) the Phayre manuscript (B^p), forming part of the collection of Buddhist texts obtained by Sir A. Phayre. These two MSS., which are both in the India Office Library, are from the same original, but B^m is incomparably superior to B^p, not only in calligraphy, but in accuracy and scholarship. The India Office Library also contains one of the Sinhalese MSS. which I have collated, namely, that quoted as S^t, which is the Turnour manuscript.

¹ Bishop Copleston (p. 234) states that "in Madhura Sutta (Maj. Nik. v. *sic.*) Gotama explains that all castes are ultimately equal, as the good, of whatever caste, will enjoy the like reward of their deeds in heaven, and the bad suffer alike in hell."

In collating this with the Copenhagen manuscript in the Sinhalese character (S^c), I was struck with the constant uniformity of readings of the two MSS., particularly in copyist's blunders and lacunæ. There can be no doubt that both are copies of a common original, as also are B^m and B^p.

For the text of Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Madhura Sutta I have relied on a single manuscript, in the Sinhalese character, in my own possession, which Mrs. Bode has been so good as to transcribe for me. In the notes to the Sutta the readings of Buddhaghosa in his Commentary are cited as 'Bu.' In this connection it seems well to repeat the words of Vilhelm Trenckner, in his preface to vol. i. of the Majjhima Nikāya (P.T.S. 1888):—
 "Whenever Buddhaghosa's readings, from his comments upon them, are unmistakable, they must in my opinion be adopted in spite of other authorities. His MSS. were at least fifteen centuries older than ours, and in a first edition we certainly cannot aim at anything higher than reproducing his text as far as possible."

[MADHURA-SUTTAM.]

Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ¹ āyasmā Mahā-Kaccāno Madhurāyaṃ viharati Gundāvane.² Assosi kho rājā Madhuro Avantiputto "Samaṇo khalu bho Kaccāno Madhurāyaṃ viharati Gundāvane; taṃ kho pana bhavantam³ Kaccānam evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abhuggato 'paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī bahussuto cittakathī kalyāṇapaṭibhāno⁴ vuddho c' eva arahā ca⁵; sādhu kho pana tathārūpānam arahatam dassanam hotīti."⁶ Atha kho rājā Madhuro

¹ S^c insert Bhagavā.

² S^c Gunadavane *throughout*.

³ S^c bhagavantam.

⁴ B^m kalyāṇapaṭibhāno.

⁵ S^c va.

⁶ S^c hoti.

Avantiputto bhadrāni bhadrāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhadrān yānam abhirūhitvā¹ bhadrehi bhadrehi yānehi Madhurāya nīyyāsi² mahañcarājānubhāvena³ āyasmantañ Mahā-Kaccānañ dassanāya ; yāvaticā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va yen' āyasmā Mahā-Kaccāno ten' upasañkamañ, upasañkamitvā āyasmatā Mahā-Kaccānena saddhim sammodi sammodaniyam⁴ kathañ sārāṇiyam⁵ vitisāretvā⁶ ekamantañ nisīdi. Ekamantañ nisinno kho rājā Madhuro Avantiputto āyasmantañ Mahā-Kaccānañ etad avoca :—“ Brāhmaṇā, bho Kaccāna, evaṃ āhaṃsu— ‘ Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno⁷ añño vaṇṇo ; brāhmaṇā va sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇho añño vaṇṇo ; brāhmaṇā va sujjhanti, no abrahmaṇā ; brāhmaṇā⁸ Brahmuno puttā orasā⁹ mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā ti.’ Idha¹⁰ bhavañ Kaccāno kim āhāti¹¹ ? ”

“ Ghoso yeva kho eso, mahārāja, lokasmiñ :— ‘ Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo ; brāhmaṇā va sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇho añño vaṇṇo ; brāhmaṇā va sujjhanti, no abrahmaṇā ; brāhmaṇā Brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā ti.’ ”

“ Tad aminā p' etañ, mahārāja, pariyaēyena veditabbañ yathā ghoso yev' eso lokasmiñ : ‘ Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo—pe—brahmadāyādā ti.’ Tañ kim¹² maññasi, mahārāja ? Khatiyaassa ce pi ijjeyya¹³ dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātārūpena vā, khattiyo pi¹⁴ saassa¹⁴ pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī¹⁵ kimkārapaṭṭissāvī¹⁶

¹ B^{MP} bhadrāni bhadrāni yānāni abhirūhitvā ; S^c abhiruhitvā.

² B^{MP} niyyasi.

³ B^{MP} mahaccar^o ; S^c mahār^o. Cf. Dīgha Nikāya, vol. i. p. 49, and Sumaḅgala-Vilāsini, vol. i. p. 148.

⁴ B^{MP} sammodaniyam.

⁵ B^{MP} sārāṇiyam.

⁶ B^{MP} vitisāretvā.

⁷ So Bu. and B^{MP} ; S^c hīno throughout.

⁸ B^{MP} insert va.

⁹ S^c putto orasa here, elsewhere putto orasā ; S^c omits Brahmuno, here only.

¹⁰ S^c iti.

¹¹ B^{MP} akkhāyīti.

¹² B^{MP} kim here and subsequently.

¹³ B^{MP} Bu. and (here) S^c, which subsequently reads iccheyya ; S^c iccheyya, corrected here from ij(jheyya).

¹⁴ B^{MP} pisassa throughout.

¹⁵ S^c pacchānipātī ; S^c B^{MP} pubbuṭṭhāyī—pacchanipātī—K^o.

¹⁶ B^o k—āvi.

manāpacārī¹ piyavādi, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa, vesso pi 'ssāssa, suddo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi ti ? ”

“ Khattiyassa ce pi, bho Kaccāna, ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa vesso pi 'ssāssa, suddo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi ti.”

“ Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Brāhmaṇassa ce pi ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi, vesso pi 'ssāssa, suddo pi 'ssāssa, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi ti ? ”

“ Brāhmaṇassa ce pi, bho Kaccāna, ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi, vesso pi 'ssāssa, suddo pi 'ssāssa, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi ti.”

“ Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Vessassa ce pi ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, vesso pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi, suddo pi 'ssāssa, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi ti ? ”

“ Vessassa ce pi, bho Kaccāna, ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, vesso pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādi, suddo pi 'ssāssa, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkāranipātī manāpacārī piyavādi ti.”

“ Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Suddassa ce pi ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, suddo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manā-

¹ B^p manāpacārī- throughout ; S^h has the i short here only.

pacāri piyavādī, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa, vesso pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacāri piyavādī ti?"

"Suddassa ce pi, bho Kaccāna, ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena vā jātarūpena vā, suddo pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacāri piyavādī, khattiyo pi 'ssāssa, brāhmaṇo pi 'ssāssa, vesso pi 'ssāssa pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kimkārapaṭṭissāvī manāpacāri piyavādī ti."

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Yadi evaṃ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti? no vā? kathaṃ vā te ettha¹ hotīti?"

"Addhā kho, bho Kaccāna, evaṃ sante ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā² honti; na 'sam³ ettha kiñci nānākaraṇaṃ samanupassāmiti."

"Iminā pi kho etaṃ, mahārāja, pariāyena veditabbam yathā ghoso yev' eso lokasmiṃ: 'Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo—pe—brahmadāyādā ti.' Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idhāssa khattiyo paṇātipātī⁴ adinnādāyī⁵ kāmesu micchācārī⁶ musāvādī⁷ piṣuṇāvāco⁸ pharusāvāco⁹ samphappalāpī abhijjhālū¹⁰ byāpannacitto micchādīṭṭhī¹¹; kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apūyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyya¹²? no vā? kathaṃ vā te ettha hotīti?"

"Khattiyo pi,¹³ bho Kaccāna, paṇātipātī adinnādāyī kāmesu micchācārī musāvādī piṣuṇāvāco pharusāvāco samphappalāpī abhijjhālū byāpannacitto micchādīṭṭhī; kāyassa

¹ S^t tattha *here only*.

² S^t sammā honti, *here only*.

³ B^m nesaṃ, B^p nāhaṃ *corrected to nesaṃ*, S^t *here* nāsaṃ, *elsewhere* na 'sam, Bu. na 'sam.

⁴ S^t B^m paṇātipātī; S^t paṇātipātī *here, elsewhere* paṇātipātī, *but* paṇātipātā *infra*.

⁵ B^m adinnādāyī.

⁶ S^t B^p micchācārī.

⁷ S^t B^p musāvādī *throughout*, B^m -di *here only*.

⁸ B^p piṣuṇāvāco; *so* S^t *usually*.

⁹ S^t pharusāvāco, B^p pharusāvāco.

¹⁰ B^m abhijjhālū.

¹¹ S^t B^p micchādīṭṭhī.

¹² B^m upapajjeyya *throughout*.

¹³ B^m *insert* hi *throughout*.

bhedā param marañā apāyam duggatim vinipātam nirayam uppajjeyya? Evañ me ettha hoti, evañ ca pana me etañ arahatañ sutan ti.”

“Sādhu sādhu, mahārāja; sādhu kho te etañ, mahārāja evañ hoti; sādhu ca pana te etañ arahatañ sutam. Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idhāssa brāhmaṇo, idhāssa¹ vesso,² idhāssa¹ suddo pānātipāti adinnādāyi—pe—³ kāyassa bheda param marañā apāyam duggatim vinipātam nirayam uppajjeyya? no vā? Katham vā te ettha hotīti?”

“Suddo pi hi,⁴ bho Kaccāna, pānātipāti adinnādāyi—pe—kāyassa bheda param marañā apāyam duggatim vinipātam nirayam uppajjeyya. Evañ ca pana me etañ arahatañ sutan ti.”

“Sādhu sādhu, mahārāja; sādhu kho⁵ te etañ, mahārāja, evañ hoti; sādhu ca pana te etañ arahatañ sutam. Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Yadi evañ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti? no vā? katham vā te ettha⁶ hotīti?”

“Addhā kho, bho Kaccāna, evañ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti; na 'sam'⁷ ettha kiñci nānākaraṇaṃ samanupassamīti.”

“Iminā pi kho etañ, mahārāja, pariāyena veditabbaṃ yathā ghoso yev' eso⁸ lokasmiṃ: 'Brāhmaṇā va setṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo.—pe—brāhmadāyādā ti.' Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idhāssa khattiyo pānātipātā⁹ paṭivirato adinnādānā paṭivirato kāmesu paṭivirato micchācārā paṭivirato musāvādā paṭivirato pīsuṇāvācāya¹⁰ paṭivirato pharusāvācāya¹¹ paṭivirato samphappalāpā¹² paṭivirato anabhihij-

¹ Sc *here* idh' assa; St *here* idhā[ssa brāhmaṇo], idh' assa vesso, idh' assa suddo; *elsewhere* idhāssa generally.

² B^{mp} insert *la*.

³ B^{mp} insert *micchādīṭṭhi*.

⁴ Sc *omits* hi.

⁵ St *reads* sādhu kho, mahārāja, arahatañ sutam.

⁶ Sc *has a lacuna between* cattā(ro) *and* hotīti; St *has a similar lacuna, but reads* cattāro *in full*.

⁷ St *have a lacuna here after* 'sam' *down to* Iminā.

⁸ Sc *yemeso*; St *yeyemeso*.

⁹ Sc *pānātipāti*.

¹⁰ B^{mp} *pisunāya*.

¹¹ B^{mp} *pharusāya*; St *pharusāvācāya*.

¹² St *samphappalāpāya*.

hālū¹ abyāpannacitto sammādiṭṭhī,² kāyassa bheda param marañā sugatim saggam lokam uppajjeyya? no va? katham vā te ettha hotīti?”

“Khattiyo pi, bho Kaccāna, pānātipatā paṭivirato adinnā-dānā paṭivirato kāmesu paṭivirato micchācārā paṭivirato musāvādā paṭivirato piṣuṇāvācāya paṭivirato pharusāvācāya paṭivirato samphappalāpā paṭivirato anabhijjhālū abyāpannacitto sammādiṭṭhī kāyassa bheda param marañā sugatim saggam lokam uppajjeyya. Evam me ettha hoti, evañ ca pana me etaṃ arahatam sutan ti.”

“Sādhu, sādhu mahārāja; sādhu kho te etaṃ, mahārāja, evañ hoti; sādhu ca³ pana te etaṃ arahatam sutam. Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idhāssa brāhmaṇo, idhāssa vesso, idhāssa suddo pānātipatā paṭivirato adinnādānā paṭivirato—pe—sammādiṭṭhī, kāyassa bheda param marañā sugatim saggam lokam uppajjeyya? no vā? katham vā te ettha hotīti ti?”

“Suddo pi, bho Kaccāna, pānātipatā paṭivirato adinnādānā paṭivirato—pe—sammādiṭṭhī, kāyassa bheda param marañā sugatim saggam lokam uppajjeyya. Evam me ettha hoti, evañ ca pana me etaṃ arahatam sutan ti.”

“Sādhu sādhu, mahārāja; sādhu kho te etaṃ, mahārāja, evañ hoti; sādhu ca pana te etaṃ arahatam sutam. Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Yadi evañ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti? no vā? katham vā te ettha hotīti?”

“Addhā kho, bho Kaccāna, evañ sante ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti; na 'sam ettha kiñci nānākarapaṃ sama-nupassāmīti.”

“Iminā pi kho etaṃ, mahārāja, pariyāyena vedittabbaṃ yathā ghoṣo yev' eso⁴ lokasmiṃ: 'Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo—pe—brahmadāyādā ti.' Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idha khattiyo sandhiṃ vā chindeyya, nillopaṃ vā hareyya, ekāgārikam vā kareyya, paripantho vā tiṭṭheyya, paradāraṃ vā gaccheyya; tam ce te purisa

¹ B^{pp} anabhijjhālu.

² S^{ct} sammādiṭṭhī.

³ S^{ct} sādhuñ ca, and omit sutam at the end of the sentence.

⁴ S^{ct} yevameso.

gahetvā dasseyyūm—‘Ayan te, deva, coro āgucārī,¹ imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti,²’ kinti taṃ kareyyā-sīti ?”

“Ghāteyyāma³ vā, bho Kaccāna jāpeyyāma⁴ vā pabbā-jeyyāma vā yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyyāma. Taṃ kiassa hetu ? Yā hi ’ssa, bho Kaccāna, pubbe khattiyo ti samaññā, sā ’ssa⁵ antarahitā, coro t’ eva⁶ saṅkham⁷ gacchatīti.⁸”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Idha brāhmaṇo, idha vesso, idha suddo sandhim vā chindeyya, nillopaṃ vā hareyya, ekāgārikam vā kareyya, paripantho vā tiṭṭheyya, paradāraṃ vā gaccheyya ; taṃ ce te purisā gahetvā dasseyyūm : ‘Ayan te, deva, coro āgucārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti,’ kinti naṃ kareyyāsīti ?”

“Ghateyyāma vā, bho Kaccāna, jāpeyyāma vā pabbā-jeyyāma vā yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyyāma. Taṃ kiassa hetu ? Yā hi ’ssa, bho Kaccāna, pubbe suddo ti samaññā, sā ’ssa antarahitā, coro t’ eva saṅkham gacchatīti.”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Yadi evaṃ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti ? no vā ? kathaṃ vā te ettha hotīti ?”

“Addhā kho, bho Kaccāna, evaṃ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti, na ’saṃ ettha kiñci nāuākaraṇaṃ samanupassāmīti.”

“Imina pi kho etaṃ, mahārāja, pariāyena vedittabbaṃ yathā ghoso yev’ eso⁹ lokasmiṃ :—‘Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo—pe—brahmadāyādā ti.’ Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Idha khattiyo kesamassuṃ ohāretvā¹⁰ kāsāyani vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito assa, virato paṇātipātā virato¹¹ adinnādānā virato musā-

¹ Sct āgucārīṃ *here*.

² B^{mp} paṇehīti ; Sct *infra* paṇehīti.

³ Sct ghateyyāma ; B^{mp} ghāteyyāma.

⁴ So all MSS. for jāpeyyāma (P).

⁵ So B^{mp} ; Sct *here* khattiyā ti maññā sāsā, *infra* samañña sassa.

⁶ B^{mp} tveva *throughout*.

⁷ B^{mp} saṅkhyāṃ *throughout*.

⁸ B^{mp} gacchati.

⁹ Sct yeso.

¹⁰ Sct vohāretvā.

¹¹ Sct paṭivirato.

vādā¹ ekabhaddiko brahmacāri silavā kalyāṇadhammo; kinti taṃ kareyyāsīti ?”

“Abhivādeyyāma vā, bho Kaccāna, paccuṭṭheyyāma vā, āsanena vā nimanteyyāma,² abhinimanteyyāma pi³ naṃ cīvarapiṇḍapātasenāsanagilānapaccayabhesajja parikkhārehi, dhammikaṃ vā assa rakkhāvaraṇaguttiṃ saṃvidaheyyāma. Taṃ kissa hetu ? Yā hi 'ssa, bho Kaccāna, pubbe khattiyo ti samaññā, sā 'ssa antarahitā, samaṇo t' eva saṅkhaṃ gacchatīti.⁴”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Idha brāhmaṇo, idha vesso, idha suddo kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyani vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito assa, virato pāpātipatā virato adinnādānā virato musāvādā ekabhaddiko brahmacāri silavā kalyāṇadhammo; kinti taṃ kareyyāsīti ?”

“Abhivādeyyāma vā, bho Kaccāna, paccuṭṭheyyāma vā, āsanena vā nimanteyyāma, abhinimanteyyāma pi naṃ cīvarapiṇḍapātasenāsanagilānapaccayabhesajja parikkhārehi, dhammikaṃ vā assa rakkhāvaraṇaguttiṃ saṃvidaheyyāma. Taṃ kissa hetu ? Yā hi 'ssa, bho Kaccāna, pubbe suddo ti samaññā sā 'ssa antarahitā, samaṇo t' eva saṅkhaṃ gacchatīti.”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja ? Yadi evaṃ sante, ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti ? no vā ? kathaṃ vā te ettha hotīti ?”

“Addhā kho, bho Kaccāna, evaṃ sante ime cattāro vaṇṇā samasamā honti, na 'saṃ ettha kiñci nānākaraṇaṃ samanupassamīti.”

“Iminā kho etaṃ, mahārāja, pariyāyena veditabbam, yathā ghoso yev' eso lokasmim :—‘Brāhmaṇā seṭṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo; brāhmaṇā va sukko vaṇṇo, kaṇho añño vaṇṇo; brāhmaṇā va sujjhanti, no abrāhmaṇā; brāhmaṇā Brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā ti,” evaṃ vutte rājā Madhuro Avantiputto⁵ āyasmantaṃ Mahā-Kaccānaṃ etad avoca :—“Abhik-

¹ B^{mp} *inacari* rattaparato.

² S^c *inacari* vā.

³ So B^{mp} and Bu. ; S^c et vā.

⁴ B^{mp} gacchati.

⁵ S^c *omī* Madhuro Avantiputto.

kantam, bho Kaccāna; seyyathapi, bho Kaccāna, nikkujjitam¹ vā ukkujjeyya,² paṭicchannam vā vivareyya, mūlhasa³ vā maggam ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā telapajjotam dhāreyya: Cakkhumanto rūpāni⁴ dakkhantīti; evamevaṃ bhotā⁵ Kaccānena anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esāham bhagavantam⁶ Kaccānam saraṇam gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca; upāsakam maṃ bhavam Kaccāno dhāretu ajjatagge paṇupetam⁷ saraṇam gatan ti.”

“Mā kho maṃ tvaṃ, mahārāja, saraṇam agamāsi. Tam eva⁸ tvaṃ⁹ Bhagavantam saraṇam gaccha yam aham saraṇam gato ti.”

“Kham paṇa, bho Kaccāna, etarahi so Bhagavā viharati, araham Sammāsambuddho ti?”

“Parinibbuto kho, mahārāja, etarahi so Bhagavā, araham Sammāsambuddho ti.”

“Sace hi¹⁰ mayam, bho Kaccāna suṇeyyāma tam Bhagavantam dasasu¹¹ yojanesu, dasa pi mayam yojanāni gaccheyyāma tam Bhagavantam dassanāya arahantam Sammāsambuddham. Sace hi mayam, bho Kaccāna, suṇeyyāma tam Bhagavantam vīsatiyā yojanesu, timsatiyā¹² yojanesu, cattārisāya¹³ yojanesu, paññāsāya yojanesu,—paññāsam pi¹⁴ mayam yojanāni gaccheyyāma tam Bhagavantam dassanāya, arahantam Sammāsambuddham. Yojanasate ce¹⁵ pi¹⁶ mayam, bho Kaccāna, suṇeyyāma tam Bhagavantam, yojanasatam pi mayam gaccheyyāma tam Bhagavantam dassanāya arahantam Sammāsambuddham. Yato ca kho,¹⁷ bho Kaccāna,

¹ B^{mp} nikkujjitam. .

² B^{mp} ukkujjeyya.

³ B^{mp} mūlhasa.

⁴ S^c rūpam, and omit dakkhantīti.

⁵ S^c bho.

⁶ B^{mp} bhavantam.

⁷ S^c paṇ.

⁸ B^{mp} tam etarahi.

⁹ B^{mp} omit.

¹⁰ So S^c throughout both here and in Sutta 94; B^{mp} pi.

¹¹ S^c dassu.

¹² B^{mp} timsāya.

¹³ B^{mp} cattārisāya.

¹⁴ So B^{mp}; S^c here paññāsā pi, but in Sutta No. 94 S^c reads paññāsam pi.

¹⁵ S^c omit here and in Sutta No. 94.

¹⁶ So all MSS., instead of hi (P), as read by Bp. in No. 94.

¹⁷ So S^c here and in No. 94; B^{mp} omit here, but in No. 94 Bp inserts kho after parinibbuto.

parinibbuto so Bhagavā, parinibbutam¹ pi mayam tam² Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca; upāsakam³ mañ bhavam Kaccāno dhāretu ajjatagge paṇupetaṃ saraṇam⁴ gatan ti.”

Madhura⁵-suttantaṃ⁶ niṭṭhitaṃ⁷ catuttham.

EXTRACT FROM THE “PAPAÑCA-SŪDANĪ,”

Being Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the foregoing Sutta.

Evam me sutan ti Madhura-suttaṃ.

Tattha Mahā-Kaccāno ti, gihikāle Ujjenaka-rañño purohi-
taputto abhirūpo dassaniyo pāsādiko suvaṇṇavaṇṇo.

Madhurāyan ti evam nāmake naṅgare.

Gundāvane ti kaṇhagundāvane.

Avantiputto ti Avanti-raṭṭhe rañño dhītāya putto.

Vuddho c'eva arahā cāti. Daharam arahantam pi na tathā
sambhāventi yathā mahallakathero pana vuddho c'eva ahoṣi
arahā ca brāhmaṇā.

Bho Kaccānāti. So kira rājā brāhmaṇaladdhiko; tasmā
evam āha.

*Brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho vaṇṇo ti ādisu jātigottādinam paññā-
panaṭṭhāne brāhmaṇā va seṭṭho (vaṇṇo) ti dasseti.*

Hino añño vaṇṇo ti. Itare tayo vaṇṇā hinā lāmakā ti
vadati.

Sukko ti pañcaro.

Kaṇho ti kāḷako.

Sujjhantīti jātigottādipaññāpanaṭṭhena sujjhanti.

Brahmuno puttā ti Mahā-Brahmuno puttā.

*Orasā mukkhato jātā ti ure vasitvā mukkhato nikkhantā ure
katvā samvaddhitā ti vā orasā.*

¹ B^{mp} parinibbutam.

² B^{mp} omit. [In No. 94 S^c reads (ma-)yan tam].

³ So S^c here and in No. 94; B^{mp} S^t Supāsakam.

⁴ So B^{mp} and S^c in No. 94; here S^c reads saraṇagatan.

⁵ So Bu. and B^p, as also Hardy's Manual; S^c and B^m read Madhuriya.

⁶ S^c B^{mp} suttantaṃ; Bu. suttam; S^t suttamtaṃ.

⁷ B^{mp} omit.

Brahmajā ti Brahmuno nibbattā.

Brahmanimmilāti Brahmunā nimmita.

Brahmadāyādāti Brahmuno dāyādā.

Ghoso yeva kho eso ti vohāramattam eva ekam.

Ijjheyāti samijjheyya, santakāni dhanāni pattheyya
tattako hi 'ssa manoratho¹ pūreyyāti attho.

Khattiyo pi 'esdi khattiyo pi assa issariyapannassa pubbu-
tthāyi assa.

Nasaṃ ettha kiñciti na² etesaṃ ettha kiñoi.

Āsanena vā nimanteyyāmāti nisinnāsanam papphoṭetva
'idha nisīdāti' vadeyyāma.

Abhinimanteyyāma pi nan ti, abhiharitvā nam nimantey-
yāma. Tattha duvidho abhihāro, vācāya c'eva kāyena ca.
'Tumhākam icchiticchitakkhaṇe ambhākam³ cīvarādihi
vadeyyātha yen' attho ti' vadanto hi vācāya abhiharitvā
nimanteti nāma. Cīvarādi-vekallam sallakkhetvā 'idaṃ
gaṇhathāti' tāni dento pana kāyena abhiharitvā nimanteti
nāma. Tad ubhayam pi sandhāya *abhinimanteyyāma pi nan*
ti āha.

Rakkhāvaraṇagutti⁴ ti rakkhāsaṅkhātāṇ c'eva āvaraṇa-
saṅkhātāṇ ca gutti; sā pan' eṣā na āvudhahatthe purise
ṭhapentena dhammikā nāma saṃvihitā hoti. Yathā pana
acelāya kaṭṭhahārikā paṇṇahārikādayo vihāram na pavisanti
mīgaluddakādayo vihārasīmāya mige vā macche vā na
gaṇhanti, evaṃ saṃvidahantena dhammikā nāma saṃvihitā
hoti. Tam sandhāy' āha: *dhammikan ti*.

Evam sante ti evam catunnam pi vaṇṇānam pabbajitānam
pabbajita-sakkāre same samāne, sesam sabbattha uttānam
evāti.

Madhura-suttam catuttham.

¹ S* māno-.

² S* pa.

³ S* aham. *The reading adopted is from the parallel passage in the Suma-
gala-Vilāsini, I. 169.*

⁴ S* gutti here and gutti subsequently; Sum. Vil. reads guttin.

THE MADHURA SUTTA.

(Majjhima-Nikāya, No. 84.)

Thus have I heard. Once the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna was dwelling in the Gundā-grove at Madhurā. Now tidings came to King Madhura Avanti-putta that the Sage Kaccāna was dwelling at Madhurā, in the Gundā-grove, and that regarding that worshipful Kaccāna such was the high repute noised abroad that it was said of him that he was scholarly, enlightened, sage, full of learning, eloquent, ready in exposition, and aged as well as an Arahāt, and that it was good to go and see such Arahats as he was. So King Madhura Avanti-putta ordered his chariots so fair, so fair, to be made ready; got into his chariot so fair; and passed forth from Madhurā with his chariots so fair, so fair, in royal pomp, to visit the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna. When he had ridden along in his chariot as far as a chariot might go, he alighted from his chariot and made his way on foot to the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna. When he had come there, he exchanged with the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna the greetings and compliments of friendliness and civility, and sat down beside him. Seated thus, King Madhura Avanti-putta spoke as follows to the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna :—“The brahmins, Kaccāna, say thus,—‘the brahmins are the best caste; every other caste is inferior. The brahmins are the white caste; every other caste is black. Only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins. The brahmins are the legitimate sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth, Brahmā-born, Brahmā-made, heirs of Brahmā.’ What do you say to this, sire?”

“It is mere empty words, sire, to give it out among people that ‘the brahmins are the best caste; every other caste is inferior. The brahmins are the white caste; every other caste is black. Only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins. The brahmins are the legitimate sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth, Brahmā-born, Brahmā-made, heirs of Brahmā.’

I.

For the following reason it may be known to be mere empty words to make that statement.—What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a kshatriya in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another kshatriya who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?—Could he have a brahmin, a vaiśya, and a śūdra who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccāna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a brahmin in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another brahmin who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?—Could he have a vaiśya, a śūdra, and a kshatriya who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccāna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If prosperity attended a vaiśya in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another vaiśya who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?—Could he have a śūdra, a kshatriya, and a brahmin who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccāna."

"What do you think of this, sire?" If prosperity attended a śūdra in the form of property or herds or silver or gold, could he have another śūdra who would get up earlier than he, go to bed later, be zealous in his master's service, study his comfort, and speak with affection?—Could he have a kshatriya, a brahmin, and a vaiśya who would behave similarly?"

"Yes, he could, Kaccāna."

"What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so,

are those four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccāna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein."

II.

"For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste . . . (*etc. down to*) . . . heirs of Brahmā.'—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya addicted to taking life, given to rapine, licentious, lying, slanderous, bitter of speech, frivolous of conversation, covetous, malevolent, holding wrong views,—would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory? Or would he not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Given a kshatriya, Kaccāna, addicted to taking life, given to rapine, licentious, lying, slanderous, bitter-tongued, frivolous of talk, covetous, malevolent, holding wrong views,—he, at the dissolution of his body, would pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory. This is how it strikes me, sir, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

"Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, a vaiśya, or a śūdra [like the foregoing kshatriya], would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to hell? Or would he not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Given such a brahmin, vaiśya, or śūdra, Kaccāna, he, at the dissolution of his body, would pass after death to a state of suffering, punishment, or misery, or to purgatory. This is how it strikes me, sir, and this is what I have been taught by holy men."

“Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.—What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are those four castes exactly equal or not? Or how does it strike you?”

“Undoubtedly, Kaccāna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein.”

III.

“For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that ‘the brahmins are the best caste . . . (*etc. down to*) . . . heirs of Brahmā.’—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who abstains from slaughter, abstains from rapine, abstains from licentiousness, abstains from lying, abstains from slander, abstains from bitterness of speech, abstains from frivolity of conversation, is uncovetous, is benevolent, holds true views,—would such a man, at the dissolution of his body, pass after death to a state of happiness and to a celestial realm, or not? Or how does it strike you?”

“Such a kshatriya, Kaccāna, would, after dissolution of his body, pass to a state of happiness and to a celestial realm. This is how it strikes me, and this is what I have been taught by holy men.”

“Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, sire, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vaiśya, or a śūdra [like the foregoing kshatriya], would such a man [fare after death like the kshatriya]?”

“Such a śūdra too, Kaccāna, would [fare after death like the kshatriya]. This is how it strikes me, and this is what I have been taught by holy men.”

“Quite right, sire; you are right in your view, sire, and you have been rightly taught by holy men.—What do you think of this? If the case be so, are those four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?”

“Undoubtedly, Kaccāna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein.”

IV.

“For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people that ‘the brahmins are the best caste (*etc. down to*) heirs of Brahmā.’—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who should break into houses, or loot, or commit burglary, or become a high-wayman, or commit adultery;—if your people brought such a kshatriya prisoner before you, saying, ‘Here is your robber and malefactor, sire, inflict on him such punishment as you will,’—what would you do to him?”

“I would have him executed, or burnt, or exiled, or dealt with according to his deserts. And why, Kaccāna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of ‘kshatriya,’ and is reckoned naught but a ‘robber.’”

“What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vaiśya, or a śūdra who committed like crimes and was similarly brought before you, what would you do to such?”

“I would have him executed, or burnt, or exiled, or dealt with according to his deserts. And why, Kaccāna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of ‘śūdra,’ and is reckoned naught but a ‘robber.’”

“What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are these four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?”

“Undoubtedly, Kaccāna, if the case be so, those four castes are exactly equal. I perceive no difference, sir, between them herein.”

V.

For the following reason also, sire, it may be known to be mere empty words to make the statement among people

that 'the brahmins are the best caste (*etc. down to*) . . . heirs of Brahmā.'—What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a kshatriya who cuts off his hair and beard, dons the orange robes, and goes forth from home to homelessness; if he abstains from taking life, abstains from taking what is not given to him, abstains from lying, eats no rice after noon, leads the higher life, is a good man, of noble disposition—what would you do to him?"

"I would greet him with respect, Kaccāna; or rise up to receive him; or pray him to be seated; or beg him to accept robes, food-alms, bedding, sick-necessaries, medicines, and other requisites; or would provide him with the protection, defence, and keeping proper to a holy man. And why, Kaccāna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of 'kshatriya,' and is accounted naught but 'a holy man.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? In the case of there being a brahmin, or a vaiṣya, or a śūdra who acted and behaved like the foregoing kshatriya, what would you do to him?"

"I would extend to the śūdra, too, the same treatment as I would accord to the kshatriya. And why, Kaccāna? Because, sir, he loses his former style of 'śūdra,' and is accounted naught but 'a holy man.'"

"What do you think of this, sire? If the case be so, are these four castes exactly equal, or not? Or how does it strike you?"

"Undoubtedly, Kaccāna, if the case be so, I perceive no difference, sire, between them herein."

When Mahā-Kaccāna had finished giving his reasons whereby it might be known that it was mere empty words to give it out among people that 'the brahmins are the best caste, every other caste is inferior; the brahmins are the white caste, every other caste is black; only the brahmins are pure, not the non-brahmins; the brahmins are legitimate sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth,

Brahmā-born, Brahmā-made, heirs of Brahmā,'— King Madhura Avanti-putta spoke thus to Mahā-Kaccāna:—

“Most excellent, Kaccāna, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just so, sir, has the truth been made known to us, in many a figure, by Kaccāna. I, for my part, betake myself to the blessed Kaccāna as my refuge, to the Doctrine, and to the Brotherhood. Let the lord Kaccāna accept me as a lay-disciple, as one who has found his refuge, from this day forth whilst life shall last.”

“Do not, sire, betake yourself to me as a refuge! Betake yourself to that Blessed One alone as your refuge, to whom as my refuge I have betaken myself.”

“But where, Kaccāna, is the Blessed One now dwelling, the worshipful Very Buddha?”

“Deceased now, sire, is that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha.”

“If I could but hear that Blessed One within ten leagues, ten long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. If I could but hear that Blessed One within twenty leagues, within thirty leagues, or within forty leagues, or within fifty leagues—fifty long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. If within a hundred leagues, Kaccāna, I could but hear that Blessed One, a hundred long leagues would I go to visit that Blessed One, the worshipful Very Buddha. But now that Blessed One is deceased, to him, even though deceased, Kaccāna, I betake myself for refuge, to him and to the Doctrine and to the Brotherhood. Let the lord Kaccāna accept me as a lay-brother, as one who has found his refuge, from this day forth whilst life shall last.”





THE BUDDHIST WHEEL OF LIFE.

ART. XV.—*Buddha's Sermon a Sixth Century Persian
Commentary and Tibetan Translation.* By L. A. WALLACE.
M.B., M.B.A.S.

APART from its importance as an illustration of the earlier intellectual life of humanity, the Buddhist Sermon, the most wonderful, perhaps, the world has ever known, possesses a paramount interest for all who would arrive at a full understanding of the religion and ethics with which it is associated.

Buddha formulated his view of life into a twelve-linked closed chain called "The Wheel of Life or of 'Becoming'" (*Bhavacakra*), or The Causal Nexus *Pratyak Samvrtta*; which he is represented, in the Vinaya itself, to have thought out under the Tree of Wisdom.¹ The way in which the narrative is couched, leads, indeed, to the impression that it was precisely the insight into this "Wheel of Life," which constituted his Buddhahood, and distinguished him from the other Arahata. However this may be, he gave it a very leading place in his philosophy, so that the stanza recounting its utterance, *Ye dhammā hetu*,² etc., termed by English writers, 'The Buddhist Creed,' is the most frequent of all Buddhist inscriptions, and was certainly in old days

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i. pp. 74-84.

² "Of all objects which proceed from a Cause
The Tathāgatha has explained the cause,
And he has explained their cessation also;
This is the doctrine of the great Samasa."—*Vinaya Texts*, i. 146.

ART. XV.—*Buddha's Secret from a Sixth Century Pictorial Commentary and Tibetan Tradition.* By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., M.R.A.S.

APART from its importance as an illustration of the earlier intellectual life of humanity, the Buddhist Ontology, the most wonderful, perhaps, the world has seen, possesses a paramount interest for all who would arrive at a right understanding of the religion and ethics with which it is associated.

Buddha formulated his view of life into a twelve-linked closed chain called "The Wheel of Life or of 'Becoming'" (*Bhavacakra*), or The Causal Nexus (*Pratītya Samutpāda*); which he is represented, in the Vinaya itself, to have thought out under the Tree of Wisdom.¹ The way in which the narrative is couched, leads, indeed, to the impression that it was precisely the insight into this "Wheel of Life," which constituted his Buddhahood, and distinguished him from the other Arahats. However this may be, he gave it a very leading place in his philosophy, so that the stanza recounting its utterance, *Ye dharmmā hetu*,² etc., termed by English writers, 'The Buddhist Creed,' is the most frequent of all Buddhist inscriptions, and was certainly in old days

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i. pp. 74-84.

² "Of all objects which proceed from a Cause
The Tathāgatha has explained the cause,
And he has explained their cessation also;
This is the doctrine of the great Samana."—*Vinaya Texts*, i. 146.

familiar to every lay Buddhist; and it is practically identical with 'The four Noble Truths,' omitting only the initial expression of 'Suffering.'¹

Yet though this chain forms the chief corner-stone of Buddhism, it is remarkable that scarcely any two European scholars are agreed upon the exact nature and signification of some of its chief links, while the sequence of several links is deemed self-contradictory and impossible; and even the alleged continuity of the whole is doubted. The chief Western authorities who have attempted its interpretation, Childers² and Prof. Oldenberg, have practically given up the problem in despair; the latter saying, "it is utterly impossible for anyone who seeks to find out its meaning, to trace from beginning to end a connected meaning in this formula."³

Such conflict of opinion in regard to this 'chain' is mainly due to the circumstance that no commentary on its subtle formula has ever been published; and that the only

¹ This famous stanza, says Professor RHYS DAVIDS (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 146), doubtless alludes to the formula of the twelve Nidanas. "The Chain of Causation, or the doctrine of the twelve nidānas (causes of existence), contains, as has often been observed in a more developed form, an answer to the same problem to which the second and third of the four Noble Truths (Ariya Sacca) also try to give a solution, viz. the problem of the origin and destruction of suffering. The Noble Truths simply reduce the origin of Suffering to Thirst or Desire (Taṇhā) in its three-fold form, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity (see i. 6, 20). In the system of the twelve nidānas Thirst also has found its place among the causes of suffering, but it is not considered as the immediate cause. A concatenation of other categories is inserted between taṇhā and its ultimate effect; and, on the other hand, the investigate of causes is carried on further bey. taṇhā. The question is here asked, what does taṇhā come from? and thus the series of causes and effects is led back to *Aviggā* (Ignorance) as its deepest root. We may add that the redactors of the Pitakas who, of course, could not but observe this parallelity between the second and third Ariya Saccas and the system of the twelve nidānas go so far in one instance (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Tika Nipāta, fol. 4e of the Phayre MS.) as to directly replace in giving the text of the four Ariya Saccas the second and third of these by the twelve nidānas in direct and reverse order respectively."—*Vinaya Texts*, i. 76.

² COLERBROOK'S *Mis. Essays*, 2nd ed. ii. 453 seq.

³ *Buddha*, etc., Eng. trans. by Dr. W. Hoey, p. 226. Recently Mr. H. C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass. (*Proc. American Oriental Society*, Ap. 6-8, 1893, p. xxvii.), has advocated a looser meaning for the word *paccaya*, usually translated 'cause,' without, however, getting rid of the more serious difficulties which beset the interpretation of the chain.

means hitherto available for its interpretation have been the ambiguous Pāli and Sanskrit terminology for the links themselves. Thus, for one only of these links, namely, *Saṅskāra*, the following are some of the many renderings which have been attempted:—

“Constructing, preparing, perfecting, embellishing, aggregation; matter; *Karma*, the *Skandhas*.—(“As a technical term, *Saṅkhāro* has several decided shades of meaning in fact, *Saṅkhāro* includes everything of which impermanence may be predicated, or, what is the same thing, everything which springs from a cause,” Childers.)¹ Les Concepts.—(Burnouf).² Composition notion (Csoma); Willen (Schmidt); Discrimination (Hardy); Les idées (Foucaux)³; Tendencioes, Potentialities, Confections (Rhys Davids)⁴; Gestaltungen: Shapes and Forms (H. Oldenberg); Conformations (W. Hoey).

This bewildering obscurity of its terminology has somewhat displaced the chain from its due prominence in the European books on the system, notwithstanding the importance claimed for it by Buddhists.

Now I have lately discovered among the frescoes of the ancient Buddhist caves of Ajaṅṭa, in Central India, a picture, over thirteen centuries old, which supplies a valuable commentary on this subject. It portrays in concrete form those metaphysical conceptions—the so-called *Nidāna*—which, in their Pāli and Sanskrit terminology, have proved so puzzling to European scholars. And, as this picture, supplemented by its Tibetan versions and its detailed explanation as given me by learned Lāmas, who are thoroughly

¹ *Pāli Diet.* p. 453.

² p. 503.

³ These last four authors are quoted through Köppen, i. 604.

⁴ *Buddhism*, p. 91, where the fifty-two divisions are enumerated.

familiar with it, and possess its traditional interpretation,¹ affords a clue to much that is imperfectly understood, and helps to settle disputed points of fundamental importance, these advantages seem to justify my bringing it to notice, and may also, I hope, justify my attempt, however crude, at exhibiting its continuity as a complete authentic account of human life from the absolute standpoint of the earliest Buddhist philosophy. One important result of this new interpretation of the ancient formula will be to show that it seems to possess more in common with modern philosophic methods and speculations than is usually suspected. Indeed, it would scarcely be going too far to say that at a period before the epoch of Alexander the Great, in the valley of the Ganges, and at a time when writing was still unknown in India, an Indian anchorite evolved in the main by private study and meditation an ontological system which, while having much in common with the philosophy of Plato and of Kant,² and the most profound and celebrated speculations of modern times (such as those of Bishop Berkeley, and Schopenhauer, and Hartmann), yet far surpassed these in elaborateness. And as this bold system formed the basis of Buddhist ethics, its formulas came to be represented for teaching purposes in concrete pictorial form in the vestibules of the Indian monasteries and temples, as they still are in Tibet and China; and although the impermanence of the materials of the painter's art has unfortunately deprived us of most of its traces in India, where Buddhism has been extinct for centuries, yet I have found it as a relic in the deserted cave-temples of Ajaṅṭa (see the photograph here exhibited).

Buddha himself may, as the Lāmas relate, have originated

¹ As current in mediæval Indian Buddhism.

² Buddha seems to have propounded the same truth which Plato and latterly Kant were never tired of repeating, that "this world which appears to the senses has no true Being, but only ceaseless Becoming; it is and it is not, and its comprehension is not so much knowledge as illusion."



FRAGMENT OF A WHEEL OF LIFE FROM AJANTA.

the picture by drawing it in diagrammatic fashion with grains of rice, from a stalk which he had plucked while teaching his disciples in a rice-field. The introduction of the pictorial details is ascribed to the great Indian monk Nāgārjuna, who lived in the second century A.D., under the patronage of the successors of the Scythian king Kanishka, who we know from Hiuen Tsiang employed artists in great numbers in the decoration of Buddhist buildings. These pictorial details, however, are alleged to be objective representations of the self-same similes used by Buddha himself, who, as is clear from his *Sutras* or sermons, constantly used homely similes and allegories to illustrate his doctrines.

The particular Indian painting on which the present paper is based, is attributed to the sixth century of our era,¹ while the Tibetan picture which supplements it is alleged, and with reason, to be a copy of one brought to Tibet by the Indian monk 'Bande Yeshe,' in the eighth century A.D.²

The general form of the picture is shown in the annexed diagram. It is a disc or wheel (symbolizing the endless cycle of Life—*sansāra*) held in the clutches of a monster (who represents the hideousness of the Clinging to Life). The broad rim is occupied by the Causal Nexus, and the nave by the three delusions, 'The daughters of Desire'—*Rāga*, *Dvesa*, *Moha*; while the body of the wheel, which is considered to be in continuous revolution, is filled with pictorial details of existence in its several forms, or 'The Whirling on the Wheel' of Life.

In this pictorial diagram of Human Life, as conceived by Buddhist Philosophy, the Causal Nexus begins at the left-hand side of the top partition. The twelve links round

¹ Burgess, in *Rock Temples*, 309.

² And now at Sam-yas Monastery. For a technical description of it by me see *J.A.S.B.* lxi. p. 133 *seq.* A confused copy of the picture was figured by Georgi (*Alphab. Tibet*), and partly reproduced by Foucaux (*Annales du Musée Guimet*), but in neither case with any description of its details.

the rim follow in the usual order and in evolutionary fashion as follows :—

CAUSAL CATEGORY.	SANSKRIT.	EVOLUTIONARY STAGE.
I. Unconscious Will	<i>Avidyā</i>	Stage of passing from Death to Re-birth.
II. Conformations	<i>Saṅskāra</i>	Shaping of formless physical and mental materials (in the Gāta).
III. Consciousness	<i>Vijñāna</i>	Rise of Conscious Experience.
IV. Self-consciousness	<i>Nāma-rūpa</i>	Rise of Individuality—distinction between self and not-self.
V. Sense-surfaces and Understanding	<i>Chāḍḍyatana</i>	Realizes possession of Sense-Surfaces and Understanding with reference to outside world.
VI. Contact	<i>Sparśa</i>	Exercise of Sense-organs on outer worlds.
VII. Feeling	<i>Vedanā</i>	Mental and physical sensations.
VIII. Desire	<i>Tṛishṇā</i>	Desire as experience of pain or delusive pleasure.
IX. Indulgence	<i>Upādāna</i>	Grasping greed as satisfying Desire, inducing clinging to Worldly Wealth and desire of heir to it.
X. Fuller Life	<i>Bhava</i>	Life in fuller form as enriched by satisfying desire of married life and as means of obtaining heir.
XI. Birth (of heir)	<i>Jāti</i>	Maturity by birth of heir (which affords re-birth to another spirit).
XII. Decay and Death	<i>Jarām-śraṇa</i>	Maturity leads to Decay and to Death.
I. Unconscious Will.	<i>Avidyā</i>	Passing from Death to Re-birth.

The key-note to Buddha's system is that Life in any form must necessarily, and not merely accidentally, be accompanied by suffering, as others had taught. *Anityaṅ Duhkhaṅ Anātmanakaṅ!*¹ All is Transitory Painful and Unreal!

Buddha, therefore, set himself the task of solving the mystery of Life in order to find the Way of escape from continual Becomings, which was clearly involved in Misery. Being a Hindu he adapted the then, as now, current Hindu notion of metempsychosis or palingenesis; the doctrine,

¹ *Pāli, Aniccaṃ Duhkaṃ Anattam*; in Tibetan *mi-rtag-pa ḍug baṅgal-ba, ḍdag-med-ba.*

namely, that death merely alters the form, but does not break the continuity of life¹ which proceeds from Death to Re-birth, and fresh Deaths to fresh Re-births in constant succession of changing states dissolving and evolving until the breaking up of the Universe after a *Kalpa*, or almost an eternity of countless ages; for it would appear that Buddha and the primitive Buddhists denied the real existence of the material and physical world as well as the vital.

In his scheme, therefore, while adopting an agnostic attitude towards the Hindu gods and their creative functions, he does not begin by attempting to account for the first life. He accepts the world as a going concern on metempsychological lines, and evades the necessity for a supernatural creator by interpreting the Universe as Will and Idea, and placing the *Karma* or ethical doctrine of retribution in the position of the Supernatural Controlling Intelligence or Creator. Perceiving the relativity of knowledge and that Nature furnishes presumptive evidence that some evolution has taken place in her methods, he throws his theory of the vital process into a synthetical or developmental form, showing a gradual transition from the simple to the complex, and proceeding from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous by an ever-changing Cosmic order in which everything is dominated by Causality.

The starting point in Buddha's theory of existence is the connecting link between the old life and the new. Unfortunately, however, even on so elementary a point as this, there exists no consensus of opinion as to what Buddha's view of this link precisely was, for he concerned himself less with the metaphysical aspects of his philosophy than with the practical alleviation and removal of sorrow. He expressly avoided the use of the term 'Soul' (*Ātman*), as this word was already in use in Brahmanism with the implication of supernatural and theistic creation. Some say that he taught there is no continuity between the old life

¹ But see hereafter.

and the new, that the *Karma* attaches itself to any spirit which may chance to be re-born at the time of the person's death. But if this be so, where is the justice of the *Karma* doctrine? It is said by some that the sole surviving thing is *Karma*, yet this term is used so elastically as to include products which belong rather to the Category of the Will-to-live. Others say that *Vijñāna*, or consciousness alone, survives; and so on.¹

The view adopted in this paper is based upon that held by one of the Lāmas who explained to me the pictorial *Nidānas*; and it has the advantages of being not only intelligible, but consistent, and seems as reasonable as any ontological theory well can be which postulates a meta-physical absolute.

Our view holds that there is actual continuity of the Being (or *Sattva*) between death and re-birth. And this identity of being is supported by the doctrine of *Ekotiḥhāra*, which word, according to its Tibetan etymology, means 'to become one uninterruptedly.'²

The Surviving thing, which is carried on into the new career of the individual, would indeed seem to be identical with what is now generally known to Occidentals as Hartmann's Absolute, 'the UNCONSCIOUS WILL'; and to this is

¹ See Journal, 1892, p. 1 *seq.* for a tabular abstract by Prof. Rhys Davids from the authorities for such conflicting views.

² *Ekotiḥhāra* is another crux of Buddhism. Childers, in quoting Thero Subhuti's etymology from *eko udeti*, writes, "Ekodibhāvo, the second Jhāna, is said to be *cetaso ekodibhāvo*, which Burnouf renders 'Unity of the mind'; but that this is its true meaning is very doubtful, as will be seen from the full extract sent me. . . . In accordance with this gloss I would be inclined to render ekodibhāvo by 'predominance,' rather than by unity, but I do not feel competent to give a decided opinion as to its meaning."—*Dict.* p. 134. Dr. Morris (in the *Academy*, 27th March, 1886, p. 222) has a note on the subject, followed by Prof. Max Müller (*Academy*, 3rd April, 1886, p. 241), who would derive it from *eko+kodi*; and Prof. Eggeling has a supplementary note in the *Pali Text Soc. Jour.* (p. 32, 1885), in which it is considered a mental state, and rendered by Prof. Rhys Davids as 'exaltation.' Prof. Kern (*Introd.* to his translation of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, xvii.) in noting the occurrence of the word *ekotiḥhāra* in the *Lalita Vistara* (p. 147, 8, and 439, 6), rejects Subhuti's etymology of the word, without assigning any reasons. The Tibetan etymology, however, entirely supports Subhuti. It is translated *rGyud-gchig-tu-gyur-pa*, which means 'to become or to be transformed+one+thread, continuous, uninterrupted'; and my Manuscript Tibeto-Sanskrit Dictionary restores the word to *Eka+urthāna+bhāva*.

attached the Karma or retribution of deeds done in former lives.

This, the first link of the Ontological Chain, begins at the instant when the mortal envelope is thrown off or changed, that is at 'death,' and was termed by Buddha the stage of *Avidyā* or '*Want of Knowledge*,' usually rendered into English as 'Ignorance' or 'Nescience.' But to say, as is usually done, that 'Ignorance' is the cause of Being is simply nonsense; and seems quite unworthy of Buddha's great intellect. Such a practice seems due to the different senses in which the word *Avidyā* is used. Its ordinary sense is thus defined in the *Vinaya Texts*, i. 76: "Not to know Suffering, not to know the Cause of suffering, not to know the Cessation of suffering, not to know the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, this is called Ignorance." *Avidyā*, according to our information, is the Ignorant Unconscious-Will-to-Live.

The pictorial representation of this link is a blind she-camel ('Ignorant' Productive Unconscious Will) led by a driver (the Karma).

The Camel vividly suggests the long and trying journey of the Unconscious Will across the desert valley of the Shadow of Death, past Death itself to the dawn of the new life beyond. The sex of the Camel seems to indicate the potential productiveness of the Unconscious Will. The blindness of the beast represents the darkness of the passage and the blind ignorance of the Unconscious Will, which through spiritual ignorance or Stupidity (*Moha*) believes in the reality of external objects. And the ignorant animal is led blindly onwards by its Karma.

In the body of the picture are given the details of the progress across this initial stage to the next link in the Chain of Causality. The manner in which the Karma determines the kind of new life is concretely represented as a 'Judgment-Scene.' Here the sins are figured as black pebbles and the good deeds as white, which are weighed against each other in scales. And according to whichever preponderates so is the place of re-birth in one

or other of the six states. Thus the kind of new life is entirely determined by the individual's own deeds or Karma, which creates a system of rewards and punishments, sinking the wicked through the lower stages of human and animal existence and even to hell; and lifting the good to the level of mighty kings and sages, and even to the gods.

The ignorant Unconscious Will, as a homogeneous aggregate under the influence of the three fires of illusion (*Trividagni*, Lust, Ill-Will, and Stupidity) is thus led by its Karma to one or other of the six *gati* or forms of existence with which begins link Number II., namely, CONFORMATIONS (*Saṅskara*).

Here our picture and its Lāmaist tradition have come to our aid, and rendered it certain that out of the manifold renderings of *Saṅskāra* attempted by European scholars, as detailed on a previous page, '*Conformations*' was the one intended by the primitive Buddhists; and the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit word gives 'impression' or 'formation' + 'action.' The picture is a potter modelling clay on his wheel, and is identical with the Egyptian image of the Creator. It represents the shaping of the crude and formless physical and mental aggregates of the Unconscious Will by the Karma, in accordance with 'The Judgment.'

“ Our mind is but a lump of clay,
Which Fate, grim potter, holds
On sorrow's wheel that rolls alway
And, as he pleases, moulds.”

—C. TAWNEY'S trans. *Vairāgya Satakam*.

These so-called aggregates or *Skandha* (Pāli *Khandha*) require some notice. The Buddhists, in their theory of the nature of sentient beings, pre-suppose the existence of ideal atoms, external and internal, which, by aggregation, constitute man and the rest of the universe. These aggregates or *Skandha* are grouped into five classes, which are rendered by Professor Rhys Davids as (1) the Material Properties and Attributes (*Rūpa*); (2) the Sensations (*Vedanā*); (3)

Abstract Ideas (*Sañña*); (4) Tendencies or Potentialities (*Sankhāra*); and (5) Reason (*Vijñāna*).¹ Only the first of these sets, or the *Rūpa Skandha*, appear to be operated on in link Number II. or Conformations.

Now the Unconscious Will, no longer amorphous, reaches its next stage of development with the rise of CONSCIOUSNESS, or Conscious Experience (*Vijñāna*), as the third link in the evolutionary process. This is figured by a Monkey, which some learned Lāmas explained to me as showing that the rudimentary man is becoming anthropoid, but still is an unreasoning automaton. From this it will be seen that however abstract its basis of metaphysical conceptions, or transcendental the causal machinery by which it is set in motion, Buddha's evolutionary scheme, in its practical aspects, must necessarily depend on a tolerably comprehensive and subtle interpretation of human nature.

The rise of SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS (*Nāma-rupa*, literally 'Name' + 'Form'), as a result of Conscious Experience, forms the fourth link or stage, and is represented by a physician feeling the pulse of a sick man. Here the pulse denotes the Individuality or distinction between 'Self' and 'Not Self.' And its Sanskrit title of 'Name and Form' expresses the commonest features of Individuality. A variant of this picture in some Lāmaist temples is a man in the act of being ferried across an ocean. It is the Individual crossing the Ocean of Life.

As a result of Self-Consciousness, the individual now realizes his possession of THE SENSE-SURFACE AND UNDERSTANDING (*Chañāyatana*). And here again the relatively low place given to the Understudy is quite in keeping with modern philosophy. The picture represents this link by a mask of a human face, 'The empty house of the Senses'; and the Understanding is indicated by a pair of extra eyes gleaming through the brow of the mask. At this stage seems to be effected the full union of the hitherto passive Will with the active Co-efficients of a human nature as

¹ *Buddhism*, p. 90.

expressed by 'The Three Fires, the Buddhist variant of our Devil, the World and the Flesh' (*Rāga, Dveṣa, Moha*), though these have been present concurrently from the initial stage of 'Ignorance.'

The exercise of the sense organs and the Understanding is CONTACT (*Sparṣa*) forming the sixth link or stage, bringing the individual into relation with the outside world. It is pictured by Kissing, and in some Tibetan frescoes by a man grasping a plough. It illustrates the exercise of one of the senses.

From Contact comes FEELING (*Vedanā*), both physical and mental, including delusive pleasure, pain, and indifference. It is pictured by an arrow entering a man's eye,¹ evidently a symbolic of 'Perception,' but explained by the Lāmas in such a way as to render it translatable by 'Feeling.'

From the operation of Feeling comes DESIRE or Thirst (*Trishṇā*). This stage, dealing with the origin of Desire, is perhaps the most psychologically interesting in Buddhism, is pictured by a man drinking wine, and the same metaphor, namely thirst, which is the literal meaning of the word for this link, and is adopted by Sir Edwin Arnold in his graceful lines—

“ *Trishṇā*, that thirst which makes the living drink
 Deeper and deeper of the false salt waves
 Whereon they float, pleasures, ambitions, wealth,
 Praise, fame, or domination Conquest, love,
 Rich meats and robes and fair abodes and pride
 Of ancient lines, and lust of days, and strife
 To live, and sins that flow from strife, some sweet,
 Some bitter. Thus Life's thirst quenches itself
 With draughts which double thirst.”²

Thus the conquest of Desire is the greatest step towards Buddhist salvation.

¹ In this particular Tibetan picture the sixth and seventh links have been transposed.

² *The Light of Asia*, p. 165.

The Satisfying of Desire or GREED or Indulgence (*Upādāna*) forms the next stage. It is pictured by a man grasping fruit and storing it up in big baskets. It appears to be, and is so explained by the Lāmas, as a clinging or attachment to worldly *objects*, rather than to worldly 'existence' as Oldenberg has interpreted it.

With the next stage—the tenth link—namely EXISTENCE or Being (*Bhava*) we reach one of the alleged obstacles in the chain, an irreconcilable link which puzzles Oldenberg, and which, together with the next link, is deemed inexplicable and altogether out of place. Up to the preceding link, the ninth, the evolution has clearly been that of the life-history of a man. This tenth link is rendered by Oldenberg thus:—"From 'Clinging to Existence' comes Re-birth and the Continuance of Being for yet another existence." Very naturally he goes on to say that it is strange to find a man who has long ago 'entered on real life' suddenly becoming a child again. And adds, "How can a man be born again when he is old," and before he dies? As death only happens in the twelfth stage.

But here it would seem as if Oldenberg has been misled by having himself introduced into the previous link the term 'Existence,' and by interpreting *Bhava* as 'Re-birth.'

For we find that *Bhava* is pictured by a married woman; and the Lāmas explain the picture by saying that she is the wife of the individual whose life-history is being traced. The word is thus given somewhat the sense of *Bhavanam* (Childer's *Dict.*: 'a house-dwelling'); or, as it might be rendered, 'husbandship'; it is the result of the previous link, namely, Greed or Indulgence in Worldliness. It is literally fuller 'Becoming' (*Bhava*)—Life as enriched by satisfying the worldly desire of home, and as a means of obtaining an heir to the wealth amassed by Greed.

The eleventh stage or link is another of the alleged stumbling blocks, which, however, ceased to present any difficulty in the light of the picture and the Lāmas' explanation of it. The picture shows a parent and child. It is the Maturing of the man's life by the BIRTH (*Jati*)

of an heir, and as a result of the married existence of the tenth stage. It must be remembered that according to Buddhist belief there is no propagation of species. Life is indivisible; hence the child is no relation to his parents, as the wandering individual finds its family through its own inherent *Karma*.

Maturity of Life then leads to DECAY AND DEATH (*Jarā-marāṇa*), the twelfth and final stage, which in turn leads on to link No. 1—Re-birth—and so on as before. This stage is pictured as a corpse being carried off to cremation or burial.

Let us now look at the Chain as a whole. Here we are met by the difficulty of finding a suitable expression for the word which connects the several links, the Pāli *paccaya*, usually translated 'cause' or 'concurrent occasion.' Prof. Rhys Davids writes (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 146): "Hetu and *paccaya* (the word so frequently used in the formula of the Nidānas) are nearly synonymous. Colebrooke (*Life and Essays*, vol. ii. p. 419) says that the Buddhists distinguish between hetu 'proximate cause,' and *paccaya* (pratyaya) 'concurrent occasion'; but in practical use this slight difference of meaning, if it really existed, has but little weight attached to it."¹ Mr. Warren believes² that the

¹ This same difference is observed by Tibetan authors. Pratiṭya is rendered by rkyen, defined by Jaeschke (Dict. p. 17) as 'a Co-operating Cause' of an event as distinguished from its proximate (or, rather, primary original) Cause rgyu (Skt. *hetu*).

² *Loc. cit.* He writes: "Now a great deal of the difficulty experienced by scholars on this subject appears to me to arise from the too strict way in which they use the word 'cause,' and from the idea which they labour under that Time plays an important part here, whereas it would appear to have but a secondary rôle.

"The term 'cause' should be used in a very loose and flexible way, and in different senses, in discussing different members of this series. The native phrase of which Chain of Causation is supposed to be a translation is *paticca-samuppāda*. *Paticca* is a gerund, equivalent to the Sanskrit *pratiṭya*, from the verbal root i 'go,' with the prefix *prati* 'back'; and *samuppāda* stands for the Sanskrit *samutpāda*, meaning 'a springing up.' Therefore the whole phrase means 'a springing up' [into existence] with reference to something else, or, as I would render it, 'origination by dependence.' The word 'chain' is a gratuitous addition, the Buddhist calling it a wheel, and making Ignorance depend on Old Age, etc. Now it is to be noted that, if a thing springs up—that is to say, comes into being—with reference to something else, or in dependence on something else, that dependence by no means needs to be a causal one. In the Pāli, each of these members of the so-called Chain of Causation is said to be the *paccaya*

term 'cause' should be used in a very loose and flexible way, and in different senses, in discussing different members of the series of links. But as Prof. Oldenberg's rendering: 'From comes,' seems sufficient for our purpose, while it preserves uniformity and continuity it is here adopted. The Chain then runs as follows :

"From the Ignorance (of the Unconscious Will) come Conformations. From Conformations comes Consciousness. From Consciousness comes Self-Consciousness. From Self-Consciousness come The Senses and Understanding. From the Senses and Understanding comes Contact. From Contact comes Feeling. From Feeling comes Desire. From Desire comes Indulgence, Greed, or Clinging (to Worldly Objects). From Clinging (to Worldly Objects) comes (Married or Domestic) Life. From (married) Life comes Birth (of an heir and Maturity of Life). From Birth (of an heir and Maturity of Life) comes Decay and Death. From Decay and Death comes Re-birth with its attendant Sufferings. Thus all existence and suffering spring from the Ignorance (of the Unconscious Will)."

The varying nature and relationship of these formulæ is noteworthy, some are resultants and some merely sequences; characteristic of Eastern thought, its mingling of science and poetry; its predominance of imagination and feeling over intellect; its curiously easy and naive transition from Infinite to Finite, from absolute to relative point of view.

But it would almost seem as if Buddha personally observed much of the order of this chain in his ethical habit of cutting the links which bound him to existence. Thus, starting from the link short of Decay and Death, he cut off his son (link 11), he cut off his wife (link 10), he

of the one next following, and *paccaya* is rendered 'cause.' But Buddhaghosa, in the *Viuddhi-Magga*, enumerates twenty-four different kinds of *paccaya*, and in discussing each member of the *paticca-samuppāda*, states in which of these senses it is a *paccaya* of the succeeding one.

"The Pāli texts very well express the general relation meant to be conveyed by the word *paccaya* when they say 'If this one [member of the series] is not, then this [next following] one is not.'"

cut off his worldly wealth and kingdom (link 9), then he cut off all Desire (link 8) with its 'three fires.' On this he attained Buddhahood, the *Bodhi* or 'Perfect Knowledge' dispelling the Ignorance (*Avidyā*), which lay at the root of Desire and its Existence. *Nirvana*, or 'going out,' thus seems to be the 'going out' of the three Fires of Desire; and, as believed by Professor Rhys Davids,¹ reachable in this life; while *Parinirvana* or Extinction of Existence was reached only with the severing of the last fetter or 'Death,' and is the 'going out' of every particle of the elements of being (*Skandhas*).

Amongst the many curious perversions of the later Buddhism of India was the belief that by mystical means, the *Sattva* or personal entity may, short of death, and while yet retaining a body, be liberated from the influence of *Avilyā*, and thus from the operation of the Casual Nexus, and so secure immortality. Upagupta and many other noted Buddhist Sages are believed to be yet living through this happy exemption.²

Buddha's metaphysics appears in the light afforded by the chain, to borrow—like so many other world-principles professing to solve the problem of existence—from the distinctions of psychology, and to be based on Will. Schopenhauer indeed admits the affinity of his theory with Buddhism. He writes: "If I were to take the results of my philosophy as the standard of truth I would be obliged to concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence over the rest. In any case it must be a satisfaction to me to see my teaching in such close agreement with a religion which the majority of men upon the earth hold as their own."³

¹ *Buddhism*, p. 14; also O. Frankfurter, Ph.D., in *Jour.* 1893, p. 549.

² Although it is a common belief amongst the Burmese that Upagupta still survives in this way, and, in consequence, is an object with them almost of worship, the monks cannot point to any ancient scripture in support of this popular belief.

³ *The World as Will and Idea*, by A. Schopenhauer, Eng. trans. by Haldane and Kemp, 1883, ii. p. 371. Schopenhauer indeed claims to have arrived at such agreement independently of Buddha's teaching. He writes: "This agreement, however, must be the more satisfactory to me because in my philosophising I have certainly not been under its influence. For up till 1818, when my work

Hartmann's absolute or his Unconscious includes Unconscious intelligence as well as Unconscious Will. In Buddhism intelligence is not denied to Will and accorded a secondary and derivate place as in German pessimism, and we may even infer, from what is set forth as to the directing function of the Karma, as well as from its pictorial representation, that Buddhism in some sense felt the necessity of attributing an intelligent quality to the unconscious principle in order that it might pass from the state of migratory abstractiveness to that of determinate being. But, on the other hand, there is not here as an essential feature of the system, a deliberate ascription of intelligence to the unconscious as with Hartmann. The Unconscious Will-to-live maintains the changes of phenomena. "The world is the World's process." All "is becoming" nothing "is." It is indeed, as has been suggested to me, the Flux of Heraclitus, who also used the same simile of Fire and Burning. "The constant new-births (Palingenesis) constitute," as Schopenhauer, a Neo-Buddhist, says, "the succession of the life-dreams of a will, which in itself is indestructible until instructed and improved, by so much and such various successive knowledge in a constantly new form, it abolishes or abrogates itself."¹

appeared, there were very few exceedingly incomplete and scanty accounts of Buddhism to be found in Europe, which were almost entirely limited to a few essays in the earlier volumes of 'Asiatic Researches,' and were principally concerned with the Buddhism of the Burmese" (*loc. cit.* 371). It is, however, probable that Schopenhauer, such an omnivorous reader and withal so egotistic, minimizes his indebtedness to Buddha. For the Vedanta philosophy with which Schopenhauer admits familiarity is very deeply tinged by Buddhist beliefs. Even the Yoga of Patanjali is traced to a Buddhist origin (Banerji, *Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 313-391), and the fact remains that Schopenhauer's system generally follows the lines of Buddhism; and in his later writings he frequently uses Buddhist works to illustrate his speculations. Thus "We find the doctrine of metempsychosis in its most subtle form, however, and coming nearest to the truth in Buddhism" (*loc. cit.* iii. 302). And illustrating his theme of 'Denial of the Will to Live,' he refers (*loc. cit.* iii. 445) to FAUSBÖLL's *Dhammapadam*, and BURNOUF's *Introduction*; and (p. 303) SPENCER HARDY's *Manual*, OBER's *Du Nirvana Indien*; (p. 308) Colebrooke, Sangermano, St. Petersburg Academy Transactions; and frequently to the Asiatic Researches.

¹ SCHOPENHAUER'S *Will and Idea*, Eng. trans. iii. 300.

As a philosophy, Buddhism thus seems to be an Idealistic Nihilism; an Idealism which, like that of Berkeley, holds that 'the fruitful source of all error was the unfounded belief in the reality and existence of the external world'; and that man can perceive nothing but his feelings, and is the cause to himself of these. That all known or knowable objects are relative to a conscious subject, and merely a product of the *ego*, existing through the *ego*, for the *ego*, and in the *ego*. But, unlike Berkeley's Idealism, this recognition of the relativity and limitations of knowledge, and the consequent disappearance of the world as a reality, led directly to Nihilism, by seeming to exclude the knowledge, and by implication the existence, not only of a Creator, but of an absolute being.

As a Religion, Buddhism is often alleged to be atheistic. But although Buddha gives no place to a First Cause in his system, yet, as is well-known, he nowhere expressly denies an Infinite First Cause or an unconditioned Being beyond the finite; and he is even represented as refusing to answer such questions on the ground that their discussion was unprofitable. In view of this apparent hesitancy and indecision he may be called an agnostic.

In the later developments, the agnostic Idealism of primitive Buddhism swung round into a materialistic theism which verges on Pantheism, and where the second link of the Causal Chain, namely *Saṅskāra*, comes closely to resemble the *modi* of Spinoza;¹ and Nirvāṇa, or rather Pari-Nirvāṇa, is not different practically from the Vedāntic goal, assimilation with the great Universal Soul:

'The dew-drop slips into the shining sea.'

¹ "All Sentient beings exist in the essence (*garbha*) of the Tathāgata."
—*Augulirnalīya Sūtra* (Kah-gyar; D8, xvi. f. 208, transl. by W. Rockhill in *Life of the Buddha*, etc., p. 196.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. INDIAN BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS IN TIBET.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—It may be worth recording that, in the course of some conversations which I had with His Excellency Shad-sgra Shab-pe, one of the Tibetan Governors ('ōKah-blon') of Lhāsa, while he was at Darjiling about a year ago on political business, he informed me that many ancient Buddhist manuscripts, written on Birch-bark and Palm-leaf, which had been brought from India by mediæval Indian and Tibetan monks, are still preserved in Tibet, especially at the old monasteries of Sāmyé (where many were destroyed during the great fire there about eighty years ago), Sakya, Narthāng, and Taranātha's old monastery of Phüntsho-ling. These manuscripts, being considered materially sacred as relics, and written in a character more or less unknown to the Lāmas, are kept sealed up and rarely seen even by the Lāmas themselves. They may possibly, however, become available to the Western world by-and-bye.

L. A. WADDELL.

13th January, 1894.

2. POLYCEPHALIC IMAGES OF AVALOKITA IN INDIA.

With reference to the Indian origin of the Eleven-headed form of Avalokita's image (see page 59 of the January number of the *Journal*), I find that Dr. Burgess has recorded and figured (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 357) a large

sculptured image of this form in the Kānheri Caves on the West Coast of India, near Bombay harbour; and these caves are ascribed to a period about 850 A.D. (*loc. cit.* p. 186). This form is also found in the ruins of Nakou Thom in Cambodia (GARNIER, *Atlas*, p. viii.).

Avalokita, as The Defender from the Eight Dreads (see *Journal*, p. 76, No. IV.), is found in *sculptured* form in Ajaṅṭa Cave IV. and outside Cave XXVI., also in the Dherwāra Cave at Elura, Aurangābād Cave VII., and in several caves at Kānheri, from one of which a fine group is figured by Burgess (*loc. cit.* pl. lv. fig. 1).

L. A. WADDELL.

3.

The Homestead, Barnes,
1st February, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—In connection with the biography of the Buddha, and with the evolution of the Buddhist Canon, it will be of interest to some members of the Royal Asiatic Society to know that there is an unedited Pāli Sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya which destroys certain views generally entertained by scholars. The accepted view is that it is only in the later commentaries, and not in the very earliest canonical texts, that the miraculous incidents attending the conception and birth of Gotama the Buddha are narrated in the imaginative detail familiar to readers (e.g.) of the Sanskrit *Lalitā Vistara* and of the introductory portion of the Pāli *Jātakas*, as translated in your *Buddhist Birth Stories*. In conflict with this view is the Acchariyabbhuta-Sutta (No. 123 of the Majjhima Nikāya). This Sutta, which—as its name implies—deals with marvels and mysteries, makes the Buddha himself declare :

- (1) That he passed from the Tusita Heaven to his human mother's womb ;
- (2) That the universe was thereon illumined with brilliant light ;

- (3) That four devas mounted guard over the future Buddha and his mother ;
- (4) That during her pregnancy his mother maintained a life of spotless purity and goodness, and enjoyed perfect health and happiness of heart ;
- (5) That her womb was transparent, showing the future Buddha within ;
- (6) That she was fated to die within seven days of his birth, passing to the Tusita Heaven ;
- (7) That she carried her child exactly ten months, neither more nor less ;
- (8) That she stood during parturition ;
- (9) That the new-born Buddha was received into the hands first of devas and then of human beings ;
- (10) That he was free from all defilements attending birth ;
- (11) That two showers of water fell, one hot and one cold, wherein to bathe the future Buddha ;
- (12) That then the child, standing equally balanced on both feet, took seven paces towards the North beneath a white canopy of Kingship, surveyed every direction, and exclaimed ' In all the world, I am first, foremost, and peerless ; this is my last birth ; I shall never be born again ' ;
- (13) That the universe was again illumined with brilliant light.

This brief summary will show that in the ancient *Majjhima Nikāya* we have the kernel (and a great deal of the husk) of the Jātaka version of the Buddha's birth, and that, if the Sutta be genuine, fiction was embroidering historic truth within (perhaps) a century of his death. I hope to have an early opportunity of presenting to the R.A.S. the text of this Sutta and of Buddhaghosa's Commentary thereon. The latter has an importance of its own as bearing on a question which has been much debated, namely, whether the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā was written by Buddhaghosa or not.—Yours truly,

ROBERT CHALMERS.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. R. A. S. 1894.

4.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the interesting article by Surgeon-Major Waddell, dealing with the ancient conception of life under the figure of a wheel, of which each re-birth is a revolution, I should like to point out that this fancy finds an echo more than once in Hellenic literature. In the Orphic theogony we come across the notion of re-birth considered as a weary unending cycle of fate or necessity—*κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως, ὁ τῆς μοίρας τροχός*, etc.—from which the soul longs to escape, and entreats the gods, especially Dionysos (*Διώνυσος λυσεύς, θεσὶ λύσιου*), for release,—*κύκλου τε λήξει καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι κακότητος*. In the verses inscribed on one of three golden funereal tablets dug up near the site of Sybaris the line occurs: "And thus I escaped from the cycle, the painful, misery-laden" (*Inscr. gr. Sicil. et Ital.* 641). These allusions may be referred to at second-hand in Herr Erwin Rohde's study of Hellenic ideas respecting the soul and immortality, entitled *Psyche* (4to. Hälfte, pp. 416 *et seq.*; 509), recently completed. Pindar, Empedocles, and Plato, as is well known, all entertained the notion of repeated re-birth in this world at intervals ranging from nine to one thousand years, repeated twice, thrice, or an indefinite number of times, and, according to the two latter writers, often including in its phases incarnation as an animal, or even as a vegetable. And throughout there runs the Orphic idea of each re-birth being a stage in a course of moral evolution and effort after purification. But I do not know whether the actual image of the wheel occurs in other instances besides those I have quoted. Empedocles, for instance, sees rather a toilsome *road* or roads of life—*ἀργαλέας βίοτοις κελύθους*. With Plato again, we more readily associate his simile of a re-birth as a fall of the soul from heaven to earth, as it drives its chariot after the procession of the gods, through the steed of Epithumia being dragged down by its craving for carnal things—or,

as the Buddhist might say, the steed of Chandarāgo overcome by Upādāna for the skandhas.

The question of a genetic connection between Oriental and Hellenic notions as to re-birth is of the greatest interest. Prof. Leopold von Schröder's opinion that such a connection exists (*Pythagoras und die Inder*, especially pp. 25-31) seems on the whole to be well founded. And the common parable of the Wheel may, or may not, add a link to the further arguments making for such a connection in Prof. Richard Garbe's disquisition contributed to the *MONIST* of last January. I will only add that, if the typical Greek were always as enamoured of this life in the glad sunlight and amongst the sons of men as he is commonly represented to be, we should expect as his dying plaint,

I am gone down to the empty weary house,
Where no flesh is, nor beauty, nor swift eyes,
Nor sound of mouth, nor might of hands and feet.

All the more remarkable is it to find such passages as the above describing his haunting dread of re-visiting, on the wheel of Anangkē, the scenes he was so loth to leave.

April, 1894.

CAROLINE A. FOLEY.

P.S.—Since the above was in type I have found, through a reference in Maine's *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 50, that the account of the construction of the picture of the wheel just as we see it in the Tibetan painting occurs already in the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 299, 300.

There it is related how Buddha instructed Ānanda to make a wheel (*cakram kārayitavyam*) for the purpose of illustrating what another disciple, Maudgalyāyana, saw when he visited other spheres, which it seems he was in the habit of doing. The wheel was to have five spokes (*pañcagaṇḍakaṃ*), between which were to be depicted the hells, animals, pretas, gods, and men. In the middle a dove, a serpent, and a hog, were to symbolise lust, hatred, and ignorance. All round the tire was to go the twelve-fold circle of

causation (pratītyasamutpādo) in the regular and in the inverse order. Beings were to be represented "as being born in a supernatural way (aupapādukāḥ), as by the machinery of a waterwheel, falling from one state and being produced in another." The wheel was made and placed in the "grand entrance gateway" (dvāarakoshṭhake), and a bhikshu appointed to interpret it.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1894.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

14th Nov. 1893.—Lord REAY, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. F. H. Hill Guillemard,
 Mr. K. B. Dutt,
 Mr. B. Borrah,
 Mr. B. Dé,
 Mr. B. L. Gupta,
 Pandit Hari Prasad Sastri,
 Dr. Hans Stumme,
 Mr. D. E. Hogarth,
 Mr. R. J. Lake,
 Mr. H. Beveridge,
 The Rāja Visvanath Singh,
 Mr. P. Beni Madho,
 The Hon. Dr. Ras Bihari Ghosh,
 Mr. Hem Chandra Banerji,
 Mr. E. J. Long Scott,
 Mr. J. M. Parsonson,
 Guru Prasad Sen,
 Mr. P. N. Bose,
 The Rāja Pyari Mohun Mukerji,
 Mr. Bankim Chandra Chatterji,
 Dr. Trailokya Nath Mittar,
 The Hon. Dr. Gurudas Banerji,
 The Rev. W. Ridding,
 Major-General Jago-Trelawney,
 Mr. R. C. Dutt,

had been elected members of the Society.

Dr. M. A. Stein read a paper on "Tours Archæological and Topographical in and about Kashmir." The paper will appear in full in the Journal.

12th Dec. 1893.—Lord REAY, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Lieut.-Colonel Plunkett,
Mr. Henry Leitner,
Mr. Dastur Dārāb Peshotan Sanjana,

had been elected members of the Society.

Surgeon-Major Waddell read a paper on "The Tibetan Worship of Avalokitā and his Consorts Mārīci and Tāra," and exhibited paintings, photographs, and rosaries, illustrative of his archæological researches in the Ganges Valley.

The paper was published in the January issue.

16th Jan. 1894.—Lord REAY, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. G. R. S. Mead,
The Rev. T. Witton Davies,
The Rev. A. Kluht,

were elected members of the Society.

Miss Foley read a paper on the "Vedalla Sutta," with special reference to the psychological basis of Buddhist Ethics.

The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

Surgeon-Major Waddell also exhibited a number of Tibetan hats and explained the meanings attached by the Lamas to their shape.

13th Feb. 1894.—Lord REAY, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Plimmer,
Kalipāda Bandyopadhyāya,
Principal of the Jeypore Sanskrit College,
Mr. John Beames,
Mr. Ney Elias,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John read a paper on the "Sāma Jātaka," which appears in the present number.

13th March, 1894.—Lord REAY, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Sanjiban Ganguli,

Head Master of the Mahārāja's College, Jeypore,

had been elected a member of the Society.

In the absence of the author, Surgeon-Major Waddell, the Secretary read a paper on "Buddha's Secret as explained by a Sixth Century Pictorial Commentary and Tibetan Traditions."

The paper appears in the present number.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. N.S. Tome ii. No. 3.

De Harlez (C.). Koue-Yü ou Discours des Royaumes.

De Vaux (M. le Baron Carra). Les mécaniques ou l'élévateur de Héron d'Alexandrie.

Derenbourg (Hartwig). Une épitaphe minéenne d'Égypte, inscrite sous Ptolémée.

2. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band xxvii. Heft 4.

Conrady (August). Ein Sanskrit-Newāri-Wörterbuch.

Jacobi (H.). Ueber die Betonung im klassischen Sanskrit und in den Prakrit Sprachen.

Bollensen (Fr.). Beiträge zur Kritik des Rigveda.

Franke (O.). Beziehungen der Inder zum Westen.

Jolly (J.). Beiträge zur indischen Rechtsgeschichte.

Kohn (Dr. S.). Die Samaritanische Pentateuch-übersetzung nach der Ausgabe von Petermann und Vollers.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. Alois Sprenger.—We regret to have to announce the death of Dr. Alois Sprenger, one of our Honorary Members. The following short account of his career is taken from the *Homeward Mail* of Jan. 29th: "Born Sept. 3, 1813, at Nasseureuth, in Tyrol, he was sent at the age of nineteen to the University of Vienna, where he devoted himself to the study of medicine and of the Oriental languages until the year 1836, when he went to Paris, and shortly afterwards came to London, where, after rendering considerable service to the Earl of Munster in his projected work on the Military History of the Mahomedan Nations (a work which has never yet been made public), he obtained an appointment in the medical service of the East India Company, and went to Calcutta in 1843. Shortly after this he was appointed principal of the Mahomedan College at Delhi, where he remained until 1848, when he was sent as assistant resident to the Court of Lucknow. During his residence at Lucknow he compiled a catalogue of the MSS. in the library of the King of Oude (which were subsequently destroyed during the Mutiny). The catalogue, or rather a portion of it, was printed at Calcutta in 1854, the rest having apparently been lost. From 1851 to 1854 we find him stationed at Calcutta as Persian translator to the Government, and principal of the Mahomedan College at Hooghli, and of the Calcutta 'Madrasa,' having in the meantime devoted himself, during a short leave of absence on account of ill-health, to the collection of material for his long-projected 'Life of Mohammed,' of which the first volume (in English) was printed at Allahabad in 1851. He retired from the Service in 1858, and returned to Europe, where he passed the remainder of his days. He died at Heidelberg on Dec. 19 last, in the eighty-first year of his age. India is indebted to Dr. Sprenger for the first vernacular paper printed in that country—namely, a weekly

periodical somewhat in the style of our once popular English *Penny Magazine*, which was printed at his lithographic press (in Hindustani) during his residence in Delhi."

William Henry Waddington.—William Henry Waddington died on Saturday, the 13th of January, 1894, in his private hotel, 31, Rue Dumont d'Urville, in Paris. By the death of Mr. Waddington science has lost a good scholar, society a thorough gentleman, France a faithful servant.

Waddington was born at Saint-Remi-sur-l'Avre (Eure-et-Loir) on the 11th of December, 1826. He belonged to a wealthy family of spinners, of English origin. Waddington's grandfather had settled in France as early as 1781, when he created the manufactory which was the source of the family's fortune, and his father was naturalized a Frenchman in 1816. Waddington was educated in turn in Paris, at the Lycée St. Louis, at Rugby, and at Cambridge, where he graduated at Trinity College. I believe I am not far out of the truth in saying that the future antiquary rowed once in the crew of the "Light Blues" in the University Boat Race.

I need not mention here that Waddington entered political life after the fall of the Empire, at first as a Deputy and afterwards as a Senator of the Département de l'Aisne. Twice a minister (1873 and 1876), once a prime minister (1879); he was (18th July, 1883) appointed French Ambassador at the Court of St. James. He had hardly retired from that high position when he died.

Waddington's first travel to the East took place in 1852, shortly after his marriage; his young wife, who died soon after their return to France, accompanied him. During nine months he visited Asia Minor, collecting ancient coins and medals; he brought back with him a large number of them—basis of a large collection, the largest, indeed, of coins of this particular region—which, being yearly increased, cannot be estimated at less than £20,000. The last collection of so great an importance is that of the late Duke de Luynes. Of course, his deep knowledge of

the Greek language and literature drew his attention to Greek medals, but it was impossible to neglect the rich Lycian and Aramaic series of Asia Minor. Waddington aimed at giving a general work of the numismatics of this part of Asia; it was his lifelong labour, and he has given some proofs of his high industry in several articles in the *Revue Numismatique*. These articles were reprinted in three parts in 1854-61-67.

Numismatics shared with Epigraphy Waddington's serious leisure. When Philippe Le Bas died (16th May, 1860), the Academy des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres asked him to continue the publication of Greek and Latin texts brought back from Asia Minor by this savant. He gave himself up to this labour of love, and his Commentary on the Edict of Diocletian is most remarkable. In fact, this chapter, reprinted in 1864, is a real picture of the economical state of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fourth century of our era.

Mr. Waddington made a second journey, landing at Beyrouth in the spring of 1861, and he devoted himself to the exploration of the parts little known of Syria. He thoroughly studied on one hand the Haouran, and on the other the Aleppo province, gathering the richest collection of inscriptions ever brought back from these two regions. He spent eight days at Palmyra, making a note of more than a hundred unpublished texts. At the end of the year he was joined by the illustrious archæologist, the Marquis (then Count) de Vogué; they visited together the island of Cyprus, and resumed the study of the Haouran; for the first time they explored scientifically the Safa, this curious volcanic country covered up with Sabæan inscriptions, which spread in the desert to the east of Damas. After spending the summer at Jerusalem, they returned to the Aleppo province, where Waddington, who had noticed many primitive Christian monuments of the highest interest, left Mr. de Vogué to study and describe them, and he returned home in the autumn of 1862. He was taking back a rich harvest of Greek texts, which he published at the end of

Philippe Le Bas' *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure*. An abstract of it was given under the title of *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Moreover, during his sojourn in the East he had acquired a knowledge of the Arabic writing—knowledge sufficient to enable him to copy the inscriptions and decipher Mohammadan coins. Of these latter coins he had a great collection, which he ceded to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The large number of Arabic texts which he had assembled was placed by him most liberally at the disposal of specialists. In 1865 Waddington was elected a Member of the Academy des Inscriptions at Belles-Lettres, in the place left vacant by the death of Count Beugnot.

But it is more as a Collector and a Patron of science than as a professional Orientalist or Hellenist, however great his researches were, that Waddington has earned the gratitude of the learned world. As Minister of Instruction Publique he has created a chair of Greek Epigraphy at the College de France, obtained for the Louvre the monuments discovered by Consul de Sarzec at Tello, and secured the funds necessary to the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, an immense work undertaken by the members of the Academy des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. It would be unfair, *à propos* of Waddington, not to record the great name of his companion, the Marquis de Vogué, who has published the Sabæan or Aramaic Inscriptions copied by Waddington in his own important work—*Syrie centrale*.

Paris, March 12, 1894.

HENRI CORDIER.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Kālidāsa in Ceylon.—The Hon. T. B. Panābokke, a Sinhalese gentleman, at present member of the Legislative Council in Ceylon, has brought out at the Government press an edition of the very ancient Pada-gata-sannaya (or

word for word commentary in Sinhalese) on Kālidāsa's Megha-dūta. The unique MS. copy of this old text was lately discovered in the Kandy Oriental Library by Mr. William Gunatilaka. The MS. gives, unfortunately, no information as to the name or date of the author. His readings differ in a score or more of passages from those in Wilson's Calcutta edition of 1813. In the course of the commentary grammatical rules are quoted by their first words. These rules the editor has identified in some cases, but by no means in all. Are the untraced rules from Candragomi?

Egyptian Lectures.—In the Edwards' Library at University College (which is open to Students every Thursday afternoon) Mr. F. L. Griffith, of the British Museum, is conducting a class for the study of hieroglyphs and the language of ancient Egypt. The special subject for the present term is "Selected Historical Inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom."

The Study of Assyriology.—Prof. Tiele, of Leyden, has just published an address delivered by him in the University Aula, as Rector Magnificus, on "Western Asia in the Light of the Most Recent Discovery." It closes with an appeal to younger students not to wait for the formal recognition of Assyriology as a branch of the higher education, but to take some modest share in the great harvest in which the labourers are so few. There is no chair of Assyriology in London, but Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, is delivering a series of lectures on "The Language and Literature of Assyria and Babylonia."

The Buddhist Order.—With reference to Mr. Bowden's letter, printed at pages 159–161 of our issue of January, 1893, we would call attention to the fact that he has published, in the January number of the *English Illustrated Magazine*, an illustrated article on the Buddhist Confession, the Pātimokkha, and that the pictures there given throw interesting light on the subject of his letter.

Egypt.—Under the auspices of the Khedivial Library the Librarian, Dr. K. Vollers, published what has been preserved of Ibn Dokmāk's *Description of Egypt*. The

author, who died at the beginning of the fifteenth century, gives a topographical account of the old Cairo, as well as Fostât and Rode. This is followed by a list of the cities of the country with the outlines of the political economy of each. It also contains a historical sketch of Alexandria.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE RIVAL POWERS, OR THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST. Translated from the German of JOSEF POPOWSKI by ARTHUR BARING BRABANT, and edited by CHARLES E. D. BLACK, late in charge of the geographical business of the India Office. 8vo. pp. 235, with a Map. Westminster, 1893.

The purpose of this book is to show how ineffectual have been all England's endeavours by way of diplomacy to arrest the advance of Russia in Central Asia, and to point out that in order to preserve her Indian Empire she must join a coalition of the powers of Central Europe.

The reader cannot fail to be impressed with M. Popowski's learned and dispassionate criticism, though he will also detect a strong anti-Russian bias on every page, and this should put him on his guard against accepting all the author's conclusions. In his historical sketch (Chapter I.) of Russia's advance, while drawing attention to the important services rendered by the Cossacks, M. Popowski omits to mention that these irregular cavalry took a very subordinate part in the campaigns in Central Asia. The conquest of Turkestan was achieved by the regular troops, mostly infantry, aided in some measure by the Cossack *Sotnias*, who fought dismounted. "Cossackdom," as an institution, accomplished great things in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, but it has long since lost the important place it once held in popular estimation, and hardly a trace of that warlike spirit which animated those lawless

borderers, who fought in turn for Turkey, Poland, and lastly for Russia, can be discerned in the Semirétchia and Siberian Cossacks of the present day. Useful as a militia force, for administrative purposes, and for the punishment of marauders, they are unfitted to take the field against disciplined troops.

The ease and rapidity with which "Central Asia" was won for Russia is attributable, in the first place, to the desire of the inhabitants to be relieved from servitude and the intolerable oppression they had suffered at the hands of despotic native rulers. After overcoming such resistance as the ill-armed and badly disciplined levies of the Khans could bring against them, the Russians were welcomed as deliverers and protectors, who might put an end to the anarchy and confusion everywhere prevalent, and usher in a new order of things. And it is only fair, in judging of the events of the last quarter of a century, to remember how the Russian generals were led from one success to another, and how little active hostility they encountered.

M. Popowski says that all these conquests were undertaken with the definite object of gaining possession of India, and that the idea of universal empire is at the bottom of every Russian's heart. In proof of this view he cites the ambitious projects of earlier Tsars and the schemes of enterprising commanders such as Skobelef. But these aspirations are not shared by sensible people in Russia, for they feel that their territory is already vast enough, and that their overgrown empire might fall to pieces were further extensions attempted. Responsible ministers have repeatedly declared that they wish for no more; that these conquests have been forced on them by the nature of the country and the unsettled predatory habits of the population. They invite Englishmen to come and see for themselves what they are doing, and assist in reclaiming the desert.

A great work has to be done in Central Asia: colonies have to be planted, cotton and other valuable commodities raised, abandoned trade routes have to be re-opened, and

the mineral wealth explored. Russia is deficient in skilled labour for such undertakings; England can supply it. Why then should not the two nations combine to work out the future of Central Asia in accordance with Western ideas and civilization?

Our position in India, say Anglo-Indian administrators, is insecure, the government of that great dependency becomes more and more difficult as the Russians approach its frontier. The bazaars are full of rumours of invasion, the native press attacks the government and incites to sedition. But these difficulties are precisely such as Russia has to face; and though the methods adopted by that power to secure her possessions may differ from ours, the dangers she is exposed to are equally real and pressing. A large Muhammadan population, fanatically hostile to Christians, is scattered over the whole extent of Turkestan and the Trans-Caspian region. Though held in check by a comparatively small army of occupation, and the memory of past defeats, the first reverse inflicted on Russia would be the signal for their uprising, and it would tax all the resources of the latter power to prevent the revolution from spreading. England has the sea-board to fall back upon in the event of disaster in India, and reserves could always reach her in plenty of time. Russia, on the contrary, would have the tedious land transport across enormous distances, compared with which those marched by her troops to the Crimea were insignificant. The Caspian base and the single line of railroad to the foot of the Hindu Kush would, it is true, be available; but how easily such a line of communication might be interrupted, even supposing that Persia were neutral. We have no wish to lay ourselves open to the charge of "self-deception" brought against us by M. Popowski, but assuming, as he does, that Russia might concentrate an army of 200,000 men on the N.W. frontier of Afghanistan in six months' time, would not this be amply sufficient to place an adequate force of English and native Indian troops in the field to meet them? I believe that in three months every point

of danger could be secured, and that invasion would be impossible. Some lessons may doubtless be learnt from an attentive study of the earlier invasions of India, and General Sobolev deserves credit for bringing these together in one volume, but it is difficult to see what parallel can be drawn between the inroads of Alexander the Great, Jinghiz Khan, Timur, Sultan Baber, or any of the great conquerors who crossed the Indus, and the conditions under which Russia would have to repeat the feat.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of a peaceful solution of the Central Asian question is the love of conquest and desire for war instilled into every military mind and fostered by successful campaigns such as those in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Skobelef, like Alexander the Great, dreamed of new worlds to conquer, and General Kaufmann, or "The Little Tamerlane," as he was called by his officers, may have cast many a longing eye in the direction of India. The militarism of Russia, Austria, and Germany may at any moment involve these nations in war.

It may be easily seen from a perusal of M. Popowski's book how much annoyance England and Russia may cause one another in Asia, and it is to be hoped that all points still at issue between them may be speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

E. DELMAR MORGAN.

E. KUHN. BARLAAM UND JOASAPH. EINE BIBLIOGRAPHISCH-LITERARGESCHICHTLICHE STUDIE. München, 1893. 4to. Pp. 88. (A bibliographical and literary study about the Legend of Barlaam and Joasaph.)

In this book Prof. Kuhn sums up admirably all that has been written hitherto on the origin and development of the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph. It is well known that Liebrecht was the first to identify this legend with that of Buddha. Since then the study of this legend has assumed large proportions. Every translation has been examined and the numerous parables traced through the literatures of many nations. The authorship of the Greek version,

hitherto ascribed to St. John, of Damascus, has also been successfully called in question. The discovery of three Arabic versions did not contribute to lessen the difficulty. The problem got still more involved through the recent researches of Rosen, Oldenburg, and Marr, who sought in the Gruzinian and Georgian literature the original for the Greek translation.

Prof. Kuhn takes up this question and examines it from every point of view with scholarly thoroughness and profound acumen. He discusses in turns the relation between these three ancient versions: Arabic, Georgian, and Greek, and proves beyond doubt, that all go back to one and the same common source, which must have been a Pahlavi version composed probably in Iran about the fifth century. The legends of Buddha must have circulated there for a long time earlier, as I have shown many years ago parallels to some of the parables in the Talmud, and in Rabbinical writings of the fourth and fifth centuries. Prof. Kuhn shows further that the original version seems to have been better preserved in the Arabic text, at least so far as the end of the tale is concerned. In two Excurses, pp. 40-45 and 45-50, he examines the Hebrew version of Ibn Hisdai (c. 1250) and the Greek; he mentions also the recent discovery by J. B. Harris, that the author of the latter version had literally embodied in it the Apology of Aristides. Pp. 50-57 contains the list and short description of the versions which are based upon the Greek text. Pp. 57-74, the list of those which are based upon the Latin text. Prof. Kuhn enumerates the printed editions and MSS. in all the European languages, grouped according to classes: Romance, German, Slavonic, etc.

Two Appendices, I: (pp. 74-82) a minute comparative study of the Parables, and II: (pp. 82-84) Barlaam and Joasaph as Saints in the Christian Church, conclude this excellent and exhaustive monograph, which represents also the most complete bibliography on the subject. I have not been able to detect a single omission. Pp. 84-87 contain some important additions.

To these I should like to add one more, viz. the reference to the excellent "Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum," compiled by Mr. H. L. D. Ward, which has appeared since the publication of Prof. Kuhn's book (1893). On pp. 111-149 and 744-749 we have a very good account of the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, and a minute description of the MSS. of this legend in the British Museum, of which some were unknown to Prof. Kuhn.

The work of Mr. Ward deserves, in fact, quite a special notice. Under the modest title of "Catalogue," we get in reality not only descriptions of the MSS., but also bibliographical and literary information, the various texts are critically examined, and their relation to the printed editions carefully noted. The second volume contains, from p. 111 on, Eastern legends and tales, such as Barlaam and Joasaph, the Latin and Catalan versions of Kalila and Dimnah, the Seven Sages, and the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi.

As these subjects stand in close connection with the study of Oriental literature, I take the opportunity of drawing attention to the careful and learned book of Mr. Ward.

M. GASTER.

ŒUVRES COMPLÈTES DE R. SAADIA BEN JOSEF AL-FAYYOÛMÎ
PUBLIÉES SOUS LA DIRECTION DE J. DERENBOURG.
Vol. I. Version Arabe du Pentateuque. Paris, 1893.
With a second title: *Version Arabe du Pentateuque de R. S. B. J. Al-F.*, revue corrigée et accompagnée de notes hébraïques, avec quelques Fragments de Traduction française d'après l'arabe. Par J. D.

In the year 1892 the first millenium of the birth of Saadya Gaon was completed. That of his death will be in 1942. In order to commemorate that event, considering the great importance of Saadya, who was one of the first grammarians and biblical exegets, philosopher, and

theologian, mathematician and astronomer, talmudist and poet, Prof. Derenbourg suggested the publication of his works, of which many are still in MS., whilst those that have been printed abound in mistakes and inaccuracies. The first instalment of that undertaking is the volume which I bring here under the notice of scholars.

I must state, however, with very great regret, that it is—except the beauty of the type and excellent typographical execution—thoroughly disappointing. What is one to say to a publication which is a simple reprint of the Constantinople edition (1549), only *one* MS. being collated, of which we are not told anything either of its age or of its critical value; whilst there are here in England at least a dozen MSS. of great antiquity and corresponding value in the British Museum, in the Bodleian in Oxford, and in the Montefiore College in Ramsgate. I have collated the printed text with some of these MSS. (one in my possession), and have found great discrepancies, differences which cannot be easily reconciled, and which are not mere clerical errors. Prof. Derenbourg does not even hint at the existence of these MSS. The 32 pages of French contain the translation of a few passages.

I am afraid the whole work will have to be done again if we are to get a critical and trustworthy edition of the first and all-important Arabic translation of the Bible, done by the master-hand of Saadya.

M. GASTER.

M. GRÜNBAUM. NEUE BEITRÄGE ZUR SEMITISCHEN SAGENKUNDE. 8vo. Pp. 201. Leiden, 1893. (New contributions to the history of Semitic legends.)

From very ancient times the life and history of the Biblical personages have been adorned by numerous legends and tales. These are like unto gossamer woven by poetry, and carried from nation to nation by the currents of religious enthusiasm and popular fancy. They cling first to the tops which project above their surroundings, and as such

we must consider the persons mentioned in the Bible who are the object of pious veneration. Legends have clustered round them in the ancient Jewish poetical and aggadic literature. The works of the early Fathers of the Church abound in similar legends, and to the founder of the Islam and his followers, they also have wandered, carried along with the Biblical narrative.

One has only to read Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-Safa," now made accessible through Mr. Arbuthnot's exertions, to see to what an extent legend has embellished and overgrown the simple narrative of Holy Writ. Whence did Mirkhond derive his materials, and whence all the other Muhammedan and Christian writers? This question is much easier asked than answered.

All along the line borrowing takes place; there is an unconscious literary exchange between one nation and the other, and we often find legends of the most varied sources grouped round one person, if that person happens to be the special favourite of the people.

Dr. Grünbaum's work is a very valuable contribution towards the elucidation of the history and propagation of this floating gossamer. He concentrates his researches more upon the relation between Jewish and Muhammedan Biblical legends; hence the title of his book, "Semitic Legends"; but at the same time he refers also to the old Christian—especially Syriac—literature. We have here researches based upon the study of the originals, not second-hand information, and we are guided through the intricate labyrinth of legendary lore by a firm and safe hand. To compare the materials offered in this book with Weil's well-known compilation, or with the now very scarce little books of Hammer (Rosenoel), would be to compare a mole-hill with a mountain. The author gives chapter and verse to all his literary references, and he does not limit himself to the telling of the tale, but he starts from the source, and follows up the river through all its ramifications.

The material is grouped according to the more prominent

Biblical personages round which those legends cluster. Pp. 1-54, Introduction; pp. 54-79, Adam; pp. 79-89, Noah; pp. 89-132, Abraham; pp. 132-141, Lot; 142-148, Isaac and Jacob; pp. 148-152, Joseph; pp. 152-185, Moses; pp. 185-189, Saul; pp. 189-240, David and Solomon.

That the matter is not exhausted even by the accumulation of so vast a material as we have in these pages, even the author would not deny. I would overstep, however, the limits of a *notice* were I to attempt to add to the parallels adduced in the book. Suffice it to mention, for instance, that the European developments and parallels in the Slavonic, German, and Romance languages are scarcely touched upon. But we have in Dr. Grünbaum's book a solid basis from which to start in our inquiries, and to follow the thread of the gossamer, to see how it was woven further by nations living under another sky.

A small contribution in this direction, which has besides the charm of novelty, we find in the last chapter of the book, in which the author deals with "legends in the Jewish-German, Jewish-Spanish, and Spanish-Arabic literature." The former being that of Jews living in Germany and Spain, the latter that of the Moriscos of Spain. It is an exceedingly valuable addition to a book already very valuable in itself.

M. GASTER.

GRAMMAR OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE, LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL. By J. BEAMES.

This work contains a clear and simple, though somewhat brief, sketch of the Bengali language. It is by no means exhaustive, as is indeed inevitable in a short primer, and the student will have to learn from other books the use and construction of compound verbs, the idiomatic uses of pronouns and other parts of speech, the negative verb *nahi*, as distinguished from *nāi*, the force of the emphatic particles *i* and *o*, of *bā*, *bai ki*, and other things of a similar nature.

Some remarks also on adverbial phrases, and the uses of postpositions, would have been most helpful to the student. Still, this work is a distinct improvement on existing Bengali grammars.

It is to be regretted, however, that when dealing with the conjugation of verbs (p. 40), and in examples given in the syntax, Mr. Beames employs the forms *mui* and *tui* for the pronouns of the first and second persons, instead of the regular forms *ami* and *tumi*. The use of these forms is extremely misleading and injurious, for *mui* is seldom to be found except in poetry, and *tui* is distinctly an abusive form of address, the use of which should be discountenanced. The latter form of pronoun also conveys the idea of great affection or familiarity, and as such is used by parents to their children, but would certainly be quite out of place in the lips of an Englishman. In his preface Mr. Beames states that his work is based on a Bengali grammar by Shāmā Charan Sarkār. Dealing with pronouns, Shāmā Charan states (p. 102), "In speaking, *mui* is commonly used instead of *ami* by low people (the italics are mine) and in poetry." Also on p. 105, "When contempt is to be expressed to a person *tui* is substituted for his or her name." "Sometimes *tui* is used to imply great affection, endearment, or intimacy." In fact these are exceptional forms, used only under special conditions, such as would not occur to any but a native.

The specimens of Bengali literature, with the excellent notes and glossary appended, will be found very useful. Undue prominence has perhaps been given to the un-Bengali, half-Ūrdu, and decidedly bad form of Bengali, to be found in the specimens of official papers. They will certainly be useful to Government officials, but will not much interest a student of the Bengali language. A few poetical selections, especially from the modern poets, might have been added with advantage.

The whole work of 178 pages is practically an enlarged edition of the grammar by the same author and published at the same press in 1891, (page 76) and the additional

matter is most valuable. The learned author of the Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages is to be congratulated on this new effort.

J. F. BLUMHARDT.

A BURMESE READER, BEING AN EASY INTRODUCTION TO THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE AND COMPANION TO JUDSON'S GRAMMAR.

The want of a work similar to the present one has long been felt by European and American students of the Burmese tongue, and it is indeed surprising that no serious attempt had previously been made to supply this deficiency which has been accentuated by the total absence of anything in the way of reading material in the Burmese Grammar of Dr. Judson, still the standard one for non-Burmese students. There exist, of course, several Vernacular Readers, issued by the Educational Department in Rangoon, but these, though excellent in their way, are intended purely for Burmese boys and girls, and are not well adapted to the needs of the average foreigner. This being so, it is a matter for congratulation that the first attempt to fill the gap should have been so carefully, and we must add so successfully, made, as is the case with the present work of Mr. St. John. The type, both Burmese and English, is excellent, mistakes are conspicuous by their absence, whilst as regards the paper and general get up, it will suffice to say that they are quite in accordance with the traditions of the Clarendon Press. The Reader proper is suitably divided into three parts, the first consisting of extracts from the "Sudhammachari," the second of more advanced selections, whilst the third is made up of newspaper cuttings and specimens of official papers. The earlier portions are fully and judiciously annotated, and, in addition, facsimiles are given of four very characteristic vernacular petitions. The whole is preceded by a short *resumé* of Burmese grammar, which is mainly founded on

that of Dr. Judson, though Mr. St. John has not hesitated to point out errors and omissions in the latter's work.

Objection may perhaps be taken to the exaggerated division of syllables in the first portion of the work as distinguished from the total absence of division in any way of words in the concluding part. It is possible to separate the words in Burmese equally well as in English printing and writing, and though it was perhaps advisable that the latter portion of the extracts should be printed in what is still the ordinary Burmese manner, there is no reason why the printing of the earlier ones should have gone to the opposite extreme. It is to be regretted that in this respect Burmese books are, as a rule, still so far behind those in Tamil, Telugu, etc., where the initial difficulties in effecting a suitable division were at least equal if not greater.

In regard to the grammar there can be little doubt that the affix *ka*, used generally to show the speaker in the "oratio obliqua," is, as pointed out by Mr. St. John, really one showing *from* or *by* whom the speech is spoken, and not merely a nominative affix. The proof of this is that *ka* is frequently employed as a postposition with that meaning in Burmese, whilst in two cognate languages at least, Southern Chin and Manipuri, what we call the nominative is really a noun with a postposition (*nü* or *na*) meaning "by" affixed to it.

Again, the error of Dr. Judson in styling as adjectives the relative participles of verbs (to borrow a phrase from Dravidian grammar) is not repeated, and instead we are told that "the verb takes the place of the adjective." This is merely a particular example of the dictum that *in Burmese and the languages cognate to it there are no true adjectives*. Dr. Judson has, in fact, throughout his grammar, been far too much influenced by the grammatical terminology used in this country—itsself founded on mistranslations of Greek words by the Latins—which is quite inapplicable in many respects to the languages of the Tibeto-Burman and Chinese families.

Mr. St. John has not been equally happy in his illustrations of the powers of the various vowels, though he has avoided the error of Dr. Judson in stating that a sound like "o" in *on* exists in the Burmese language. The average Englishman will find some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowel sounds in "tea" and in "feet," or in "screw" and in "fool" respectively; indeed, the differences between long and short *i* and *u* being particularly easy of illustration, it is difficult to understand the selection of the words mentioned to that end. Again, is it correct to describe CS as merely a long form of C (*aw*)? It would seem rather that Mr. Stevens is right in describing this latter as "aw," pronounced with the rising tone, the only case in which this tone occurs in Burmese, though it is common enough in most of the cognate languages. The consonants are well transliterated (it might have been as well to state that Q is now only pronounced "ra" in Arakan), with the exception that O is transliterated as "tsa" and not "sa." The latter is, of course, the old pronunciation, but with all deference to Mr. St. John the ordinary ear can now no more distinguish the initial "t" than in the case of the Tamil F (which has undergone a phonetic decay exactly similar to the Burmese O). The change in pronunciation of *k'y* into *ch* is noted, but it might as well be added that in many parts *ky* is similarly altered,¹ both forming interesting examples in support of the theory of the original guttural pronunciation of the Sanskrit palatal *varga*.

As is usual, the word *mogh*=sky, or cloud, is given as an example of final quiescent consonants in words derived from the Pali, but I think that surely the time

¹ If my memory serves me right Japanese peasants pronounce Kioto as *Choto*. Perhaps some Japanese scholar might be able to state whether this change of guttural to palatal exists or is common in that language.

has come to protest against the assumed derivation of this word from *megha* and its consequent spelling with a final *gh*. It is true that the recent Spelling Committee in Rangoon passed it in its present form, but after what Mr. Taw Sein Ko recently stated in "The Indian Antiquary" anent the proceedings of this committee, the weight of its authority cannot but be considered as much diminished. In the first place, the word for "sky" is a very unlikely one to be borrowed from a foreign language, whilst the existence in Burmese of a verb *mo*="to cover, to spread overhead," would seem to indicate that the noun "sky" corresponding to this verb must also be indigenous.

When, however, we turn to the cognate languages and find in Murmi *mū*, Gyarung *mūn*, Southern Chin *a-mē-haw*, Sgaw-Karen *mū-ka-paw*, etc., etc., which words could not have been derived from the Pali, and are evidently allied to a Burmese *mo* (or *mū*, as I hold it to have been originally pronounced), it is difficult to see how that word can be held to be otherwise than indigenous. Similar objections might be urged to the spelling of other words of supposed Pali origin, but the present occasion is hardly suitable for more than a mere allusion to the matter.

On page 38 Mr. St. John, evidently following Dr. Judson, quotes the verb *ṭē* (to have in abundance), whence a word *ṭu-ṭē* (=a rich man), distinct from *ṭa-ṭē* (rightly derived from the Pali *sēṭṭhi*), is presumed. This is the only Burmese word which begins with a lingual, and it is of comparatively rare occurrence. Is it possibly evolved from a false spelling (*ṭu-te*) of *ṭa-ṭē*, the first syllable being taken to be *ṭu*="he, a person"?

There would seem to be no necessity for considering the plural "villages" to be implied in the Burmese *nat-yica* or fairyland, *lit.* "the village of the fairies or nats." In Siyin Chin there is no word for "country," as is natural among a people where most villages are independent of each other, but they talk of the Burmese village when they refer to Burma. It is notorious that words specialized for kings and rulers generally represent very archaic forms

of the language, and in this case it is not a violent presumption to suppose that the expression in question is a remnant of the pre-Buddhist spirit worship of the Burmans, and of a time when their political organization resembled that of the wild Nagas and Chins. The combination "nat-ywa nebban" by-the-bye is very instructive of Buddhism as understood by the average Burman of to-day.

It is open to doubt whether *k'u*, which follows all (year) dates except those ending in 0 (see p. 189), is the numeral affix meaning "thing," which would not be very applicable in such a connection. From the existence of the Southern Chin *kun*, Shandu *kôn*, and Lushai *kum*, it would seem more probable that the Burmese *k'u* is a cognate word now obsolete except when used for dates.

I cannot conclude this short notice of Mr. St. John's excellent work without expressing dissent from the first paragraph in the preface to the effect that "to learn a language thoroughly one must first learn it as written and then turn to the colloquial." The reverse is what must strike most students as being the case, that is, if one is really to think and speak in the language and not merely use it for literary and scientific purposes. The arguments in favour of this position are fully and clearly set forth by Monsieur François Gouin in his "Art of Teaching and Studying Languages"; and no person who has once studied one under his method is likely to have much patience with the opposite view. The truth or falsity of this does not, of course, detract from the merits of Mr. St. John's book as a Reader, but the student who would attempt to use this Burmese book, unexceptionable in its way, for ordinary conversation with the peasants of the country would experience no little difficulty in making himself understood.

B. H.

CONSTABLE'S ORIENTAL MISCELLANY.

The Fifth Volume of this interesting series consists of General Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian

Official." To those who are unfortunate enough as to be unable to procure a copy of the now costly old edition the present volume will be of great value.

The author's wide acquaintance with the many Indian topics which he handles with a fascinating charm, renders his work still as interesting, vivid, and bright as it was fifty years ago.

The present edition contains a memoir of the author and a bibliography of his writings by the editor, Mr. V. A. Smith, who has also added a copious analytical index.

DAS SHAD-VIṂṢA-BRĀHMAṆA, MIT PROBEN AUS SĀYANA'S KOMMENTAR, etc., VON KURT KLEMM. Part I. (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann. 8vo. pp. 94.)

This is an edition by a pupil of Professor Geldner's, and in Roman type, of the text of the first Prapāthaka of the Shad-viṃṣa-brāhmaṇa, so called because it forms the twenty-sixth part or appendix to the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of twenty-five chapters. There is added Sāyana's commentary in full at first, and afterwards only in extracts, and a complete translation into German. The introduction gives an interesting *résumé* of what is known about the Sāma Veda Brāhmaṇas, and a discussion of the vexed question as to Sāyana and Mādhava. On this last point the author holds, in opposition to Mr. Burnell, that the two were really brothers, and not two names for the same person; and that the Mādhava-rāja, who was the donor of the Kucara grant in 1391 A.D., was the son of Mādhava, the brother of Sāyana. The date of the Brāhmaṇa, of which we have a careful edition of the first portion, is fixed approximately shortly before the Christian era. The accurate scholarship and training shown by this little work lead us to hope that the author will soon fulfil the promise he holds out of giving us the whole of the Brāhmaṇa, with its commentary, in a large volume.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVI.—*Description of an old Persian Commentary on the Kur'án.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE collection of Persian manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University Library is, compared with the collections of the British Museum or the Bodleian, sadly insignificant both in extent and value. The total number of volumes which it comprises scarcely exceeds 300, and of these only a small proportion is of any conspicuous worth or interest. Some few, however, there are which deserve to be made known to Orientalists, and amongst these is the manuscript which forms the subject of the present notice.

The volume in question, together with a good many other Oriental manuscripts now in the Cambridge Library, once belonged to that eminent and famous Dutch scholar, Thomas van Erpe, commonly called *Erpenius*. His works are known to all Orientalists; and of his life the following brief account, taken from the notes added by Professor Mayor to an edition of Z. C. von Uffenbach's *Visit to Cambridge* (in July–August, 1710) which, unfortunately, has hitherto remained unpublished, may suffice for the present.¹ “Afterwards,” says Uffenbach, “we saw many Oriental books, all bought from the library Th. Erpenii.

¹ For the communication of the proofs of this unpublished work, as well as for much valuable help in tracing the history of the Erpenius manuscripts, I am indebted to the learning and courtesy of Mr. J. W. Clark, Registrar of this University.

But whether all his MSS. came here, Mr. Baker could not tell me” In the notes Prof. Mayor writes as follows: “*Erpenii*. *Thomas van Erpe*, born at Gorinchem 3rd or 11th Sept., 1584, was encouraged by *Scaliger* to study the Oriental languages, for which purpose he visited the libraries of *London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Milan, Heidelberg, Venice*, etc.; appointed extraordinary professor of Oriental languages (except Hebrew) at *Leyden*, 9th Feb., 1612–13, though *Andrewes* used great efforts to induce him to settle in *England*. Among his pupils were *Sixtinus Amama, Adolf Vorstius*, and *Jac. Golius*. He set up an Arabic press, and had the letters cast at his own cost; after his death it passed into the hands of *Is. Elævier*. He died 13th Nov., 1624, and was commemorated in a funeral oration by his friend *G. J. Vossius*.”

Now it has not, I believe, hitherto been generally known how the Erpenius manuscripts found their way after his death to Cambridge. We learn from Dozy's *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecæ Academiæ Lugduno Batavæ* (Leyden, 1851, vol. i, pp. vii, viii) that Golius, who, “unmoved by fear of infection,” attended Erpenius on his death-bed, received his final instructions and last wishes, and afterwards succeeded him in his professorship, earnestly desired to secure these manuscripts for the University of Leyden. This, too, was the wish of Erpenius himself. The manuscripts, valued at 4000 florins, were, in the first instance, to be offered to the University. Should the University be unable or unwilling to buy them for this sum (payable in four instalments of 1000 florins each, the first thousand immediately, and the remaining instalments at the end of the first, second, and third years from that time), Erpenius' widow was permitted to sell them to foreign bidders, amongst whom the agents of the Papal Nuncio were conspicuous for their eagerness to secure this rich treasure; but the preference was to be given to the University of Leyden. There was some difficulty about raising the money, but, as we learn from Dozy, arrangements were finally made for paying the sum specified,

partly out of the Public Treasury, partly out of the University Chest, "*ut Universitatis splendor ac fama conservaretur.*"

Yet the manuscripts passed into the possession neither of the University of Leyden, nor of the Papal Nuncio. "To this day," says Bradshaw, in a paper on the University Library contributed to No. 13 of the *Cambridge University Gazette* (March 3rd, 1869, p. 101=pp. 17, 18 of reprint), "the people of Leyden cannot understand how the transaction was managed; they say that a large instalment of the purchase-money had already been paid by the corporation, but yet that by some means the manuscripts were never delivered, and that they have reason to believe that some of them are at Cambridge, and some perhaps elsewhere in England. True it is that they are all here, and we know whose liberality we have to thank for them; indeed, among them are some of the most valuable books which the library now possesses." And these remarks are well illustrated by Dozy's words (*loc. cit.*, p. viii): "*Putaveris itaque omnes Codices Erpenianos in nostrâ Bibliothecâ asservari, Golianis admixtos; sed collato Catalogo, Vossii orationi subjuncto, contrarium apparet Nonnulli Codices Erpeniani (si non omnes) in Bibl. Cantabrigiensem, nescio quomodo, immigrarunt.*"

How the manuscripts found their way to Cambridge is clearly set forth and abundantly illustrated by numerous documents, printed and manuscript, for knowledge of which I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. W. Clark, Registry of this University. I will quote in the first place the quaint account of the matter given by Sir Henry Wotton in his *Life and death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (*Harl. Misc.* ed. Park, viii, 619; *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1685, p. 223= p. 16 of the original edition, London, 1642. 4to.):¹

"Here it were injurious to overslip a noble act in the duke, during the employment" [when he went to the Hague

¹ I quote from the notes of Professor Mayor's unpublished *Visit to Cambridge of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* referred to in the last footnote.

to pawn the Crown jewels 1625]; "which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his expenses: there was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of *Erpenius*, the most exquisite linguist; these had been left to the widow of the said *Erpenius*, and were upon sale to the *Jesuits* of Antwerp; liquorish chapmen of such ware. Whereof the duke getting knowledge, by his worthy and learned secretary, Dr. Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them £500; a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act, both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being out of his natural element. These were they which after his death were as nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the University of *Cambridge* by the duchess dowager, as soon as she understood (by the aforesaid Dr. Mason) her husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise, as I am well instructed, to raise in the said university, whereof he was chancellor, a fair case for such monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts of his own charge; perchance in some emulation of that famous treasury of knowledge at *Oxford*, without parallel in the Christian world."

This is perhaps hardly the place to enter further into a history of this transaction, which I hope to discuss more fully in the Introduction to a Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts preserved at Cambridge on which I am now engaged. The following brief extracts from various papers, printed and manuscript, suffice to fix the principal dates.

1. (Letter from Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated March 24th, 1626-7, cited by Mayor): "We talk here of a magnificent library which our great chancellor will build, and bestow no less toward it than £7,000 presently."

2. (Letter from Archbishop Ussher to Sam. Ward, dated June 16th, 1626, also cited by Mayor): "I have dealt with your chancellor very effectually for the erecting of your library, to which he is of himself exceeding forward:

I have procured him to send unto Leyden for all the printed books of *Erpenius*, his library; which, together with his manuscripts which he hath already, he purposeth to bestow on your university. I have also persuaded him to send thither for the matrices of the Syriac, Arabick, Æthiopick, and Samaritan letters, and to bestow them likewise upon you."

3. (Same to same, June 23rd, 1626, also cited by Mayor): "Since I wrote unto you last, I have received intelligence from Leyden, that all Erpenius's printed books are already sold; and his matrices of the Oriental tongues are bought by Elzevir the printer there; so that you must now content yourselves with his manuscripts only, which are a very rare treasure indeed, and for which your university shall rest much beholden unto your chancellor."

4. (Ward to Ussher, Sidney Coll., June 27th, 1626, also cited by Mayor): "I received your lordship's last letter of the 23rd of this month, and do perceive thereby that Erpenius's printed books and his matrices of the Oriental tongues are already sold."

The Duke of Buckingham's assassination by John Felton on August 23rd, 1628, prevented him from personally bestowing on the university the munificent gift which he designed for it, but his widow faithfully carried out his intentions, so soon as she understood what they were, though the manuscripts did not finally reach Cambridge till the latter end of 1632. For we find in the Baker MS. preserved in the University Library (1) a Latin letter, dated June 13th, 1632, from the university to the Duchess of Buckingham containing condolences on her husband's murder; (2) an English petition, "no doubt sent with the above" [Mayor's notes], from same to same, praying for the library of Erpenius; (3) the duchess's reply (also in English), wherein she says: "The manuscripts you desire are not as yett in my power, yett I will endeavour to gett them, and prevent your sending againe unto mee in this particular;" (4) a Latin oration to the Senate delivered by the Public Orator on the receipt of the MSS.; (5) three items in the

University Audit Book for [Oct.] 1632 to [Oct.] 1633, viz. two separate charges of one shilling "for the carriage of the Arabicke bookes to and from the schooles," and a charge of £6 "paid to Edward Woodruffe for a presse for the Arabicke bookes." The text of a Latin inscription, written on vellum and framed, which was formerly affixed to this press to commemorate the Duke of Buckingham's munificence and misfortune, is also given by Uffenbach. This inscription gives June, 1632, as the date of the gift.

So much for the history of the Erpenius manuscripts in general; now for the manuscript which I propose to notice in this article. In the catalogue appended to Gerard J. Vossius' funeral oration on Erpenius, delivered on Nov. 15th, 1624, and printed at Leyden in the following year, it is thus briefly described: "*Commentarius Persicus in Alcorani partem posteriorem, sine nomine auctoris, in magno folio, exemplar scriptum est anno Hegiræ 628.*" Externally it is but little calculated to arrest a passing glance. It is a large plainly-bound volume, about thirteen inches in height, nine and a half in width, and three in thickness, simply labelled "*Alcoranus MS.*," and bearing the class-mark Mm. 4. 15. A casual visitor might easily pass it by without so much as taking it from the shelf or opening it; but a single glance at the contents would be sufficient to rivet the attention of any Persian scholar who knew the look of an old thirteenth century manuscript. For there is no mistaking the archaic character of the bold, scholarly *naskh* characters, mellowed by time from black to brown, in which the copious Persian commentary, interspersed with the Arabic text of the Sacred Volume, is written. Naturally the first thing one does is to turn to the end of the manuscript and look whether or no there be a colophon by which the date of transcription, and perchance also the title and authorship of the work, may be at once fixed. As regards the date of transcription at any rate we are not disappointed, for there is a colophon (on f. 367^b), and this is how it runs:

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على خير خلقه محمد سيد

المرسلين وازواجه امهات المومنين واصحابه اجمعين
 كاتبه وصاحبه العبد الفقير المحتاج الى رحمة الله
 محمد بن ابي الفتح الفقيه الغريب في اليوم السابع من ربيع الاخر
 في شهر سنة ثمان وعشرون وستماية اللهم اغفر لصاحبه وكاتبه

The date of transcription, then, is clear enough: the copying of the manuscript was concluded on the 7th of Rabi' I, A.H. 628, that is to say on February 12th, A.D. 1231; and the copyist of the manuscript, "*kاتبه وصاحبه*" was named Muḥammad ibn Abi'l-Faṭḥ *el-Faḥih, el-Gharīb.*" But, having gone thus far, we are confronted by two questions not easy to answer: (1) What is the meaning here of the expression "*صاحبه*"? (2) What is the explanation of the extraordinary appellation "*el-Faḥih, el-Gharīb*" which the copyist appends to his name?

Now as regards the first point, the *صاحب* of a book is, of course, in ordinary Arabic its *author*. If this be the meaning of the word here, then it follows that the above mentioned Muḥammad ibn Abi'l-Faṭḥ is not only the copyist of the manuscript, but the author of the work. But does *صاحبه* here mean "its author"? Seeing that in Persian the Arabic word *صاحب* commonly means "possessor," is it not possible that the (presumably) Persian scribe used it in his colophon in this sense? The question is one of considerable importance, for, according to the answer which we give to it, this manuscript, representing in any case a hitherto (so far as my knowledge goes) unknown Persian commentary on the Kūr'án of greater antiquity than any hitherto described, is either an author's autograph (which would naturally enhance its value in one respect), or, on the other hand, may represent a literary product of an earlier date than the thirteenth century. Feeling that my own experience was too limited to justify a decisive opinion on this point, I appealed to the far riper judgment and wider learning of Dr. Rieu, Professor de Goeje, and the late Professor Robertson Smith, whose premature death,

deeply felt wherever learning is valued, is to Cambridge in particular an irreparable calamity and a cause of the profoundest and most lasting sorrow. Of these scholars, the two last named, speaking as Arabists, gave it as their opinion that *ṣāhibuhu* should properly mean "author," but Dr. Rieu, whose experience of Persian manuscripts is probably unrivalled, took the contrary view. After stating (in a letter dated Jan. 30th, 1893) that he had been unable to identify Muḥammad ibn Abi'l-Faṭḥ, he continues: "I suspect he is only the copyist and owner of your MS., and the clue to the name, or at least the age, of the author must be found in the authorities, if any, quoted in the work. It is, in any case, a very curious work, as being apparently the earliest known *Persian Tafsir*. The Persian divines generally disdained to write in their own language. In fact, I believe, the earliest Persian *Tafsirs* mentioned in our catalogues are those of Ḥusain Kāshifī."¹

Already, then, the importance of the manuscript was made sufficiently clear to me, and I felt assured that, notwithstanding the bulk of the volume, I should not lose my time if I were to follow Dr. Rieu's suggestion, and, with a view to obtaining further light on the age and authorship of the work, read it carefully through from cover to cover. This I proceeded to do, and, though I failed to find any explicit statement as to the title, authorship, or date of composition of the work, nevertheless a rich booty rewarded me for my labour. First of all I was struck by the very archaic character of the Persian text, both as regards words, construction, grammar, and spelling, and, as I read, I jotted down in a note-book everything of this sort which seemed to me worth recording. Secondly, I made a complete list of all the authorities cited in the course of the work. Thirdly, I noted all allusions which appeared to me interesting, and all uninterrupted passages

¹ The celebrated author of the *Anvār-i-Suḥaylī* and other well-known works, who died A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-5). Concerning his commentaries on the Qur'ān, the *Mavāhib-i-'Alīyya*, and the larger *Jawāhiru't-tafsīr*, see Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. i, pp. 9-11.

of Persian of any length which occurred as digressions amidst the somewhat slavishly literal translations of the Kur'anic verses. These notes form the basis of the present article; and, though the number of extracts which I am able to include in it is necessarily very limited, I hope that they may suffice to call attention to an important and interesting manuscript, and may be of some service as a contribution to Persian lexicography and grammar. Such contributions, based on the study of individual manuscripts of respectable antiquity, are, I am convinced, needed, ere these sciences can be placed on a satisfactory footing; for I suppose that no Persian scholar feels satisfied with their present condition, or is otherwise than painfully conscious of the low degree of development which they have attained in Persian compared with that which they have reached in Arabic. Thus, to quote but one instance, in the last (and, on the whole, the best) Persian dictionary published in England, that of Steingass, we find (p. 366) so purely fictitious a word as "*jagtipūnistan*" (جگتپورنستن), "to write," a mere corruption of *jaktibdnatan*, which is itself a Parsee mis-reading of the Pahlavi *yektébūntano* (see West's *Transliteration of Pahlavi* appended to Haug's *Old Pahlavi-Pasand Glossary*, p. 251), which, in turn, was (according to the ordinarily received view of the nature of the Huzvaresh element in Pahlavi) nothing more than a logogram for *nabishtan*. So likewise in the grammar no mention is generally made of either the present or the perfect subjunctive, which, as I shall soon have occasion to mention, occur quite commonly in this manuscript, and, no doubt, in other texts of similar age.

The fact is that it is perfectly useless to go on compiling new dictionaries of Persian until we have at our disposal a far greater number of critical texts. The publication of accurate and scholarly texts, based on the collation of good old manuscripts, is what is more than all else needed for the advancement of Persian scholarship. How can a good dictionary be made, save by the citation under each heading of illustrative passages from standard authors of successive

epochs? And how can we cite such passages when the texts to which we would fain appeal are in a state of hopeless corruption and confusion? And here I wish to enter a protest against the custom which prevails both in Europe and Asia of modernising or "standardising" old Persian texts, thereby destroying much of the value which they would otherwise have in elucidating the history and development of the language. No English scholar would tolerate a "modernised" edition of Chaucer, with spellings "corrected up to date": why then, in editions of Firdawsí, Sa'dí, and the like, should ك stand for كى, آچھ for آج, and so on, when every Persian scholar knows that at the time when these writers lived, the latter spellings prevailed almost universally? As specimens of how old Persian texts should be printed, I will only point to Seligmann's *Codex Vindobonensis*, a most beautiful and artistic reprint of one of the oldest Persian manuscripts extant (A.H. 447=A.D. 1055). Failing the publication of complete texts based on good old manuscripts (a procedure which, desirable as it is, is rendered difficult by the expense of printing Oriental texts in Europe, and the smallness of the circle to which they appeal), the next best thing is, that all accessible Persian manuscripts written before a certain date (say A.D. 1300) should, as occasion serves, be carefully read through by competent scholars, who should note all peculiarities of diction, vocabulary, grammar, and spelling which they present, and embody the results of their observations in separate monographs, which would be similar in character, though, no doubt, in many cases, far superior in execution, to this.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary that I should give a formal description of the manuscript which is the subject of this present study. The complete commentary appears to have consisted of four books bound in two volumes, of which this manuscript is the second volume, and contains the Arabic text, Persian translation, and commentary of the second half of the *Ḳur'án* (from the 19th to the 114th and last *Súra*). The first volume is

unfortunately missing, so that we are deprived of the light which the title and introduction probably prefixed to it would have thrown on the age and authorship of the work. The volume before us comprises ff. 368, each measuring 320 × 235 millimetres, and each containing 21 lines written in the bold, antique *naskh* of which I have already spoken. The Arabic text, with which the translation and exegetic matter is interspersed, is written in slightly larger characters, and is in general fully vocalized. It offers some few variants from the "authorized version," the received reading being in some cases also given as an alternative; but these variants are, so far as I have noted them, of small importance. Ff. 1 and 2 of the original manuscript are missing, and have been replaced by two leaves of white paper. Three of the four sides which these present (ff. 1^a, 1^b, and 2^a) are inscribed with a Latin index of references, written (partly, perhaps, by Erpenius himself) in two or three different hands of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The beginning of *Sûra xix*, down to the end of v. 1, together with its commentary, was included in the lost leaves, and on what is now f. 2^b an attempt has been made to supply this defect, the supplied portion (16 lines) being badly and irregularly written in an ill-formed (perhaps European) hand. A very little consideration of this supplied portion, however, suffices to show that it has nothing to do with the original commentary, but is taken from another and much later work, for allusion is made in the very first line to Sheykh Ruknu' 'd Dîn 'Alá'u 'd-Dawla, of Simnán, who died in A.H. 736 (=A.D. 1335-6), *i.e.* more than a century after the date in the colophon (Hájí Khalfa, vol. i, p. 212, No. 304). This supplied portion on f. 2^b, comprising the beginning of *Sûra xix* down to the end of v. 1, proves, as a matter of fact, to be taken from a well-known and much later commentary already alluded to, *viz.* the *Mavâhib-i-'Aliyya* of Huseyn Vâ'iz-i-Káshiff, completed in A.H. 899 (=A.D. 1493-4. See note at the foot of p. 8 *supra*). The original commentary, then, as we now have it, begins with v. 2 of *Sûra xix*, as follows:

إِنَّ نَادَى رَبِّهِ انكاه کی بخواند خدای خود را ندأَ حَقِيقًا خواندنی
 بوشیذه کی کس ندانست . . الخ

From this point the commentary continues uninterruptedly to the end of f. 194^b (end of *Súra xxxvii*). Here, presumably, the first of the two books comprised in this volume (i.e. Book iii) ends; for f. 195^a is blank, save for a short anecdote of Shibli, the well-known saint, which has been written subsequently (but also in an old hand) near the upper margin of the page and at right angles to it, and the commentary on *Súra xxxviii* begins on f. 195^b. From this point again the commentary continues uninterruptedly to f. 350, where there is another lacuna (apparently of two leaves, ff. 351-2) extending from *Súra lxxxix*, v. 14 to *Súra xcii*, v. 4. Thence onwards the commentary again continues without interruption, and ends at the bottom of f. 367^a. The colophon already cited (pp. 6-7 *suprà*) occupies the middle of f. 367^b. Above it are some general remarks on the antithetical character of the *Kur'án*, etc., ascribed to 'Abdu'llah (ibn) el-Mubáarak ed-Dínawarí, concerning whom Dr. Rieu writes (in a letter already cited): "Abdallah B. al-Mubáarak al Dínawarí is a very early writer, for his work *كتاب الواضح*, unknown to Haji Khalfa, is one of the sources of the *Tafsír al-Tha'labí*, as you will see in our Arabic Catalogue, p. 373^b." ¹ This passage runs as follows:

عبد الله المبارك الدينورى ثويد بدانك قران همه مزديج
 امده است امر و نهى است و وعد و وعيد است و ناسخ و منسوخ
 است و حلال و حرام است و محكم و متشابه است و خاص و
 عام است و خبر گذشته و خبر بودنى است و ستودن نيكي و
 نيكوهيذن بديست و ياذكرد خالق و ياذكرد مخلوق است و هر
 جاى كه در قران يايها الذين امنوا است بس ازان يا جيزى

¹ Abú Is-hák Ahmad b. Muḥammad eth-Tha'labí died A.H. 427 (=A.D. 1036-6).

بفرموده است یا از چیزی باز زد کرده است و هر جا کی اندر قران وما ادریک گفتست از ان سبس بیغامبررا صلی الله علیه و سلم خبر کرده است و هر جا کی اندر قران وما یدریک گفتست انرا بیذا نکرده است

علی بن ابی طالب رضی الله عنه گوید نزل ربع القران فینا و ربع القران فی عدونا و ربع القران فی سنن و الامثال و ربع القران فی الفرائض و لنا کرایم القران والله اعلم بالصواب و بالله التوفیق و العصمه

Then follows the colophon, already cited. The remainder of f. 367^b and both sides of f. 368 are written over in a cursive and ungraceful, but ancient and fairly legible, hand with anecdotes of Musulmán saints.

On the curious title “*el-Faḥih, el-Gharib*” which the copyist, Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Faḥ, appends to his name I consulted Professor de Goeje, who was kind enough to write to me as follows: “The الفقیه الغریب is puzzling. What I think the most probable is that الغریب is not an adjective to الفقیه, but a substantive, ‘the stranger,’ which may have been his surname in the place where he resided. According to Vullers it may have had the sense of النقییر, الدرویش. In this sense it can be considered as *epitheton ornans*. In the *Lisān*, II, ۱۳۱, is quoted the tradition of the Prophet:

سئل عن الغریب فقال الذین یُحییون ما امات الناس من سنتی

but to deduce from it that الغریب might have been used by theologians in the sense of السنته محیی seems forced.” To these remarks I can add nothing, save that nowhere have I been able to find mention of Muḥammad ibn Abi'l-Faḥ, the transcriber of our manuscript. And this fact further disposes me to regard him merely as the *owner* and not the *author*, for it seems improbable that the author of so large,

early, and important a commentary should be altogether unknown to Hájí Khalfa and other bibliographers and biographers.

Now, having cleared the ground, and disposed of these preliminary matters, I pass to the more detailed description of the commentary. I shall discuss what is noteworthy, first, in its form; secondly, in its substance; and I shall arrange what I have to say under the following headings:

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| As regards
Form : | } | 1. The forms, uses, and transpositions of the letters. |
| | | 2. Archaic spellings. |
| | | 3. Archaic grammatical usages. |
| | | 4. Archaisms in the vocabulary. |
| As regards
Substance : | } | 5. Authorities cited by the author. |
| | | 6. Allusions to historical events not directly connected with the sacred text. |
| Conclusion : | } | 7. Soundness of the tradition followed by the author. |
| | | 8. Views and sympathies of the author. |
| | | 9. Where and when did the author live? |

1. *The Letters.*

ا is seldom or never marked with a *medda* (آ). The الف *تعجب*, or final *alif*, expressive of astonishment, etc., is of not infrequent use: *e.g.* (f. 78^b, ll. 6, 7):

و عادتت ادمیان اینست کچون بلای بدیشان رسد گویند
 بدبختیا، ای هلاکیا ای که هلاکت شدیم:— بسا فریشتگانا کاندرد
 اسمانها اند (f. 278^a, l. 2).

ب is written uniformly for پ, which latter has no distinctive mark. In several words ب still stands for پ: the later و: *e.g.* *بیران* (desert) is much commoner than *پیران*; *ربان* (soul) occurs once (f. 141^a, l. 14) for *پربان*; *نوبشتن* is much commoner than *نوشتن*, etc.

ت and ط are interchanged frequently, and were therefore presumably pronounced (as they are by modern Persians) exactly alike. Thus we find تلخ and طلیخ, ترقیدن and طرکیدن (the latter being the commoner). Arabic final ة is more commonly represented by ت than by ط: e.g. we find درکت, درجت, منزلت, مرتبت, خلیفت, etc.

ج is written uniformly for چ, which has no distinctive mark.

ح is rarely confounded with ع: e.g. on f. 178^a, l. 5, in *Súra* xxxv, v. 43, end, we find آنه کان حلیمًا قدیرًا for علیمًا, though the right translation, دانای توانا, is given.

د is usually written with a dot above it as ذ (in Persian words) when it is preceded by a vowel and not followed by another consonant in the same word. Many instances of this will be found in the extracts already given. See also ز below.

ر is replaced by ل (once) in the word دیوار 'a wall,' occurring on f. 190^a, l. 5, برابرید از هیزم دیوالها. See ل *infra*.

ز is once confused with ذ in بیزار (written بیدار).

ژ is the only one of the four letters (پ, ژ, چ, and گ) added by the Persians to the Arabic alphabet which bears the distinctive mark in this manuscript. Thus we find پژمردہ, مژده, هژده, کژاوه, مژہ, اژنک, ژاله.

س is usually distinguished from ش by having three dots placed beneath it.

ض is occasionally confounded with ظ: e.g. نظم occurs (f. 127^b, l. 4) for نظم, and ضَلَّل (f. 143^a, l. 1, in *Súra* xxxi, v. 31) for ظَلَّل.

ط. See above under ت.

ظ. See above under ض.

ع. See above under ح.

ف replaces و in the word وام, 'loan,' the words وَأَقْرَضُوا
وَأَلَّهَ كَرَضًا حَسَنًا in v. 20 of *Sūra lxxiii* being translated—
و. حذایرا فام دهید فام دادن نیکو. Although of the
duplicate forms in *f* and *p* the latter are commonest
(e.g. بیروز, written بیروز, for فیروز, etc.), we find (f. 290^b,
l. 7) the swallow called فراشتوک notwithstanding that
پرستو or پرستوک is the commoner form, even in late Persian.

ث is not distinguished from ک.

ل replaces ر in دیوار for دیوار (see above, under ر), گرم سیل
for گرم سیر, and سرد سیل for سرد سیر (f. 362^b, l. 17).

ن is frequently omitted at the end of words, especially plurals
in ان; and this occurs so often as to suggest the idea
that it was to the scribe a mere nasal, like the Sanskrit
anusvāra.

و. See above under ب and ف.

ز, ʒ (final) is not written, as a rule, in the words که, چه, and
their compounds, but ج is commoner than که (usually
written کی). For هرچه اش, درینچه, بدینچه, آنچه, هرچه
etc., we find هرچش, and درینج, بدینج, هرچی, and هرچ
; and for زیراک, جنانک, هرک, برکه, زیراکه, چنانکه, هرکه
and ازیراک, برک, etc. (See also below, under the *izāfat*.)
It is also commonly omitted when followed by the
plural termination or a possessive suffix, e.g. in میودار,
جامه ها (for جامه ها), (سایه تان, سیتان, میوها,

ی is commonly omitted where it is used in later Persian, for
euphony, to separate two vowels. Thus we find ترسان
(ترسایان), فرمائیم (فرمائییم), اواند, شکیبان, بارسائی, (ترسایان),
ازمائیم (آزمائییم), etc. On the other hand ایجای and
خزای are common.

2. *Archaic Spellings.*

Some instances of these have been given at the end of the above section, and to them a few more may be added. *که* is very commonly joined to the following word as *کت*. Thus we find *کمن* (که من), *کتو* (که تو), *کما* (که ما), *کشما* (که شما), *کایشانرا*, *کبگاه* (که بگاه), *کیافته‌اید* (که ایان), *کیان* (که تا), *کتا* (که یا), *کیا* (که همه), *کهمه* (که جز), *کجز* (که چه), *کجه* (که چون), *کچون* (که چرا), *کچرا*, etc. Other archaisms are *ای شانند* (twice, on f. 169^b and f. 187^b) for *ایشانند*; *خدای‌وند* (twice, on f. 173^b and f. 175^b) for *خداوند*; *هرروز* (on ff. 119^b, 185^b, 219^b, l. 2, and 286^b, l. 15) for *هرروز* and *هیچ‌چیزی* for *هیچ چیز* and *هیچ‌چیزی* and *هیچیز* (common, e.g. ff. 217^b, l. 11; 218^a, l. 11; 218^b, l. 18; 227^a; 249^a, l. 18; 220^a, l. 20; 221^b, l. 14; 231^a, l. 18; 246^a, l. 12; 260^a, l. 13, etc.); *هلاکردیم* (for *هلاک کردیم*, f. 29^a, l. 6); *جنوی* (for *جنوئی* (چون اوئی)). See also below, under the *izâfat* and *yâ-i-naḥdat*, etc.

3. *Grammatical Peculiarities.*

(1.) NOUNS. (a) *Plurals* in *ان* and *ها* both occur; but, though we find *کسها* 'persons,' the former predominate, not only in names of animals (*اسپان*, *میشان*, *اهوان*, *سججیران*), *کرمان*, *ملنجان*, *مرغان*, *بزان*, *گوسبندان*, *خران*, *گاوان*, *شتران*, but in other nouns (*دردان*, *گناهان*, *اندوهان*, *آهستان*, *خدایان*), *بامدادان*, *افریدگان*, *انگشتان*, *رزان*, *درختان*, *گواهان*, *سوگندان*, *سمنان*, *سبیددمان*, *شبانگهان*). Unusual plurals in *گان* occur, such as *مولاکان* (f. 79^b), *دوستگان* (f. 154^b), *فرزندگان* (f. 310^a,

1. 12). Similarly we find جاودانه (6 times) and its derivative جاودانگی (twice). Contrary to the usual rule, the plural is occasionally used after a numeral; *e.g.* :—

برهانیدیم اورا و دو دختران اورا (f. 94^b, l. 10).
 بدرست که خدای تو قضا کند میان ایشان بدانچ حکم کند
 ای که جدا کند میان دو گروهان (f. 106^b, l. 5).

One instance of a double plural—ملوکان—occurs, on f. 362^a, l. 11. *Há-i-mukhtafī* is generally dropped before the plural termination in ها; *e.g.* خانه ها; دانها; دانه ها. etc.

(β) *Uncommon uses of the oblique case in را*. The oblique case is frequently used after the prepositions از, بهر, از برای, از برای, etc.; *e.g.* :—

همه را از مردگانرا زنده کند (f. 231^a, l. 11) : از بهر ستیزه را و
 خشم را (f. 313^b, l. 10) : انک و کذب هر دو دروغ باشد بدو لفظ
 یان کرد برای تاکیدرا (f. 189^b, ll. 1-2) : و جای دهد مریشانرا در
 دین اسلامرا (f. 73^a, l. 19).

It is twice used in the subject of a passive sentence :—

آورده شد در صحرای قیامت دوزخرا از بهر بی راهان و کافران
 (f. 91^b, l. 10) : و چون بر خوانده شوند بروایتیهای مارا یعنی قرانرا
 (f. 138^b, l. 8).

(γ) *Nouns occasionally take the comparative termination تر as though they were adjectives (cf. Kazimirski's Dialogues Français-Persans, pp. 35, 36) ; e.g.* :—

ان عدل تراست بنزدیک خدای تعالی ای که ان راست ترست
 (f. 148, l. 16) : و سباه ایشان انبوه تر (f. 171^a, l. 10).

(2). ADJECTIVES occasionally agree in *number*, and, in the case of Arabic adjectives, in *gender*, with the nouns which they qualify; *e.g.* :—

مردان منافق و زنان منافقه (f. 163^a, l. 15) : و ان لوح محفوظ
را هیچ کس نبسازد جز فریشتگان پاکان (f. 289^b, l. 10).

So also we find مومنان مخلصان (ff. 230^b, l. 17; 258^a, l. 10; 266^b, l. 11).

(3.) VERBS. (α) The prefix *همی* is much more commonly used than *می* in forming the *present* and the *continuative past*, and one or more words often intervene between it and the verb; *e.g.* :—

همی طاعت دارند (f. 199^b) : همی سوی تو آیند (*ib*) : همی
خوش آمد (f. 200^b) : همی جرا کردند (f. 202^a) : همی بناها
کردند و همی غواصی کردند (f. 201^a) : همی اختلاف کردند
(f. 207^b) : همی نرم نشوز (f. 209^b) : همی بنماید (f. 216^b, l. 10) :
همی جنان گمان برم (f. 218^b) : استوار ندارند همی (f. 220, l. 18) :
ما همی جگلویم (f. 225^b, l. 8).

(β) The second person singular of the past subjunctive is not, as in later Persian, identical with that of the simple past; *e.g.* from کردن the former is کردی (not کردی) and the latter کردی. So we find رفتی, یافتی, نداشتی, etc. There are also subjunctives of the *aorist*, the *perfect*, the *future perfect*, etc., formed by adding *ی* to the corresponding tenses of the indicative. These tenses of the subjunctive I cannot remember to have seen mentioned in any grammar.

Examples:—

وَلَوْ شِئْنَا لَبَعَثْنَا فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ نَذِيرًا وَاكْرِبْخَوَاهِيمِي مَا فَرَسْتِمِي
 در هر شهری پیامبری که می ترساندی ایشانرا بعد از من تا سبک
 شودی بر تو بار نبوت و لکن نکرد تا بزرگ باشد مزد تو
 (f. 83^a, ll. 14-16).

چون مکیان نگریدند و او را دروغ زن کردند سخت امدان برو و
 رجور گشت خدای تعالی او را خبر کرد اگر بخواهدی که ایشان
 ایمان آرندی در مانده گردانندی تا بدرماندگی ایمان آرندی إِنَّ نَشَأَ
 نُنَزِّلُ عَلَيْهِمْ آكْرِبْخَوَاهِيمِ فَرُو فَرَسْتِمِ بِرِيشَانِ مِنَ السَّمَآ آيَةً اَزِ اسْمَانِ
 ایستی و علامتی کی در مانده گردانندی ایشانرا تا ایمان آرندی بکره
 فَظَلَّكَتْ اَعْنَأْفُهُمْ لَهَا خَأْضِعِينَ و باشذی گردن نهایی ایسا (sic) نهاده
 مران ایهارا ای که نژند باشذی از بهران ایت و نتوانندی که
 گردن از ان بکشندی (f. 86^a, l. 21—f. 86^b, l. 4).

وَلَوْ أَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَاكْرِبْ اَنْجِ دَرِ زَمِينِ اَسْتِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ اَزِ
 درختان اَقْلَامٌ قَلَمَاسْتِ وَاَلْبَحْرِ يَمْدَةٌ وِ دَرِيَا مَدَادٌ وَا ن قَلَمَهَا باشذی
 که می افزایدی و کم نیایدی مِنْ بَعْدِهِ سَبْعَةٌ اَبْجُرِ اَزِ بَسِ اَنْكِ اِن
 یک دریا سبری شودی هفت دریای دیگر مداد گردندی و می
 افزایدی درو بس نویسندگان بدان قلمها و دریاها بنویسندی مَا
 نَفَدَتْ كَلِمَاتُ اَللّٰهِ سَبْرِي نَگَرْدَنْدِي وِ كَمِ نِيَايِذِي سَخْمَانِ خَذَاوندِ تَو
 (f. 142^a, ll. 4-8; xxxi, v. 26).

وَإِنْ يَأْتِ الْأَخْرَابُ وَاكْرِبْ اَبَازِ اَيْذِ لَشْكَرِ بَارِ دِيْغَرِ وَا حَزَابِ لَشْكَرِ هَايِ
 باشد کی گرد امده باشند در معصیت خدای تعالی يَوَدُّوَا خَوَاهِنْدِي
 منافقان لَوْ اَنْهُمْ بَادُونَ فِي الْأَخْرَابِ که ایشان از مدینه بیرون رفته
 باشند بیباده در میان اعرابیان مدینه يَسْأَلُونَ عَن اَنْبِيَائِكُمْ می
 برسند از خبرهای شما و می شنوندی بی از آنچه بر شما حاضر

باشند در جنگ و می گزیندی بر یکدیگر هنوز محمد هلاک نشد و
یاران او هلاک نشدند (f. 152^a, ll. 11-15; xxxiii, v. 20).

أَقْلَمَ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَيَنْظُرُوا كَيْفَ أَهْلَ مَكَّةَ أُنْدَرِ جِهَانَ هَمِي
نروند تا بنگرندی و تفکر کنندی تا بدانندی . . . الخ
(f. 222^a, ll. 18-19; xl. v. 82)

اندر خبر جنانست کی اگر کنیزی از کنیزکان حور العین یک
دست را زیر آسمان فرو کندی اندر شب تاریک جهان از روز روشن
هزار بار روشن تر گردندی و همه جهان بر بوی مشک و کافور شونی
و اگر یک قطره آب دهان اندر هفت دریا افکندی ابهای دریا از
شکر شیرین تر شونی (f. 288^a, ll. 17-19).

اگر این ایت نیستی قاضیان هلاک شده اندی (f. 35^b, l. 1)

(γ) Compound verbs are often formed with Persian passive
participles and auxiliaries, e.g. هرچ حق خدای است داده (f. 201^b, l. 8).
مرورا ببلای از موده نکرده (f. 85^a, l. 4). دارند

(δ) The pluperfect of بودن (not found in classical Persian)
occurs. Thus, we find بوده بودن (f. 202^b, l. 18), یا کاشکی ما
اندر دنیا یکی ستور بوده بودیمی تا با ایشان خاک گشتمی
(f. 339^b, l. 15). We even find بوده شدند (f. 22^b, l. 18).

(ε) The prefix ب is constantly used in conjunction with
بنگذاشت; (f. 17^a) ما می بترسیم; م, و, and ز. Examples:—
بمکش (f. 27^a); که ملکش هرگز به نه گردد; (f. 22^a);
می بگشت; (f. 33^b) بی نیفتانند; (f. 30^b) بنه لرزاند;
بمرده باشند; (f. 287^b, l. 9); (f. 34^a) گونه ابرهیم بنه گشته بود;
(f. 288^a, l. 14).

(ζ) The contracted form of the perfect is common, e.g.
خواستست, یافتست, گشتست, etc.

(7) Precatives and optatives are not uncommon, and these, when in the negative, take the prefix *م*, not *ن*. Examples: مگیزان (f. 62^a); مغریذا (f. 143^a); مشوان (f. 172^b).

(8) توانستن is not unfrequently used in the sense of توانستن. Examples (f. 235^b, l. 1) تو یا محمد بیش از انک ; جبرئیل بر تو فروامذ قران ندانستی خواند تاشما (f. 236^a, l. 13); زیراکی خدای تو حکیم است (f. 272^a, l. 4); راه بدانید بردن فرزند داند دان.

(4.) Peculiarities in the use of hamza (ه), ی, ئی, and in the behaviour of مختفی ها. These, whether occurring in nouns (*izâfat*, *yâ-i-wahdat*, possessive suffixes, etc.), adjectives (*yâ-i-maşdar*, etc.), or verbs, may be conveniently grouped together. The following examples will, without lengthy explanations, suffice to make clear the chief abnormalities which prevail. وادی (= وادئ or وادئى); بلائى (= بلائى); (کئوى) (= کئوى); (چئوى) (= چئوى); جنوى (= جادئوى); جادوى (= عمره) (for حجى و عمرهئ); (نامه) (= بدید); (آیهای ما) (= زندش (f. 179^b), زندهش (f. 123^a), زندهاش (f. 133^a); روشنای روز and ووشنای روز; (کرده) (= کردهئ); (بسته است) (= بستئست); (منازعه) (= منازعی); (دانائی) (= دانای; توبتشان (= توبه اش); توبش.

(5.) Pronouns. The pronominal suffixes are very freely used to express the object of the verb. Thus we find: از بهر جشا (= چشان) هلاک کردند (f. 17^a); وصیت کردشان (f. 18^a); پس تان بمیراند (f. 40^a); باز آریمشان, بیافریدیمشان (f. 50^b); هشتاد تازیانش بززند (f. 52^a); اوتان برگزیده است (f. 63^b); ازان وقت (f. 78^a); چه شدت (f. 66^a); ارزوتان نیاید (f. 78^a); بخواهید از من آنچه تان مراد است; کش بیافریدتا امروز

of همیدون are given (p. 1512) as follows: "Now, at this moment, always, perpetually; suddenly; such, in this manner; at least; in the same place; care, endeavour; favour," and I have, therefore, thought it worth while to point out that in this commentary the word همیدون is almost invariably used to translate the Arabic إِذَا, إِذًا "then." So likewise in other cases.

1

اب دستانها (= ابارتی 'ewers,' (f. 287^b, l. 13; lvi, v. 18)
 اذربانگان (= اذربایجان, the province of Azarbāiján, و بعضی
 از علما گفته اند کی ان رس باذربانگان بونده است
 (f. 81^b, l. 16). Cf. Nöldeke's *Gesch. der Sasaniden*, p. viii.

آدینه ('Friday'): و نیز گفته اند که انسان آدم است آفریده شد
 آدم برشتابی بیش از فرو شدن افتاب روز آدینه آخر روزی
 از سال (f. 31^b, l. 4). Also f. 269^b, l. 8.

آرامانیدن ('to tranquilise', آرامیدن causal of): اثر بخواهد ان
 باذرا بیاراماند (f. 234^a, l. 1).

آرزو کردن (apparently used impersonally in the sense of
 و اندر و گونه گونه میوها جنانک ایشانرا آرزو کند: 'to please')
 (f. 337^b, l. 11).

آزادی کردن ('to give thanks'): وَمَنْ شَكَرْنَا نَمَّا يَشْكُرْ لِنَفْسِهِ
 و هر کی آزادی کند بس از ان آزادی بر خود می کند
 (f. 102^b, l. 17; xxvii, v. 40): وَلَكِنْ أَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَشْكُرُونَ و
 لکن بیشتر ایشان آزادی نمی کنند ان نعمتهای که خدای
 ایشانرا داده است (f. 106^a, l. 17; xxvii, v. 75).
 Also ff. 136^a, 139^b, 141^b, 142^b, etc.

اژنگ ('frown'): *ثُمَّ عَبَسَ . . . بس روی را ترش کرد و اژنگ اندر بیشانی آورد و گونه روی از حال بگشت*

(f. 330^b, l. 10; lxxiv, v. 22).

اس ('mill-stone'): *یکی سنگ دست اس بیش خویش بنهادم*
(f. 280^b, l. 16). Also f. 334^b, ll. 12 and 17.

اشناه ('swimming'): *و همه ماه و افتاب و ستارگان در نلکی اند می روند گوی اشناه می کنندی از مشرق و از مغرب*
(f. 182^a, l. 3; xxxvi, v. 40).

اغالیدن ('to incite,' 'stir up'): *تَوَزَّهُمْ آزَا تا بر می اغالد ایشانرا بر بی فرمانیها بر اغالیدنی* (f. 12^b, l. 8; xix, v. 86): *و مِن هَمْرَاتِ الشَّيَاطِينِ از وسواس دیوان و اغالشهای ایشان که بر اغالیند مرا تا کاری کنم که تو نبسندی* (f. 60^a, l. 13; xxiii, v. 99): *بر اغالیند بو سفین را بر جنگ رسول* (f. 150^a, l. 9): *لَتُغْرِتْكَ بِهِمْ . . . بر اغالینم [ترا] بریشان و بر گماریم ترا بریشان* (f. 161^b, l. 8; xxxiii, v. 60).

اماسیدن ('to gather,' 'suppurate'): *بس تن او بر اماسید و ریم وستیم گرفت* (f. 203^b, l. 10).

امیغ (= آمیز 'mixed with,' 'stained'): *غساق ان اب زد خون امیغ باشد که از گوشت کافران همی روند* (f. 338^b, l. 11).

ابر (= بر 'upon'): *بس داوری نکنند ابر تو ای محمد* (f. 51^a, l. 1).
ارخشیدن ('to stand on end,' of the hair; 'to creep,' of the skin):

تَقْشَعِرُّ مِنْهُ جُلُودُ الَّذِينَ يَخْشَوْنَ رَبَّهُمْ تا از ایتهای عذاب و وعید بوسهای انکسهای که از خدای همی بترسند اندر ارخشند از بیم تا بوسها بریشان خشک گردند

(f. 209^b, l. 20; xxxix, v. 24).

Used alternatively with the common form ارجمند (= ارجمد) ارجمند (and with about equal frequency) to translate Ar. عزیز 'mighty,' 'powerful.' Ff. 96^b, 98^b, 106^b, 124^a, 126^a, 130^b, 133^b, 172^b, etc.

ارنج ('wrist'): تا دست خویش را از سرانگشتان تا ارنج همه بخورن از حسرت (f. 360^a, l. 19).

ازبر (= زبر, 'upon').

استدن (= ستدن 'to take'): وان جان که ملک الموت بستده باشد اندر خواب (f. 211^b, l. 3): اما مغانرا روا باشد که ازیشان گزید استانند باجماع علما (f. 126^b, l. 7).

Both forms common.

اشتر مرغ (= شتر مرغ, 'ostrich'): گانهن بیض گوی ایشان سبیده اشتر مرغ اندی (f. 187^b, l. 19; xxxvii, v. 47).

افتادن (In the sense of 'to understand.' Common in modern Persian. Cf. the English slang expression 'to tumble to').

گروهی گفته اند فعله گبیرهم خودرا خواست گفت که ایشانرا شکست بزرگ ایشان و ان خودرا خواست ای که من شکستم و ایشان بی نیفتادند بنداشتند بت را می گوید (f. 33^b, l. 11; xxi, 64): بزبانی کی ایشان بی افتند انرا (f. 95^b, l. 5): بتان سخن نشنوند و بی نیفتند. (f. 189^b, l. 18).

Also f. 95^b, l. 13.

افدر ('paternal uncle'): و خدای تعالی افرانرا و نیاکانرا یان نکرد (f. 68^b, l. 4). In xxiv, v. 60 (f. 74^b, l. 21) اعمام is rendered by افران.

افرمجن (= اَوْرَمَجَن, بَرَمَجَن, 'bracelet,' : پای افرمجن = 'anklet') :
 زنی از ان ایشان یکی بای افرمجن داشتی بای بر بای زدی
 تا از ان با افرمجن بانگ امدی (f. 68^b, l. 5).

In xliii, v. 53 (f. 239^a, ll. 6-8) اَسَاوِرَةٌ مِّنْ ذَهَبٍ is
 rendered دست افرمجهای زرین.

افسوس کردن ('to mock') : وَ لَقَدْ اسْتَهْزَيْتَ بِخُدَايَ كِه افسوس
 کرده شد (f. 31^b, l. 18 ; xxi, v. 42).

افگانه ('an abortion') : وَ غَيْرِ مُحَلَّقَةٍ و ان افگانه باشد که زنان
 بیفکنند (f. 41^b, l. 12 ; xxii, v. 5).

الفعدن ('to collect,' 'amass,' 'acquire') : همه ان دانند کی
 بدان زندگانی کشند و ان مال الفعدنست (f. 130^b, l. 19) :
 وَ ابْتَعَاؤُكُمْ مِّنْ فَضْلِهِ وَ جَسْتَن شَمَا بالفعدن خویش از فضل
 خدای (f. 132^b, l. 16 ; xxx, v. 22) : بِمَا كَسَبُوا بالفعدهای
 ایشان ای که بگناهان ایشان (f. 178^a, l. 6 ; xxxv, v. 44).
 Also ff. 136^b, 187^a.

انبارده ('puffed up' with pride) : كَمْ اَهْلَكْنَا مِّنْ قَرِيْبَةٍ او جند
 شهرها کی ناجیز کردیم بَطْرَتٍ مَعِيْشَتِهَا کی انبارده شدند
 در زندگانی خویش و بطرت انباردگی باشد از نعمت
 (f. 116^b, l. 5 ; xxviii, v. 58) : لَا تَفْرَحْ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ لَا يُحِبُّ
 الْفَرِحِيْنَ شادی مکن بمال بسیار و انبارده مشوا که خدای
 تعالی دوست ندارد انباردگان شادمانانرا بر توانگری
 (f. 118^b, l. 9 ; xxviii, v. 76). Also ff. 119^b, 140^b,
 166^b, 169^a.

اند ('and odd') : جهل و اند هزار = 'forty and odd thousand'
 (f. 193^a, l. 19). Not rare at the present day.

See *infra*, دختندر and مادندر. (in composition, 'step-') اندر-
اندر گذرانیدن [پای] (= 'to transgress') : پای از اندازه اندر
گذرانیدند (f. 125^b, l. 6).

[تن] اومندان (= تنومندان *q.v.*) ('endowed with a robust body.')

خَلَقَ الْمَوْتَ وَالْحَيَوَةَ كَوَيْدَ مَرِّهَا بِيَا فَرِيدَ يَعْنِي كَه نَطْفَرَا
بِيَا فَرِيدَ وَالْحَيَوَةَ وَ تَن اومندانرا بیا فرید
(f. 316^b, l. 15 ; lxvii, v. 2).

اومید (= امید, 'hope') (ff. 51^b, 125^a, 131^b).

ایدر (= here, 'very common') : زبان ایدر بمعنی رسالتست
'Tongue here [xix, v. 51] means apostolic mission.'
Also ff. 38^b, 63^a, 67^b, 99^b, 129^b, 169^b, 196^a, 197^b,
216^b, etc.

ایدون ('thus') : دیگر ایدون گوید = 'Moreover he says thus'
(f. 207^a, l. 8) : انگاه ایدون گفتید (f. 218^b, l. 4)
Also ff. 211^b, l. 9 ; 212^a, l. 2 ; 213^b, l. 3 ; 214^b, l. 9 ;
215^b, l. 10 ; 216^b, l. 18, etc.

ب

This preposition occurs ('by,' 'with,' 'to,' etc. ب =) pointed with a *fatha* in the following passage :

بِحی سلام می گوید ان در درکه ششم است بفروغ ان درخت
تازه باشد جنانک درختان شما بخنکی اب
(f. 188^b, l. 12).

In modern Persian it is always pointed with *kesra* (*bi*, not *ba*). In proof of this I will only cite the following passage from a useful little Persian Grammar

called *تَنْبِيْهُ الصَّبِيَّانِ* (*Tanbihu's-sibyán*), written by a Persian, Hájí Mirzá Huseyn Khán, and printed at Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1881). This passage occurs on p. 97:

(ب) بسیط که در اوایل کلمات فارسی در آید مطلقا مکسور است و بغیر کسر خواندن غلط است.

“The simple ب which is prefixed to Persian words is invariably pointed with *kesra*, and to read it otherwise than with *kesra* is a mistake.” That it is of the preposition which he speaks is evident from the examples which he adduces.

بِادَاْفِرَاهِ (‘recompense,’ ‘reward,’ ‘punishment’) : بِعَذَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ بِادَاْفِرَاهِي دَرِيْنِ جِهَانِ بِيْشِ از قِرَانِ و رَسُوْلِ (f. 27^b, l. 9;) (xx, v. 134). Also ff. 41^b, l. 6; 44^b, l. 17; 58^b, l. 10; 63^b, l. 17; 64^b, l. 10; 65^b, l. 11; 79^a, l. 13; 93^a, l. 19; 95^a, l. 19; 123^b, l. 12, etc., in all these passages used to translate the Arabic عذاب.

بَادَشَائِي (= پادشاهی, ‘control,’) : تا جَنانِ شَدِ كِي بِرِ خُوِيْشْتَنِ بَادَشَائِي نَمَانَد (f. 203^a, l. 1).

This form of the word occurs in poetry (without the *s*), e.g. in the first line of Nizámi's *Sihandar-náma*, rhyming with خدائِي ; but it is interesting to find it in prose.

بَارِ خُدَايِ (‘God Almighty’) : اِيْنِ تَقْدِيْرِ و تَدْبِيْرِ اَنْ بَارِ خُدَايِ اسْت (f. 224^b, l. 5).

بَارَهُ (‘a wall’) : حَلْقَشِ سُوْرَانِ كَرْدَنْدِ و از بَارَهُ شَهْرِ فِرُوْدِ اُوِيْخْتَنْدِ (f. 180^b, l. 5) : مِيْانِ مَوْمَنْانِ و مِيْانِ مَنَافِقَانِ بَارَهُ بِرِ اَرَنْدِ (f. 292^a, l. 16).

باشنده ('an inhabitant,' 'dweller') : و جنداکی (= جندان کی)
 هلاکردیم (= هلاک کردیم) و بسریذیم ازین جهان از
 مردمانی که ایشان باشندگان شهرها بوذند (f. 29^a, l. 6);
 (xxi, v. 11). Also ff. 67^a, 108^b, 116^b (*bis*), 124^b,
 127^b (*bis*). Still used in this sense in Hindústání.

بالیدن ('to grow up,' 'wax tall') : چون بسر بالید و بزرگ شد
 (f. 190^b, l. 4) : ان بشارت بس ان بوذ کی اسمعیل بزرگ
 شده بوذ و ببالیده (f. 191^b, l. 9).

بامدازین ('matutinal') : دورکعت دیگر نماز کن بیش از نماز
 بامدازین (f. 276^a, l. 1).

بت گر ('a maker of idols') : و ان بتان را کی ایشان می
 برستند بتراشند بت گران (f. 77^a, l. 7).

بخرد ('wise') : من اندر همه طایف کسی بخردتر از خون ندانم
 (f. 280^a, l. 2).

بدرون کردن ('to bid farewell') : گوبند سلام علیک جنانک کسی
 کسی را بدرون کند ای که بدرون باش کی سخن میخواهم گفت
 و جوابت میخواهم دان (f. 84^b, l. 15).

بر ('in the sense of 'with') : بس دیوانرا گرد کرد و بریشان تدبیر
 کرد و ازیشان رای خواست (f. 36^b, l. 2) : این بت کی تبر
 برگردن اوست از خشم انک جرا بتان خردرا برو برابر می
 کنند در برستش (f. 33^b, l. 3).

Other similar instances occur not uncommonly. For
 further examples see lower, *s.v.* چشمک زدن, and *s.v.*
 خسرانی کردن.

براستای (= بمقابل، 'against,' 'towards,') : جنانک شما امرزش
 خذای را دوست دارید شما نیز بیامرزید گناهان انکس را که
 براستای شما بذی کرده است (f. 66^a, l. 14) : فراموش کردند
 ان نیکویها که براستای ایشان کردی (f. 79^a, l. 5) : نیکوی کن
 براستای درویشان (f. 118^b, l. 17).

Also ff. 87^b, ll. 8, 9; 88^b, l. 16, etc.

براور ('fruitful') : ایشانند که درختانرا براور کنند (f. 82^b, l. 17).
 برده ('slave,' 'captive') : بس سعد حکم کرد کی جنگیان ایشانرا
 بکشند و بجگان خرد ایشانرا کی نارسیده بودند و زنان ایشانرا
 برده کنند (f. 153^a, l. 19).

Also ff. 153^b (several times), 319^a.

برزگاو (= برزه گاو, 'one of a pair of oxen used for ploughing,') :
 آتذعون بغلا او می برستید ان بترا که نام او بعل است و نیز
 گفته اند برزگای برستیدندی و بعل در تازی خداوند چیزی
 باشد که اورا بدو باز خوانند
 (f. 192^a, l. 9; xxxvii, v. 125).

برسری (= مزید, 'addition,' 'increment,') : نافیگه زیادت برانچ او
 خواست او از ما فرزند خواست ما اورا فرزند دادیم و نبسه
 برسری (f. 34^b, l. 5; xxi, v. 72).

برسو ('above') : و من همی جنان گمان برم کی موسی همی دروغ
 گوید ازین اسمان برسو خدایی نیست (f. 218^b, l. 15) : گاه
 از دست راست و گاه از دست جب و گاه از برسو و گاه از
 فرسو (f. 244^a, l. 20).

بزومند, بزومند ('sinful,' 'wicked,') : بزومندی, بزومندی ('sin,')
 'wickedness' : گائوا خاطیئین بودند گناه کاران و بزومندان

يَظْلُمُونَ النَّاسَ بِزُورٍ مَعْنَى وَكَرْفَتَارِي بِرِانِكْسَهاسْت كه بابتدا بر
مردمان ستم کنند بی قصاصی (f. 234^b, l. 3; xlii, v. 40)
وَلَا تَأْتِيهِمْ وَبِزُورٍ مَعْنَى نَباشْد (f. 274^b, l. 10; lii, v. 23)

Also ff. 260^a, l. 5; 264^b, l. 18; 329^b, l. 20.

بِزُورٍ ('sine'): بزِه کار ('sineful'): وَالزَّجْرَ فَاهْجَرَ دِيْگَر اِيْذُونِ كُوِيْذِ از بَزُورِ
ان بتان دور باش (f. 329^b, l. 20; lxxiv, v. 5)

Also ff. 85^a, l. 11; 90^b, l. 18; 208^a, l. 16; 260^a, l. 4.

ودرین ایت دلیل است کی هرکرا بحاکمی خوانند کی او جابر
باشد واجب است برو اجابت کردن و اگر اجابت نکند
بِزِه کار باشد (f. 72^b, l. 9)

بِزِيْجِه ('a kid'): زن ایوب بخروشید و طمع افتاد دشمن خدای را
ابلیس درو کی از راهش ببرن بس بزِيْجِه تر بیارود و گفت
ایوب را بگوی تا این بزِيْجِه را بسمل کند و به شون
(f. 36^b, l. 7).

بَسْنَدَه ('sufficient,' 'complete'): بَسْنَدَه کَرْدَن . . . (=)
'to be satisfied with': وَكَفَى يَرْبِكُ . . . و بَسْنَدَه کن
بخدای خویش (f. 80^b, l. 17; xxv, v. 33): وایشان زانی
بودند کی بیک دیگر بسندَه کرده بودند بتازی ایشانرا سَمَاعَاتِ
و ببارسی سعتری (f. 81^b, l. 12)

Also ff. 84^a, 94^b, 121^a, 127^b (*bis*), 135^a, 148^a (*bis*), 153^b,
157^a, 158^a, 197^b, 199^b, 210^b, 211^a, 229^b, 236^a, 311^b.

بَسُونِ ('to touch'): و با این کنیزکان کس جماع نکرده باشد
بیش از خداوندان ایشان کسی ایشانرا نبسوده باشد
(f. 286^a, l. 14; lv, v. 56): لَا يَمَسُّهُ إِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُونَ . . . وان
لوح محفوظرا کس نبساوند جز فریشتگان باکان که ایشانرا حدنْها

نباشد و گناهان نباشد (f. 289^b, l. 10; lvi, v. 78).

Also ff. 158^a, l. 17; 286^b, l. 18.

بگناه تر ('earlier') : امروز شما گوسبند بگناه تر باز آوردید (f. 112^a, l. 4).

بنک ('afflicted with some disease of the skin') : وان همچنان

بود کی ایشان موسی را گفتند بیس است و بنک است

(f. 162^a, l. 12) : اسرائیلیان گفتند موسی از بهران خود را

همی ببوشد که بنک است و بیس است. (*ibid.* l. 20).

بوزنگان ('monkey') : بوزینه = بوزنه (plural of) : صورتی افرینم کشما

ان صورت را نشناسید سیاه رویان و گربه جشمان تان گردانیم

دیگر ایدو (*sic*) گزیدد شمارا بر صورت خوکان و بوزنگان گردانیم

(f. 289^a, l. 9; lvi, v. 61).

بیاوار ('business') : وَلَا مُسْتَأْنِسِينَ لِحَدِيثٍ وَمَنْشِينَ از بهر بیاوار

و حدیث کردن (f. 159^b, l. 16; xxxiii, v. 53).

بیچازه ('amber,' 'coral,' 'ruby') : و بیگ جای کان سیم است

و بیگ جا کان زراست و بیگ جای بیچازه است و بیگ

جای بیروزه است (f. 224^a, l. 4).

بیران (= 'waste,' 'desert')

Ff. 29^b, 39^a, 47^b, 48^a, 81^b, 94^a, 101^b, 104^a, 125^a, 221^a.

The later form *ویران* occurs on ff. 147^a, 166^b, 204^b.

بیزار ('exempt from' مُبْرَأٌ in the sense of Ar.) : بستای خذایرا

و بیزار دار اورا از آنچه روا نباشد (f. 84^a, l. 6).

بیستان (= ب + ایستان، بایستان 'stood').

Ff. 197^a, 200^b, 202^a, 202^b.

ب (not distinguished in the MS. from ب)

پاتیلَه ('cauldron'): عاریچارا از مردمان همی باز دارند چون تیر
و تیشه و بیل و طشت و باتیلَه و دیگ و آنچه بذین ماند
(f. 363^a, l. 15).

پانیذ ('loaf-sugar'): بیکی شهر خرماست و بیکی بانید است الخ
(f. 224^a, l. 3).

پایاب ('limit'): بس چون بدید مران کوشک را بنداشت کی
ابیسست بزرگ کی پایاب ندارد (f. 103^b, l. 1).

پایمزد ('reward'): أَمْ تَسْأَلُهُمْ خَرْجًا أَوْ يَا مِی خواهی ازیشان تا
بیرون کنند از بهر تو مالی بای مزد ترا (f. 58^b, l. 1)
(xxiii, v, 74): قُلْ مَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَجْرٍ بَلْ أَنَا مَنِي
خواهم از شما برگزارم بیغامبری بای مزدی
(f. 84^a, l. 1; xxv, v. 59).

پایه ('stalk' of corn, etc.): یک دسته پایَه گندم بدست بگیر
چنانک اندران دسته صد پایَه گندم باشد (f. 205^a, l. 18).
پادش (= پاداش 'recompense'): و اندر بهشت پادش ان
بیابند (f. 358^a, l. 20).

پذیرفتارم, پذیرفتارم ('I wager,' 'I warrant'): من ترا بذیرفتارم
که اگر تو بلای بایوب برسانی از در تو بگردن و بتو کافر گردن
(f. 201^b, l. 8): وَ مَا أَنْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِوَكِيلٍ و تو یا محمد مر
کافران مکه را بذیرفتار نیستی (f. 211^a, l. 19; xxxix, v. 40).
Also ff. 213^a, l. 4; 230^b, l. 21).

پذیره آمدن ('to come out to meet'): وَ تَكَلَّفِيَهُمُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَ بَذِيرُهُ
ایشان آیند ای که بذیره نیک بختان آیند فریشتگان نزدیک
در بهشت (f. 39^b, l. 17; xxi, v. 103).

پرهیزیدن ('to abstain from'): انکسها باشند که از کفر و شرک و
فواحش بپرهیزیده باشند (f. 210^b, l. 14). Also f. 225^a, bis.

پس ('the stern' of a boat): وَ تَرَى الْفُلْكَ فِيهِ مَوَآخِرَ مِی
بینی کشتیها را دران دریا کی می شکافد اب را در آمدن و شدن
بیگ باد و نیز گفته اند مواخر می درند اب را ببسهای خویش
(f. 173^b, l. 19; xxxv, v. 13).

پشک ('dung'): صدیق رضی الله عنه جای می رفت بر یکی
پشک شتر بگذشت (f. 285^b, l. 12).

پشلناک (= ذائق): (in *sūra* lxxxvi, v. 6: حُلِقَ مِنْ مَّاءٍ ذَائِقِی
... او را از اب پشلناک افریده است (f. 348^a, l. 8).

پشیمان خاستی (with possessive suffix, used impersonally):
و انج اندر کفر خویش همی کردند پشیمان خیزدشان
(f. 341^a, l. 9).

[بر] پچاند (= یگوز 7): (in xxxix, v. 7) شب را بروز بر بیچاند تا
روز از شب درازتر شود . . . و باز روز را بر شب بر بیچاند تا
شب درازتر شود از روز (f. 207^b, ll. 19-20).

پید ('charred,' 'disintegrated by fire'): وَ هُمْ فِيهَا كَالْحَمُونَ و
ایشان دران آتش ترش رویان باشند از بهر آنک لهاشان بر
جسته باشد و دندانها بید امده (f. 60^b, l. 20; xxiii, v. 106).

پیس ('leprous'): و امده است که ایسیه بیس بوذ (f. 109^b, l. 8):
بیس را به کنم (f. 179^b, l. 7). بنک .s.v. See also above.

پیغوله ('corner,' of the mouth, etc.): سخنان از بیغوله دهن بیرون
میار (f. 140^b, l. 14). Also ff. 280^b, l. 21; 338^b, l. 13.

پیله ('cocoon'): و جامهای ایشان دران بهشت دیبا باشد نه
جون دیبای این جهان که بافته آدمیان باشد و بیله کرمان
(f. 176^a, l. 12).

ت

تا (که) (in the sense of): ما بیافریدیم شب را از بهران تا آرام
گیرند (f. 107^b, l. 2): جندان تن را بخارید تا همه ناخنش
بیفتان (f. 203^b, l. 9).

ترقیذن، ترکیذن (طریکیدن) (‘to burst’; see also); تگائ تَمِيزُ مَرَنَ
الْعَيْظُ . . . خواهذی کی بر خویشتن بترکذی و باره باره
شودی از خشم (f. 317^a, l. 10; lxvii, v. 8).

ترنگبین (‘manna’): وَ نَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكُمُ الْمَنَّٰ وَ السَّلْوٰ . . . فرو
فرستادیم بر شما ترنگبین و مرغی که انرا کرک خوانند
(f. 21^a, l. 18; xx, v. 82).

تره (‘greens’): و اندر یک روز سیصد بیغامبررا اندر انطاکیه
بکشتند و هم اندران روز مران جای را که بیغامبران را کشته
بودند بازار تره فروشان ساختند و تره همی فروختند
(f. 205^b, l. 10).

تنگ و بندی (= جناح، حرج، obligation): لَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ وَلَا
عَلَيْهِمْ جُنَاحٌ نِيسَت بر شما ای شنوندگان و نه بران کوندگان
و خادمان که خدمت شما کنند از غلامان نا رسیده و کنیزگان
جناح تنگ و بندی (f. 74^a, l. 8; xxiv, v. 57): لَيْسَ عَلٰى
الْاَعْمٰى حَرْجٌ نِيسَت بر نابینا تنگ و بندی
(f. 74^b, l. 6; xxiv, v. 60).

تندر (‘thunder’): بانگهای ایشان جنان باشد چون تندر سخت
(f. 360^a, l. 6).

تنک (‘thin,’ applied to the consistency of a liquid): اب مرد
سبید باشد و سطر و اب زن زرد باشد و تنک (f. 334^a, l. 7).

تنومند ('strong, 'endowed with bodily form'): جه گویذ یا
 اهل مکه ان نطفه کشما اندر رحمهای زنانان افگنید شما مر
 ان نطفه را همی مردم گردانید و تنومند گردانید یا ما همی
 گردانیم (f. 289^a, l. 2; lvi, v. 59).

See also above, s.v. اومند

توبه‌گی ('repentance'): ایشان بندگی پذیرند و توبه‌گی کنند
 (f. 242^a, l. 12).

توختن ('to discharge'): وَلَا مَوْلُودٌ وَ نَه هبچ فرزندی که از مادر
 بزاده است هُوَ جازِعَنَّ وَالِدِهِ شَيْئاً کی او بتوزن از بهر بذرخویش
 چیزی که در گردن بذر باشد (f. 143^a, l. 14; xxxi, v. 32):
 و اگر کسی بمیرد و وامی رها کند یا فرزندی بی کس توختن
 ان وام بر منست و اندیشه کشیدن ان فرزند بی کس بر
 منست (f. 149^a, l. 11): و اگر وام زده باشد خدای تعالی
 فام او بتوزن (f. 185^b, l. 5).

توزی ('fine summer clothing'): جنانک بیکی شهر ادیم
 میرایند و بیکی شهر دیبا بافند و بیکی شهر توزی بافند
 (f. 224^a, l. 1).

تیزی ('the edge' of a knife): چون کارد بر حلق او نهاز کارد
 بگشمت تیزی سوی ابرهیم شد و بشتش سوی ذبیح
 (f. 190^b, l. 16).

ج

جاودانه (= جاودان 'eternal').

Ff. 199^a, 200^a, 205^b, 207^a, 209^a, 234^b.

جاودانگی (= جاودانی 'eternity').

Ff. 61^b, 129^b.

جوزکی (= جوزة، جوزة 'a chicken') : وَ هُوَ سَقِيمٌ و او بیمار بود
 چون جوزکی که ان ساعت از بیضه بیرون آمده باشد بی بر
 (f. 193^a, l. 9; xxxvii, v. 145).

جولاهک ('a weaver') : و عکرمه می گویند اردلون جولهاکان اند
 و کفشگران اند (f. 92^a, l. 20, xxvi, v. 111) : جولاهکی
 ('the trade of a weaver') من چه دانم که ایشان چه کار
 می کنند جز کفشگری و جولاهکی (f. 92^b, l. 2) : جولاه
 ('a weaver') ایشان جولاه و کفشگرانند (f. 92^b, l. 8) : جولاهک
 ('spider') كَمَثَلِ الْعَنْكَبُوتِ اَلْحَدَثِ بَيْتًا چون داستان ان
 جولاهکست که خانه بتند که نه سرما باز دارن نه گرما
 (f. 125^b, l. 18; xxix, v. 40).

چ (not distinguished in the MS. from چ)

چشم ('estimate', 'valuation') : این کلامی خرم
 چشم تو ای که انچه تو گوی بدان خرم کی من درین ندانم
 (f. 55^a, l. 7).

چشمک زدن ('to wink,' 'make eyes at') : چون زنی را بدیدندی
 چشمک زدندی و خواستندی کی پروزا کنند (f. 161^a, l. 5).

چفسیدن (= 'to turn,' 'bend,' 'incline,' 'incline') : ان زنان
 کی می خرامند و در رفتن خویش گاه برین سو می جفسد
 و گاه بران سو (f. 154^b, l. 13).

چمندگان ('walking things') : همه مرغان و چمندگان و چهار بایان
 (f. 210^b, l. 9).

چندان ('fold-'): دو جندان کنند عذاب او (f. 85^a, l. 12; xxv, 69):
 هم چندان ('as much again') ما مرانرا که هلاک کرده
 بودیم مرورا باز دادیم و هم جندان دیگر مرورا بدادیم
 (f. 205^a, l. 8).

چند (above) چندان (in the same sense as): خدای عز و جل از
 بس از مکن و زمان و لوح و قلم گوهریرا بیافرید سبز بقدرت
 خون جهل هزار بار جند این جهان (f. 223^b, l. 10): و اگر
 بخواستی صد هزار بار هزار جند آسمانها و زمین بیافریدی
 (f. 224^a, l. 21).

جوب خوار ('wood-worm,' 'white ant'): إِنْ نَابَتْ الْأَرْضُ مِثْرَانَ
 خزنده کی انرا جوب خوار خوانند
 (f. 165^b, l. 13; xxxiv, v. 13):

جوب خوار ان گذورا بخورد تا بیفتان و خشک شد
 (f. 38^a, l. 5): جوب خوار باشنه دررا بخورد در بیفتان
 (f. 166^a, l. 3).

چارگان ('four a piece'). See under گان. (F. 171^b, l. 12).
 چیره گشتن ('to prevail'): إِنْ نَابَتْ الْأَرْضُ مِثْرَانَ
 کنندگان مر موسی را ای که هر اینه ما جیره گردیم بر موسی و
 بیش اییم (f. 88^b, l. 7; xxvi, v. 48).

خ

خاز ('dirt'): بخدای که اوردم شمارا ملتی روشن و باکیزه جون
 جامه شسته کی درو خاز نباشد (f. 127^b, l. 7).

خاکسار ('as an adjective, in the sense of 'humbled'): انگاه
 ابلیس باز نومید و خاکسار سوی دیوان باز شد (f. 202^b, l. 2).

خان و مان (= خانمان : 'family,' 'household' : Ff. 27^b, 149^b, 173^b. The form خانمان also occurs on f. 199^a.

Both forms occur on : ('household,' خانه دانی (= خاندانی : f. 110^a, the former in l. 16, the latter in l. 15.

خایسک ('axe,' 'hammer') : وَ اَلْكَاهُ الْحَدِيدُ و نرم کردیم از بهر او اهن و ان جنان بوز کی اهن در دست او چون گل سرشته بوز حاجت نیامدی باتش نرم کردن یا بخایسک او را بزنی (f. 164^b, l. 12; xxxiv, v. 10).

خراخر (onomatopœic : 'snoring,' 'snorting') : بیم اندر دل او افتاد و لرزه بر اندامها او افتاد و از هوش بشد و بیفتاد و خراخر همی کرد چون گاو بوقت کشتن کند (f. 361^b, l. 13).

خربشته ('tent') : نماند بر روی زمین خانه کی از گل بر آورده باشند یا خرگهی و خربشته کی ان خانه بینانیان باشد کی نه خدای تعالی کلمه اسلام را در ان خانه درازن (f. 73^a, l. 16).

خردگان ('little ones' : خرده : pl. of) : بمران اسرایلیان همه مردند و خردگان نشان بکشتن ناجیز شدند (f. 109^a, l. 1).

خرنک ('a spark') : اِنها ترمی بَشَرَر. . . ان اتش خرنک می اندازن (f. 337^a, l. 21; lxxvii, v. 32) : هر خرنکی چند کوشکی بزرگ و هیچ جای بر نیفتد جز بر کتفها مردان و زنان و همه برهنه باشند عبد الله بن مسعود گوید هر خرنکی چند حصاری بزرگ باشد یا چند شهری بزرگ بعدد ستارگان آسمان بریشان همی اندازن بس باز مران خرنکهارا بصورت مانند کرد گفت گانه جمالات صفرگوی شتران سیاه اندی (f. 337^a, l. 21—337^b, l. 3).

خرماستان ('a date-grove') = محل : F. 93^b, l. 15 (xxvi, v. 147) :
خره (= خروس, 'a cock') : مقاتل گوید کی خره تسبیح کند
 گوید اذکرو الله ایها الغافلون (f. 290^b, l. 5).

[بر] خرزیده ('fixed,' of the eyes) (?): وَإِنَّا هِيَ شَأْ حِصَّةَ أَبْصَارِ الَّذِينَ
 كَفَرُوا بس همیدون ان چشمها بر خزیده بمانده کی مژه بر مژه
 نزنند از هول ان روز چشمهای کافران (f. 39^a, l. 14; xxi, 97) :
 (in the sense of 'to creep') تَدَّ يَغْلُمُ اللَّهَ الَّذِينَ يَكْسَلُونَ
 مِثْلَكُمْ لِيُؤَادَّ هَرَايَنَهْ كِهْ مِي داند خدای تعالی انکسانرا کی
 خودرا بیرون می کشند از صفهای نماز و از صفهای جنگ و
 بشت باز می نهند بیکدیگر ای که بس یکدیگر می
 خزند تا رسولشان نبینند از بهران تا بگریزند از جنگ :
 (f. 76^a, l. 15; xxiv, v. 63)

چوب خوار, 'a creeping thing,' see above = جزنده Also

خُسر ('father-in-law') : کابین نبوذ و لکن از بهر خسر کار کرد تا
 دختر بدو داد (f. 112^b, l. 9) : بس انک زید طلاقش داده بوذ
 مردمان گفتند محمد سُئرا بر خسر حرام می کند
 (f. 148^b, l. 9). Also f. 83^b, l. 15.

خُسْرَانِي ('marriageable,' of a female relative beyond the
 forbidden degrees of affinity) فَجَعَلَهُ نَسَبًا وَ مِهْرًا و کرد انرا
 نسبی و خویشی که حلال نباشد بزنی کردن او جون دختر
 و بسر و خواهر و برادر و مِهْرًا و خُسْرَانِي که روا باشد بزنی
 کردن او جون دختر خال و دختر عم نسب بذرست و فرزند
 و مهر بیوستگی است و نیز گفته اند نسبا خویشی ای
 که ایشانرا خویش یکدیگر کرد و مهر خسرانینی جون خُسر و سَنَه
 و خَوْشُو اِجِبْ بَدِينِ مَانَد (f. 83^b, ll. 10-14; xxv, v. 56).

خسرانی کردن ('to marry'): کلی می گوید کافران گفتند خدای
تعالی خسرانی کرد بر بریان و ازیشان دختر بخواست ایشان
دختران زانند (f. 193^b, l. 14; xxxvii, 158).

خستون ('admitting,' 'confessing,'): و هست خدای تو عذاب
کننده کی کس برو بر نیاید مرانکس را که خستون نیاید بیکی
خدای عز و خل (f. 90^b, l. 4):

Also ff. 98^b, 115^a, 123^b, 124^a, 127^a, 146^b, 149^b, etc.

نا خستون (= کافر 'not confessing,' 'denying,') هُم کَافِرُونَ
ایشانند نا خستون خدایی اورا ای که ایشان عیب می کنند
مرانکس را که خستون نیست بخدای بتان ایشان و ایشان
خود خستون نیستند خدای رحمن را و این غایت نادانیست
(f. 31^b, l. 1; xxi, v. 37). Also ff. 126^b, l. 15; 131^a,
131^b, 143^a, 145^a, 162^a; 174^a, etc. On f. 127^a, l. 14, the
word occurs in the commoner form نا خستو.

خسته (apparently in the sense of 'dried up'): مَا يَمْلِكُونَ مِنْ
قَطْمِيرٍ تَوَانَاي نَدَارَنْد بر تصرف کردن بر پوست خسته
خرمایی آن پوستک که در خسته کشیده باشد
(f. 174^a, l. 7; xxxv, v. 14).

خفجه ('molten gold'): عَلَى سُرُرٍ مَّوْضُونَةٍ مُتَكِينِينَ عَلَيْهَا مَتَقَابِلِينَ
بر خفجا باشند بخفجه زر بافته و بهروراید و یا قوت بافته بران
خفجا بتکیه نشسته باشند روی سوی یکدیگر کرده باشند
بزیارت کردن و حدیث کردن (f. 287^b, l. 6; vv. 14, 15).

خواب گزار (an interpreter of dreams): بهر سید از خواب
گزاران از تعبیر این خواب (f. 108^b, l. 19).

Probably a mere scribe's error for خوشتر ; but it خواشتر suggests that the older pronunciation *khmashtar* was still maintained when this manuscript was written.

گفت هیچ چیز خواشتر از زبان و دل نیست (f. 139^b, l. 6).
 خوانگاه ('table') : و نیز گفته اند خوانگاه ایشان نیکوتر زیر عرش
 خوانی بنهند از بهر ایشان بر آن خوان سران گاو کی جهان
 بروست و جگر ماهی کی زمین بروست از آن می خورند
 (f. 80^a, l. 7; xxv, v. 26).

خورم (= خرم 'cheerful') : ذَاتَ بَهْجَةٍ نیکو و خوش و خورم
 (f. 105^a, l. 9; xxvii, v. 61).

خوشو ('father-in-law,' 'mother-in-law').

F. 83^b, l. 15 (xxv, v. 56). See above, s.v. خُسْرَانِی.

خیو ('spittle') : مجمع التیمی گوید که زبان قلم ایشانست و
 خیموی ما مریشانرا مدید است (f. 268^b, l. 6).

د

داشتن (*sens. obsc.*) : و منکر ایشان ان بون کی یکدیگرا می
 داشتندی در آنجا که نشسته بوندی (f. 124^b, l. 6).

دانستن (= 'to be able') : آنچه ما فرماییم ان کن که تو
 کشتی ندانی کرد (f. 55^a, l. 8). Also ff. 74^a, 127^a.

داون (? some article of woman's apparel) فَتَعَالَيْنِ بس بیایید
 اَمَتَّعَنَّکُمْ تا شمارا جاذری و بیرهنی و داونی بدهم کی متعه
 طلاق است (f. 153^b, l. 21; xxiii, v. 28) : رسول صلوات
 الله علیه اورا بزید بزنی دان و ده دینار دست بیمان فرستاند

و شش درم و داوینی و جاذری و بیرهنی و باجاء بیمانه خرما
 (f. 155^b, l. 18): روزی رسول الله صلوات الله علیه بخانه
 زینب امذ و زید را می جست زینب را دید ایستاده در
 سماخچه و داوینی بوی خوش می کوفت (f. 156^a, l. 19):
 و اگر کابین نامزد نباشد متعه واجب ایذ بدل کابین و کمتر
 متعه بیرهنی باشد و داوینی و جاذری کی بهای او بیش از
 نیمی کابین نباشد (f. 158^b, l. 3): جاذر ان باشد کی زبر
 دوانی (sic) بر سرانگنند (f. 161^a, l. 16).

دختندر ('step-daughter'): یا زنانی که حرام باشد نکاح ایشان
 همیشه نه بخویشی چون دختر شیر و خواهر شیر و دختندر
 و مادندر (مادرندر) (sic for).

درازا (= درازی 'length'): و درازای هر راهی فرسنگی بون و
 بهناش دو فرسنگ (f. 90^a, l. 17):

Also ff. 90^a, 109^a, 318^b, 321^b.

درختستان ('grove of trees') وَ أَصْحَابُ الْأَيْكَةِ = و ان خداوندان
 درختستان نیز هم قوم شعیب بودند . . . و ان درختستان
 بون همه درخت مقل بون و بیشتر قوم شعیب از اجا هیزم
 آوردندی (f. 268^a, ll. 6, 8; 1, v. 13).

درختناک ('arboraceous'): و سوگند یان کرد بدان کوه درختناک
 که ان کوه را کوه زبیر خوانند (f. 354^b, l. 19; xcvi, vv. 1-3):
 و علی بن ابی طالب را بکوهی درختناک مانده کرد
 زیراک کوه درختناک را سه یا چهار کار باشد الخ
 (f. 355^a, l. 8).

درفشیدن (= درخشیدن, 'flash,'): بس رضوان بیامد و صفطی
از نور برو می درفشید (f. 78^a, l. 8): يُرِيكُمْ السَّرِقَ خَوْفًا وَ
طَمَعًا كِي مِي نماید بشما ان اتش روشن که مِي درفشد از
ابهر (sic) از بهر ان تا بترسید از سوختن ان
(133^a, l. 3; xxx, v. 23).

دریابانیدن (= دریافتن, 'causal of to explain'): فَفَهَّمَهَا مُلْكِمَنَ
دریابانیدیم سلیمانرا جواب ان مسئله الخ
(f. 35^a, l. 15; xx, v. 79).

دست آس (= 'hand-mill'): (see also under آس): ضحاک
مِي گوید ان روز که رسول اورا بزنی کرد تنگ دست بود دست
بیمان او گلیمی فرستان و مشکی و دست آسی و بالش ادیم بر
لیف کرده (f. 156^b, l. 10).

دستانه (= اساور, 'bracelets'): يُحَلِّوْنَ فِيهَا بِيْرَابِهَا دَهْنًا
در ان بهشت مِّنْ اَسَاوِرٍ مِّنْ ذَهَبٍ از دستانهای زرین
(f. 176^a, l. 10; xxv, v. 30).

دست چوب (= 'walking-stick'): فَالْتَقَى عَصَاهُ بِيَفْغَنَدِ مُوسَى اَنْ
دست چوب را از دست خویش (f. 88^a, l. 2; xxv, v. 31).
دشخوار (= دشوار, 'difficult').

Occurs commonly, e.g. ff. 4^a, 51^a, 51^b, 70^a, 97^a, 133^a,
142^a, 144^b, 152^a. The form دشوار is much rarer, but
occurs on f. 142^a.

دشمنایکی (= دشمنی, 'enmity'): شَقَاقٌ غَايَتُ دُشْمَانِيَكِي
باشد (f. 49^b, l. 5; xxii, v. 52).

Also ff. 110^b, 117^b, 118^b, 141^b, 177^a, 183^b.

دُججه ('the coccyx'): ما همی دانیم انج زمین از گوشتهای ایشان و رگهای ایشان بخورد و انج ناخورده بماند یعنی اساخوان دججه است نشستگاه بماند (f. 267^b, l. 4).

دنب (= دُم 'tail, *infra*; see also دُم : قرانهای نیکوست و نربه و تمام اندام و نیکو چشم و تمام گوش و تمام دنب و نیکورنگ (f. 46^b, l. 18).

Also 96^b, 104^a, 141^b, 148^a, 156^b, 161^a, 217^a. The common form دُم occurs also on f. 122^b.

ددم (= دُم 'tail, *tail*): سینه‌اش جون سینه شیران و رنگش جون رنگ بلنگان و تهی گاهش جون تهی گاه گزرگان و دنمش جون دم گوسبندان جنگی که سرودارند (f. 107^a, l. 2): بِلِ اَبِج الذین ظلموا اری ستم کاران در برستش بتان ددم هواهای خویش داشتند (f. 133^b, l. 14; xxx, v. 27).

دنه گرفته ('proud'): وَ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَمْرَحُونَ اندر دنیا و دنه گرفته بودید بناحق و اندر کفر خویش همی تکبر کردید (f. 221^b, l. 16; xl, v. 75).

Also ff. 282^b, l. 5; 293^b, l. 18 (دنه گرفته مشوید); 355^b, l. 17 (همی دنه گیرد).

دوشیزگی ('virginity'): بدرستی و راستی که بهشتیان . . امروز . . در کارهای اندکی مشغولند یا ندانند نیاید از دوزخیان و ان کار دوشیزگی شدن کنیزکان باشد

(f. 183^a, l. 11; xxxvi, v. 55).

دوگان ('two a-piece'): بس در ار در ان کشتی از هر جانوری دوگان نری و ماده (f. 55^a, l. 10; xxiii, v. 28).

Also ff. 169^b, 171^b, 209^b. See also under گان.

دهه ('a group of ten'): وَ لَيَالٍ عَشْرٍ و سوگند یاد کرده است
 بده روز نخستین از ماه ذی الحججه کی درهای آسمان اندران
 ده روز کشاده شوند خدای بفضل این دهه سوگند یاد کرد
 (f. 350^a, l. 12; lxxxix, v. 1).

دیمه ('church,' 'temple'): و بیعه نام عجمیست اورا بزبان
 تازی آورده اند و بارسی دیمه است
 (f. 47^b, l. 16; xxii, v. 41).

دیوال (= دیوار, 'a wall'): بر اریذ از هیزم دیوالها و بر هیزم کنیز
 انرا بس بیفروزید ان هیزم را باتش
 (f. 190^a, l. 5; xxxvii, v. 95).

ر

ربان (= روان, 'spirit'): و نیز گفته اند ظاهره جانست و ربان و
 هفت اندام و باطنه ان عیبهاست که کس نبیند
 (f. 141^a, l. 14; xxxi, v. 19).

رز (in the sense of 'garden'): إِذْ يُحْكَمَانِ فِي الْحَرْثِ جون انگاه
 کی حکم می کردند هر دو تن دران کشت و نیز گفته اند دران
 رز (glossed in a later hand as 'garden') و ان رزی بود کی خوشه‌اش
 بیرون امده بود (f. 35^a, l. 8; xxi, v. 78).

رش ('cubit'): و بایه‌اش جون بایها شتران میان هر بندی از ان
 او دوازده رش بیرون اید (f. 107^a, l. 3) و درازای هر مردی
 دوازده رش هر رشی چند کوازی از کوازه‌های ما (f. 321^b, l. 8).
 Also f. 365^a, l. 21.

رشک ('louse'?) : هم جنین اندر عالم صغیرمه گونه جنبنده
 افرید جو شمش و کیک و رشک (f. 229^a, l. 21).

رمجگی ('trouble'): زیراک مجرمان و مشرکان بو جهل و یاران او
 اندر دنیا اندر ضلالت اند و اندران جهان اندر تعب و عنا
 رمجگی عذاب دوزخ (f. 283^a, l. 19). Also f. 201^b, l. 4.
 روانیدن ('causal of رفتن 'to cause to go'): انکس که تواند کی
 ایشانرا بباى خویش برواند تواند که ایشانرا بر رویهای ایشان
 برواند (f. 81^a, ll. 13, 14).

روذگانیا ('bowels'): يَضَهُرُ بِهِ مَا فِي بَطُونِهِمْ گذاخته شون بدان اب
 گرم انج در شکمهای ایشانست از روذگانیا و انج بدان ماند
 (f. 44^a, l. 9; xxii, v. 21).

رون و سرود ('minstrelsy and song'): وَ الَّذِيْنَ لَا يَشْهَدُوْنَ التَّرْوَرَ وَ
 انکسان که گواهی دروغ ندهند و نیز گفته اند حاضر نیابند جای
 که اسجا رون و سرود باشد (f. 85^b, l. 3; xxvi, v. 72).

روشنا (بهناء، درازا، 'light'; cf. 'light'): وَ يُولِجُ النَّهَارَ فِي اللَّيْلِ وَ در می
 ارن روزرا در شب ای بجای تاریکی شب روشنای روز و بجای
 روشنای روز تاریکی شب هر دو جای یکدیگر می گیرند
 (f. 142^a, l. 21; xxxi, v. 28)
 افتاب و ماه از بهر ادم مسخر کرد

(f. 207^b, l. 21; xxxix, v. 7).

رویاروی ('face to face'). . . . مُتَقَابِلَيْنِ رویاروی بر رخها
 نشسته باشند (f. 243^b, l. 19; xlv, v. 53).

رهی ('slave', 'servant'): همه فرزندان ترا من دارم اندر مملکت
 خویش همه زندگانند گوسفندان و شتران و رهیان تو همه من
 دارم (f. 204^a, l. 9). Also ff. 201^b, 205^a.

ریگین ('sandy') (f. 249^b, l. 9).

ریم ('pus,' 'matter') : همه تن او یکت لخت یکی ریش گشت
 بی پوست بس تن او بر اما سید و ریم و ستیم گرفت و کرمان
 اندر تن او افتادند و گند ازو بر خاست (f. 203^b, l. 10).
 Also ff. 285^a, l. 19; 288^b, l. 6; 322^b, l. 9; 338^b, l. 10;
 360^a, l. 18.

ز

زاستر (= زآن سوتر, 'beyond') : وَ عَتَوَا عَثْوًا كَبِيرًا و بای از اندازه
 خویش زاستر نهانند در ستماکی (f. 79^b, l. 12; xxv, v. 23).
 Also ff. 84^a, 95^a, 101^a, 108^b, 198^a, 203^a, 234^a, 230^b, 363^b.

زبان : در-گرفتن ('to slander') : این گروه و مردمانی دیگر در
 گفت گوی افتادند و عایشه را در زبان گرفتند و گفتند نرست
 عایشه از صفوان (f. 64^a, l. 21).

زلیفن ('threat,' 'promise') : قُلْ رَبِّ إِمَّا تُرِيدُنِي مَا يُوعَدُونَ بَلْغَى
 ای خداوند من اگر بنمای مرا آنچه ایشانرا بدان زلیفن کرده
 شده است (f. 59^b, l. 17; xxiii, v. 95).

Also ff. 61^b, 64^b, 72^b, 86^b, 95^a, 95^b, 98^b, 106^a, 107^a, 122^b,
 124^b, 127^b, 134^b, 146^b, 184^a, etc.

اگر نمی آری آنچه ما می خواهیم بیمار ان عذاب که زلیفن
 می کشی (f. 127^b, l. 19).

زناشوی ('marriage') : دیگر گوید یدروکم (يَذَرُوكُمْ) فِيهِ شَمَارًا بَدِينِ
 زناشوی بسیار گرداند (f. 231^a, l. 18; xliii, v. 9).

زنبیل ('basket') : و اگر زنی زنبیلی بر سر گرفتی و در زیر آن
 درختان می رفتی بر میوه شدی که او را حاجت نیامدی که
 بجهنمانیدی (f. 166^a, l. 11).

زهدان ('womb') و آرام دهیم در رحمهای مادران تان و رحم
زهدان باشد (f. 41^b, l. 14; xxii, v. 5).

Also f. 149^b, l. 2, again as a translation of ارحام, in
xxxi, v. 34.

زیانیدن ('to quicken'; causal of زیستن): و کار خدای انست
که یکی را بمیراند و یکی را بزیند و یکی را عزیز کند و یکی را
دلیل کند الخ (f. 284^b, l. 16).

زیت: دردی - : گَالْمُهَلِّ يَغْلِي فِي الْبُطُونِ كَغَلِي الْحَمِيمِ هم جو
دردی زیت یا روی گداخته سیاه اندر شکمهای ایشان همی
جوشد هم جنانک حمیم جوشد جو بغایت گرمی برزند
(f. 249^b, l. 8; xliv, v. 45).

س

ساره (in composition) . کتف ساره See

سبک دستی ('Jegerdemain'): جاذوی کردن کاری باشد بوشیده
بسبک دستی ودانای دران (f. 88^a, l. 10).

سپس ('after,' 'afterwards'): انگاه ایوب علیه السلم بخدای
سوگند خورد و گفت اگر خدای مرا عافیت دهد من ترا صد
تازیانه بزنم از بهر خدایرا بس از ان سپس خدای عز و جل
ایوب را بیک سال عافیت داد (f. 204^b, l. 11).

Common, as well as پس.

سپندان ('mustard' (?)): إِنَّ تَكَّ وَشَقَالَ حَبُّو مِنْ خَرْدَلٍ اگر باشد
هم سنگ دانه من خردل از سپندان ای که بخردی
(f. 140^b, l. 1).

سبیددمان ('at daybreak'): وَ لَقَدْ صَبَّحَهُمْ بُكْرَةً . . . سبیددمان
ایشانرا عَذَابٌ مُسْتَقِرٌّ عذاب بگرفت
(f. 283^a, l. 6; liv, v. 38).

[لب] سبید کردن ('to smile'): فَتَبَسَّمَ فَاِجْأًا مِنْ قَوْلِهَا لَب
سبید کرد سلیمان و بخندید خندیدنی کی تپهه نبود
(f. 99^b, l. 18; xxvii, v. 19).

سبیده ('the white of an egg'): عَيْنٌ فَرَّاحٌ جَشْمَانٌ كَأَنَّهَا بَيْضٌ
گوی ایشان سبیده اشتر مرغ اندی در پوست خویش روشن
و باکیزه باشد بی از گردی و باذی که بدو رسیده باشد
(f. 187^b, l. 19; xxxvii, v. 47).

سبیل کردن ('to consecrate to pious uses'; 'to sacrifice?'):
بس توبه کرد طلحه و بنده ازان کرد و ده اشتر سبیل کرد و
بیانده حج کرد کفارت گفتار خویش را (f. 160^a, l. 18):
و دِیْگَرِ گَویذِ فَطْفَقَ مَسْحًا بِالشُّوقِ وَ الْأَعْتَابِ گویذ که سلیم
علیه السلم مران اسانرا همه داغ سبیل بر نهان بر گردنها و
رانا (f. 201^a, l. 8; xxxviii, v. 32).

ستان ('supine,' 'on the back'): ثُو الْأَوْتَانِ ان فرعون که مردمانرا
بمیخهای آهنین عذاب کردی ستان باز کشیدی و میخهای
آهنین بکفهای دست و شتالکهای بای فرو بردی
(f. 196^b, l. 12; xxxviii, v. 11):

این ایت اندر شان جهودان فرو امده است جواب قول
ایشان که گفته بودند که اسمانها و زمین را اندر شش روز
بیانریذ روز هفتم شنبه بون مانده شده بون ستان بخفت بای
بر بای نهان تا بیاسون دروغ گفتند دشمنان خدای
(f. 269^b, l. 19; l. v. 37).

Also f. 322^b, l. 4. See under کواز *infra*, where the passage is cited.

ستبر (سطبر) ('large,' 'big'; more commonly سطر) مجاهد می گوید
کی لقمان بنده بود نوبی گوشه‌اش سوراخ کرده لبهای ستبر
زانوش [رانوش MS.] بریکدیگر می بسودی (f. 139^a, l. 14).

Also ff. 164^b, l. 14; 249^b, l. 14.

ستنبه (ستنبه) ('terrific,' 'hideous,' etc.): وَ يَتَّبِعُ كُلَّ شَيْطَانٍ مَّرِيدٍ وَ
فرمان بر داری می کند هر دیوی ستنبه را در معصیت
خدای تعالی (f. 41^b, l. 2; xxii, v. 3): قَالَ عِزْرِيَّتٌ مِّنَ
الْحَيَّةِ كُنْتُ يَكِي بَرِيي كِه نِيرو داشت مَن الْجِنِّ اِزَان بَرِيان
ستنبه با زور (f. 102^b, l. 1; xxvii, v. 39): مِّنْ كَلِّ شَيْطَانٍ
مَّارِدٍ اَز بَهْر سَتْنَبَهٗ بَسِيَار فَسَاد كِه دَرَان دِيو هِيچ نِيكِي نِيست
(f. 186^a, l. 5; xxxvii, v. 7).

Also ff. 201^a, 201^b, and 343^a, l. 16, always as an epithet
applied to the *dēvs*.

ستوه (ستوه) ('weariéd,' 'distressed'): وَ هُمْ لَا يَسْأَمُونَ وَ اِيْشَانْرَا اَز
عبادت همی سیری نگیرد و ستوه نشوند و سست نشوند
(f. 227^a, l. 15; xli, v. 38): لَا يَسْأَمُ الْاِنْسَانُ . . . هَرْكَز اَيْن
مردم کافر سیر نشوند و ستوه نشوند (f. 223^a, l. 20; xli, v. 49).

ستيم (ستيم) ('pus,' 'matter') ريم (generally with ريم): همه تن او يكت
لخت يكي ريش گشت يي پوست بس تن او براماسيد و
ريم و ستيم گرفت و کرمان اندر تن او افتانند و گند ازو بر
خاست (f. 203^b, l. 10).

Also ff. 285^a, l. 19; 322^b, l. 9; 338^b, l. 10; 360^a, l. 18.

(‘to cause to slip’ or ‘stumble’: probably for سخشانیدن
q.v. سخشانیدن) فَأَسْخَفَ قَوْمَهُ . . . خدای گفت عز و
 جل فرعون قوم خویش را سخشانید تا مر ایشانرا از راه ببرد
 (f. 239^a, l. 10; xliii, v. 54).

سخون (= سخن, ‘speech,’ ‘conversation,’) : وَكَلَّمَ لَأَكَلِمَةً سَبَقَتْ
 مِنْ رَبِّكَ . . . و اگر نه انستی که سخون از خدای تو سابقت
 گرفتست بتاخیر کردن عذاب (f. 231^b, l. 13; xliii, v. 13).
سدیگر (‘third,’ ‘thirdly’).

Ff. 33^b, l. 9; 67^a; 107^b; 186^a; 189^a; 214^a, l. 18; 225^b,
 l. 9; 277^b, l. 7; 312^b, l. 11; 315^b.

سرای بسین (‘the next world,’ ‘the hereafter’) : وَهُمْ بِالْآخِرَةِ
 و ایشان بدان سرای بسین هم یوقون ای شانند (*sic*) بی
 گمانان در بونن ان و استوار می دارند کی ان بوننی است
 (f. 97^b, l. 11; xxvii, v. 3).

سرو (‘horn’) : و نیز گفته اند کی جانوریست کی سرش جون سر
 گاوانست و چشمش جون چشم خوکان و گوش جون گوش
 بیلان و سروش جون سروگوزنان الخ (f. 107^a, l. 1).

سرون (‘buttocks’) : و اندر عالم کبیره چیز است کوهها و بیابانها
 و دریاهاست همچین اند [ر] عالم صغیر سرونهاست و کشف ساره
 جو کوهها و شکم است و پشت جون بیابان و دریاهاست
 جون دهن و چشم و بینی (f. 229^b, l. 1).

سره (‘good’) : درمی بردست نهذ و بس انرا بانگشت بزند بدانند
 که ان درم سره است یا بد (f. 131^a, l. 5).

سطبر (ستبر) 'large,' 'coarse,' 'thick'; see also استَبْرَق دیبای
سطبر باشد (f. 243^b, l. 19; xliv, v. 53).

Also ff. 263^a, l. 21; 267^b, l. 19; 286^a, l. 7; 315^a, l. 21;
334^a, l. 6; 356^b, l. 20; 338^a, l. 16.

سعتری ('fricatix; quæ confrica libidinem alterius explet')

و ایشان زنانی بودند کی بیگ دیگر بسنده کرده بودند بتازی
ایشانرا سَحَاقَات و بیارمی سعتری [گویند] (f. 81^b, l. 13).

سغ ('a hole'): يُخِيلُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ سِغْرِهِمْ أَنَّهَا تَسْعَى از جاندوبهای

ایشان کی ان می بدود و می بچنبد و بوشیده کردند بر موسی
که ان بچیلت و تمویه ای که جانست و زراندون می دویذ
موسی بنداشت کی ان می بدود و ان جان بون کی عصاها را
میان تهی کردند و بر سیماب کردند و بیستند و انرا رنگ مئاران
کردند و در زیر زمین سغها کردند و همه را براتش کردند تا زمین
گرم شد ان عصاها بر روی زمین بینداختند در جنبش آمد
بسبب ان سیماب الخ (f. 19^b, l. 5; xx, v. 69): شعبی
حکایت کرد از مردمانی از حمیر که ایشان گورستان بان شاهان را
بکندند یافتند در امجا سغی و در ان سغ زنی

(f. 103^b, l. 10).

سفال ('a potsherd'): خارش اندر تن او افتاد جندان تن را بخارید

تا همه ناخنش بیفتاد از ان سبس خوبستن را سفال و سنگ
و خوب همی مالید (f. 203^b, l. 9).

سفالین ('of earthenware'): گلی که از ان جامهای سفالین کنند

(f. 284^a, l. 17).

سلند *infra* شلند ('some sort of animal'; cf. جون ابرهیم را در
 اتش انداختند خزندگان و برندگان و چهاربایان می کوشیدند
 تا اتش را بکشند مگر این سلند که او اتش می افروخت و اتش
 می دمید (f. 190^a, l. 11).

سماخجه ('a bodice,' 'corslet'): فَتَفْتَحُنَا فِيهَا وَنُ رُوْحَنَا . . . و
 امده است که جبرئیل بکشید آن جیب سماخجه اورا
 بانگشت بس در دمید دروهم در وقت بارگرفت
 (f. 38^b, l. 10; xxi, v. 91):

جانان بوز کی روزی رسول صلوات الله علیه بخانه زینب امده
 وزیدزا می جست زینب را دید ایستاده در سماخجه و داونی
 (f. 156^a, l. 19).

سمج, سمجه ('a cellar,' 'subterranean passage'): وَ تَأْتِيُونَ مِن
 الْجِبَالِ بُيُوتًا فَارِهِينَ و می تراشید از کوهها خانهای ای که
 سمجه می کنید در کوهها از بهر زمستانرا (f. 93^b, l. 17): از
 شهر اشکارا بیرون امزند بس بنهان شدند در سمجی تا شب
 در اید بازگردند (f. 104^b, l. 1).

سنب ('hoof,' = سَم which also occurs, f. 200^b, l. 19): دیوان
 بسلیمان رسانیدند که بلقیس بر بای موی دارن و بای او جون
 سنب خران است (f. 103^a, l. 19).

سبجد ('the jujube-tree'): کلمی گویذ هیچ درختی نیست که
 درو آتش نیست مگر سبجد جیلان که درو آتش نیست
 (f. 185^a, l. 10).

[N.B. the vowel-points have been added by a later hand.]

أَقْرَأَيْكُمْ النَّارَ الَّتِي تَوْرُونَ ، أَأَنْتُمْ أَنْشَأْتُمْ شَجَرَتَهَا أَمْ مَحْنُ

الْمُتَشَبِهُونَ جَه كَوَيْدُ يَا اَهْل مَكَّة اَنْ اَتْش كَشْمَا اَز جَوْبَهَا هَمِي
 بَزْنِيذْ جَزْ جَوْبْ سَاكَجْ جِيلَانْ اَنْ دَرخْتْ اَتْشْرَا شْمَا اَفْرِيذْ
 اِيذْ يَا مَا اَفْرِيذْ اِيْمْ بَلْ كَهْ اَنْ دَرخْتْ رَا مَا اَفْرِيذْ اِيْمْ
 (f. 239^a, l. 21; lvi, vv. 70, 71).

سندره ('a bastard'): عايشه جنين روايت كند از بيغامير صلي
 الله عليه وسلم تفسير عتل را بس انگاه گفت عتل بعد ذلك
 زنيماً با اين همه سندره‌ي حرام زاده‌ي ناباك زاده‌ي
 (f. 319^a, l. 14; lxxviii, v. 13).

The passage is cited under خوشو q.v.: ('daughter-in-law')
 (F. 83^b, l. 15.)

سه‌گان ('three a piece'). - گان

سيكي (= سه‌يكي, 'one-third'): امير المومنين علي مي گويد كه
 مراد از اين اتوهم (in xxiv, v. 33) انست كه حط كنيد و فرو
 نهيد از ان مال كه بریشان نهاده ايد سيكي يا چهار يكي
 (f. 69^a, l. 11).

-سيل (= سير: سرد سير، گرم سير in): زيراك ايشان هر سال
 بزمرستان يكي سفر سوي يمن كردندى بگرم سيل و بتابستان
 يكي سفرى سوي شام شذندى بسرد سيل (f. 862^b, l. 17).

ش

شادمانه (= joyful, 'joyful'). Ff. 196^a, 202^a, 203^a.
 شارستان ('a city,' 'populous country.'): فَكَائِيْنَ مِنْ قَرْيَةٍ اَهْلُكُنَّاهَا
 و جند شهرها و ديېها و شارستانها كي نا جيز كرديم انرا
 (f. 48^a, l. 13; xxii, v. 44).

Also ff. 272^a, l. 11; 276^b, ll. 7, 9, 10; 350^b, l. 9;
355^a, l. 12.

شایست و ناشایست ('right and wrong,' 'licit and illicit')
وَ الْكِتَابِ¹ الْمُنِيرِ وَ نَامَةٌ رُوشَن بَدِيدِ كَرْدِه دَرُو كَن وَ مَكَن وَ
شایست و ناشایست (f. 175^a, l. 3; xxxv, v. 23)
وَ آتِيَاهُمَا وَ دَانِيمَ مُوسَى رَا وَ هَرُونَ رَا الْكِتَابِ الْمُسْتَعِينِ اَنْ
نَامَةٌ بِيذَا كَنَدِه شایست و ناشایست رَا اِی كِه تَوْرِيْت
(f. 191^b, l. 19; xxxvii, v. 117).

Also ff. 120^a, l. 7; 128^b, l. 3.

شایستن (used otherwise than impersonally): برو هم از ایذر باز
گُرد کی تو نیز مر بندگی مرا نشایی و از من دور شو نگر تا
بیش من نیایی که تو خدایرا نشایستی مرا نیز هم نشایی
(f. 202^a, l. 18).

F. 229^a, l. 21. شُبش ('louse').

See under رَشَك *suprà*, where the passage is cited.

F. 196^b, l. 12. شَتَانَك ('the ankle-bone,' 'heel').

See under سَتَان *suprà*, where the passage is cited.

شَتْرَوَان (= شَتْرَبَان 'a camel-driver,' 'a camel-driver') : بس روزی ان بسر او با
شَتْرَوَانِ بِيرون اَمْدِه بُون (f. 313^a, l. 7).

شَخْشِنَاك ('slippery'): ما از ولید اندر دوزخ اندر خواهیم تا
بِذَان كُوه اَتَشِين شَخْشِنَاك بَر شُون از بیش همی كَشَنَدَش
وَ از بس همی زَنَدَش (f. 330^a, l. 18).

¹ Sic, not بِالْكِتَابِ as in the received text.

شخشیذن ('to slip') : وَ يَمْتِنُتْ أَقْدَامَكُمْ و مر باها شمارا

بحرب اندر بر جای نگاه دارن تا نشخشیذ

عَدَابًا صَعْدًا و هرک روی از توحید و کتاب خدای بگرداند

خون ولید بن مغیره جون بدوزخ اندر شون ازو اندر خواهد تا

بکوهی اتشین و نسوده بر شون جون بسر نزدیک رسد باز

بشخشد و بیایان فرو افند (f. 327^a, l. 18; lxxii, v. 17).

See also سخنانشین *supra*.

See also سخنانشین *supra*.

شدیار کردن ('to plough') : وَ آتَارُوا الْأَرْضَ و بگردانیدند زمین را

از بهر کشت کردن ای که شدیار کردند

(f. 131^a, l. 15; xxx, v. 8).

شرم گین ('modest,' 'ashamed') : بیغامبر گفت صلی الله علیه

و سلم أَشَدُّ حَيًّا عثمان بن عفان گفت که از شما عثمان بن

عفان شرم گین ترست و هرک شرم گین تر باشد رحیم تر باشد

(f. 262^b, l. 9).

شکنب ('belly,' for شکم, which also occurs, e.g. f. 41^b, l. 15) :

فَتَاكِي فِي الظُّلُمَاتِ اواز برداشت بلند در تاریکیها ای که

تاریکی شب و تاریکی دریا و تاریکی شکنب ماهی

(f. 37^b, l. 10; xxi, v. 87). Also ff. 38^a, l. 12; 44^b, l. 20.

شگافانیدن ('to cleave,' 'split') : بو جهل گفت امشب شب

چهارده است و ماه بر آسمان گرد باشد اگر تو دعا کنی و ما در

بشگافانی ما دانیم که تو راست همی گوی

(f. 281^a, l. 9).

شِند (suprd سلند *cf.* 'some sort of animal') : کعب احبار می
 گوید هیچ جانوری نبود ان روز که نه آتش نمرود می بکشت
 تا ابرهیم را نسوزد مگر این شِند که او آتش را می دمید و می
 افروخت و رسول صلوات الله علیه فرمود تا شِند را بکشند
 (f. 34^a, ll. 13, 14).

شنوانیدن ('to cause to hear') : فَإِنَّكَ لَا تَسْمَعُ الْمَوْتَى بِس
 نتوانی که بشنوانی مردگانرا ای که کافرانی را کی ایشان در
 کافری خواهند مرد (f. 137^a, l. 4; xxx, v. 50).

ط

طراکی ('a crash,' 'roar,' 'crack') : بیغامبر صلی الله علیه و
 سلم دور کعبت نماز بکرد و سر بسجده نهاده دعا کرد هم اندر
 ساعت طراکی بیامد و ماه بدونیم شد بر آسمان یکت نیمه
 ازین سو و یکت نیمه از ان سو (f. 281^a, l. 15).

طرق ('cracking' the joints) : و نیز در لاق گاهها نشسته بودند
 خبو در روی یکدیگر می زدندی و کندرو خایزند و از
 انگشتان طرق آوردندی الخ (f. 124^b, l. 7).

طریکیدن (ترقییدن, ترکییدن; see also 'to burst,' 'crack') : بس
 اسرافیل دمیدن دیگر بدمد گوید ای اسخوانهای بوسیده ای
 رگهای گسسته و مویهای براگنده شده و جسمهای طریکیده بر
 خیزید (f. 214^b, l. 7).

Also ff. 230^b, l. 14; 301^b, l. 13; 328^b, l. 21; 346^a, l. 17;
 360^a, l. 9.

طست (طشت) : ('a basin,' 'bowl,' 'charger'; perhaps for
 اقتاب ان روز جنان بر اید بنداری که طستی استی که انرا
 شعاع نباشد (f. 356^b, l. 19).

طَلْح (‘bitter’; for تلخ which also occurs) وَ هَذَا مِلْحٌ أَجَاجٌ وَ
این دیگری شور و طلح در غایت طلخی

(f. 173^b, l. 12; xxxv, v. 13).

Also ff. 214^a, l. 8; 229^a, l. 15; 283^a, l. 17; 284^a, l. 21.

غ

غَرْم (‘a cluster of grapes’; the dot of the غ is in one case omitted by mistake)

حَدَائِقِ وَ أَعْنَابًا ایشانرا بوستانهای
باشد با انگورهای بهشت کی بر هر خوشه انگور هفتاد هزار
غرم باشد کی هیچ غزمی بیکدیگر نماند نه برنگ و نه بمزه هر
غزمی را رنگی دیگر و مزه دیگر کی اگر غزمی از آن بیفشاردی
و قطره از آن اندرین جهان جکذی ابهای این جهان همه
انگبین گردندی (f. 339^a, ll. 5-7; lxxviii, v. 32).

غَفْج (‘trench,’ ‘ditch’): بس او و یاران او جوی بزرگ غفج
ببریدند و سباه قریش بیامد و از آن جانب خندق فروامدند
(f. 150^a, l. 16).

غَفْجِي (‘low and flat land’): لَا تَرَى فِيهَا عِوَجًا وَ لَا امْتًا نَبِينِي

در آن کژیی و لا امتا و نه بشته و نیز گفته اند لا تری فیها عوجا
و لا امتا نبینی در آن نشیبی و فرازی ای که غفجی و بلندیی
(f. 24^b, l. 3; xx, v. 106).

ف

فَام (= وام, ‘debt’): وَ أَقْرَضُوا اللَّهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا وَ مَا تَقَدَّمُوا لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ

و خدایرا فام دهید فام دانن نیکو بحسبت از دل باکت یعنی
که صدقه دهید درویشانرا (f. 329^a, l. 17; lxxiii, v. 20).

فراشتوکت ('a swallow'): فراشتوکت گوید سبحان الذی خَلَقَ السَّمَاءَ-
بغیر عمد (f. 290^b, l. 7): بعضی گویند مرغانی بودند بیسه
مانندۀ فراشتوکان (ابابیل) (f. 382^b, l. 10; of the

فراوشان ('the forgotten' pl.): إِنَّا نَسِيْنَاكُمْ مَا رَا كَرِيمٌ شَمَارَا دَر
عذاب از جمله فراوشان (xxxii, v. 14; f. 145^b, l. 13)

فریبی (= 'fat,' فریه): چون دوزخیان انرا بخورند اندر گلوی ایشان
بیاویزند آن ضریع خوردنۀ خویش را فریبی نکند (f. 349^b, l. 2)

فرخمت (= 'selling,' فروخت): رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْمِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ مَرَدَانِي كِه
مشغول نکند ایشانرا بازرگانی و نه خرید و فرختی
(f. 70^b, l. 8; xxiv, v. 37).

فرحجی ('impurity'): إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ كِي
میخواهد خدای تعالی تا ببرد از شما فرحجیهای زنان کافره
کی در جاهلیت اولی بودند (xxxiii, v. 33; f. 154^b, l. 19)
و کویها و بازارها همه بلیذ کردند از انکت در کویها و بازارها
نشسته بودند و بلیذیها و فرحجیها (فرحجیها sic, for هم
اجای می کردند (f. 286^a, l. 20)

فرزندگان (= 'children,'): (f. 310^a, l. 12)

فروردگی ('paradise'?): لِيُدْخِلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ جَنَّاتٍ
مَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ تاخدای عز و جل مومنان مخلصانرا
از مردان و از زنان اندران جهان اندر بوستانهای فروردگی زیر
درختان و کوشکها اندر جویهای می و شیر و آب و انگبین
جاودانه همی رود (xlvi, v. 5; f. 258^a, l. 13): يَدْخُلُهُ
جَنَّاتٍ مَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خدای عز و جل او را اندر

بوستانهای فروردگی زیر درختان و کوشکهای آن جویهای می
و شیرواب و انگبین همی روژ جاودانه

(f. 260^a, l. 7; xlvi, v. 17).

Also ff. 311^a, l. 18; and 314^a, l. 14.

F. 244^a, l. 20. See *supra*, s.v. بروسو. ('downwards')

فرو مولیدن ('to withdraw') (?): نبوذ در منافقان دران وقت کاری
گران تراز نماز اذینه و شنیدن خطبه رسول همه بنهان بیرون
رفتندی از مزکت و فرو مولیدندی تا سخن رسول نشنوند

(f. 75^b, l. 18).

فرویشی (= غفلت; 'carelessness'; 'heedlessness'): وَ هُمْ فِي

عَفْلَةٍ و ایشان در فرویشی اند (f. 28^a, l. 5; xxi, v. 1)

The form مفریان (probably a mere mistake for مفریاد) فریفتن.

occurs once in the following passage:

فَلَا تَغْرَبْنَكُمْ الْحَيَوةُ الدُّنْيَا بس مفریاد شمارا زندگانی این جهان

(f. 172^a, l. 12; xxxv, v. 5).

فریشته (= فرشته, 'angel').

This form is constant, and very common.

فریوانیدن (= فریبانیدن, 'deceive,' 'to seduce'): أَمْ تَأْمُرُهُمْ

أَخْلَاكُهُمْ يَهْدًا أَمْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ طَاعُونَ یا جنانست که خردهای ایشان

ایشانرا همی بدین فریواند تا بیغامبر خدایرا همی دروغ زن

گویند الخ (f. 275^a, l. 7; lii, v. 32).

ک, گ

[N.B.—The MS. does not distinguish گ from ک, and as in several cases I am uncertain as to the correct pronunciation, I have placed together in alphabetical order the

words beginning with either of these letters, only distinguishing the گ from the ک where I am pretty sure of my ground.]

کاردو (‘the flower of the palm-tree’): وَ تَحْلِيلٍ وَ خَرْمَاسْتَانَهَا طَلْعَهَا هَتِيمٌ کی کاردوی آن فراهم آمده است بریکدیگر و نیز گفته اند کی کاردوی آن نازک است و نرم جنانک در دهان نمی بریزد و کاردو آن خرما باشد که محسنت پیدا اید در غلاف خردک خردک چون کاجد (f. 93^b, ll. 15, 16; xxvi, v. 148).
کاریز (‘a subterranean canal’): دانند کی کوشکها جگونه بنا باید کرد و نهال درختان جگونه باید نشاند و کاریزها جگونه باید بیرون آورد و جویها جگونه باید بریزد (f. 131^a, l. 3).

کالبد (‘body,’ ‘frame’): یکبار بخواند از گورها و گوید ای کالبد های بوسیده و گوشهای باره شده و موهای برآکنده شده گرد اید (f. 133^a, l. 11).

گان- (as a termination, marks the distributive) مَشْنَى وَ فُرَادَى : یکان یکان و دوکان دوکان (f. 170^b, l. 4; xxxiv, v. 45) مَشْنَى وَ ثَلَاثَ وَ رُبَاعَ دَوَّكَانَ وَ سَهْكَانَ وَ جِهَارْكَانَ ای که گروهی را از ایشان دو بروگروهی را سه بروگروهی چهار برآمده است (f. 171^b, l. 12; xxxv, v. 1) سنکها بز ابلیس انداخت هفت گان هفت گان.

دوگان. See also (f. 191^a, l. 16).

کاوین (= کابین, ‘dowry’): وَ لَيْسَآلُوا مَا أَنْفَقُوا ذَلِكُمْ حُكْمُ اللَّهِ بِحُكْمِ بَيْنِكُمْ وَ شِمَا از اهل مکه طلب کنید کاوین زنان خویش اگر بدین ایشان اندر شوند و ایشان نیز از شما طلب کنند آنچه کابین دانه باشند زنان خویش را که بدین شما اندر

ایند بیغامبر صلی الله علیه وسلم برین صلح کرده بود با اهل مکه کی کاوین یکدیگر بگزارند اینست حکم خدای کی میان شما جنین حکم کرده است کی کابین زنان یکدیگر بگزارند (f. 304^a, ll. 11-14; lx, v. 10).

کبان (کیان 'a scale,' 'balance': see Vullers, s.v.) وَزَنُوا بِالْقِسْطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ و بساجیز بترازوی راست و نیز گفته اند بکبان عدل و قسطاس بزبان رومی کبان باشد و انرا بزبان تازی آورده اند و گفته اند کی ان خود تازیست و اصلش قسط است و ان عدل باشد (f. 95^a, l. 5; xxvi, v. 181).

کبی ('a monkey'): و اگر خواست بر صورت خوگ و کبی افریدی مرترا (f. 349^b, l. 10): وَ لَوْ نَشَاءُ لَمَسَخْنَاهُمْ عَلَىٰ مَكَانَتِهِمْ و اگر بخواهیمی ایشانرا در خانهای ایشان کبان و خوگان کنیمی (f. 184^a, l. 9; xxxvi, v. 67).

کبرتین ('of sulphur'): انگاه خدای عز و جل اندر دوزخ اسیا سنگهای کبرتین باراند (f. 269^a, l. 17).

کف ساره ('the shoulder-blade') (f. 229^b, l. 1).

See under *سرون* *supra*, where the passage is cited.

گرازیدن ('to walk proudly'): فِي جَلَالِ التَّعَبِمْ در باغهای ناز و نعمت می نازند و می گرازند (f. 187^b, l. 8; xxxvii, v. 42).

کرده ('deed' as a verbal noun; 'deed'): إِنَّهُ لَمِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ کی اوست از جمله ستم کاران بدین کرده (f. 33^a, l. 16; xxi, v. 60).

گرد روزن (= هبا منثور; 'dust on a window'; 'motes'): فَجَعَلْنَاكَ كَنِيمَ ان کردار را هباً مَثْوُوراً ان گرد روزن که در افتاب بیدا باشد (f. 80^a, l. 1; xxv, v. 25).

گرد (‘full,’ as applied to the moon) : بوجهل گفت امشب شب چهارده است و ماه بر آسمان گرد باشد (f. 281^a, l. 9).

گرت (= مَلَوَى ‘quail,’ *supra*). See under ترنگبین.

F. 21^a, l. 18 (xx, v. 82).

گرمگاه (‘noon’) : و این سراب وقت جاشگاه تا گرم گاه نماید جون جاذری میان آسمان وزمین (f. 71^a, l. 2).

گروگان (= رهین ‘pledge’) : کُلُّ امْرَأَةٍ (sic) بِمَا كَسَبَتْ رَهِيْنٌ ... هر مردی بدینچه کرده باشد از گناهان بدان گروگان باشد (f. 274^b, l. 4; lii, v. 21).

گروهه (‘a ball of thread or twine’) : ذی اروان گفت او را چه داروست گفت کسی را بیاید فرستاد تا اب از ان جاه همه بر کشند جون زیر اب فرو رسند یکی سنگی یابند ان سنگ را بر کنند زیر ان سنگ گروهه یابد اندر میان ان گروهه یکی زه باشد بران زه یازده گره افکنده است (f. 366^b, l. 10).

گرویدن (‘to believe’) : وَ هُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُوْنَ وایشان نگرند و ترا استوار ندارند (f. 7^b, l. 5; xix, v. 40).

Of constant occurrence, being used almost invariably to translate آمَنَ, etc.

گریج and گریجک (‘a hut’) : بس انگاه بشزند و مر او را یکی گریچی کردند از شهر بیرون سوی صحرا (f. 203^b, l. 12) : ایوب گفت که کجا همی خواهی شد گفت بدان گریجک خویش خواهم شد (f. 204^b, l. 21).

گزارد (as a verbal noun: ‘discharge’) : قُلْ مَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَجْرٍ بَلْ أَنَا مِنَ الْبُغْوَى که نمی خواهم از شما بر گزارد بیغامبری بای مزدی (f. 84^a, l. 1; xxv, v. 59)

(f. 139^a, l. 20; xxxi, v. 11).

کردم (= کزدم, 'a scorpion'). Ff. 166^a, l. 10; 213^b, l. 2.
 گزیت and گزید (= جزیه, 'poll-tax levied on non-Muslims,') :
 إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ مَكَرَ انْكَسَانِ كِي ايشان گزید ندهند و
 جنگ کنند و نیز گفته اند این ایت منسوخ است بدان ایت
 قَاتَلُوا الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا بِالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ تَا بَدَا جَا كِي حَتَّى
 يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ (f. 126^b, l. 1; xxix, v. 45):
 مَا هُمْ مِنْكُمْ وَلَا مِنْهُمْ اَيْنِ مَنَافِقَانِ اِنْدِر سَر بَا شَمَا نِيَسْتَنْد تَا
 ايشانرا از ثواب واجب ان شودی كِي شمارا وجب (sic)
 شون و نیز با جهودان نيستند باشكارا تَا بَرِيْشان واجب
 شودی انك بر جهودان واجب شون همی از سرگزیت و جز
 ان (f. 297^b, l. 2; lviii, v. 15).

The word also occurs as گزید three times in a section
 (فصل) on f. 126^b, wherein the classes of non-Muslims
 from whom this tax may be taken are discussed. See
 Noeldeke's *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, p. 241, n. 1.

کژاوه (= کجاوه, 'pannier, litter,') : ان کژاوه كِي عايشه دران
 بون با سربوش بون (f. 64^a, l. 17).

کش ('fair, beautiful') : اِنَّا اَنْشَاْنَا هُنَّ اِنْشَاءً فَيَجْعَلْنَ اَبْكَارًا اَز
 بس انك كندبير شده باشند اندر دنيا و بمرده باشند ايشانرا
 ديگر باره بيافرينيم و ايشانرا جوانان گردانيم و هممرا دوشميره
 گردانيم و ايشانرا كش گردانيم

(f. 288^a, l. 15; lvi, vv. 34, 35).

گشی ('strutting, walking proudly') : وَاللَّهِ لَا يُحِبُّ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ
 فَخُورٍ . . . و خدای دوست ندارن انكسرا كِي اندر رفتن
 خويش گشی كند و بنعمت خدای فخر كنده باشد

(f. 293^b, l. 19; lvii, v. 23).

کشاورز ('a cultivated field')، کشاورزی ('cultivation') : فَكْشَقِي
 کی رجه گردید و بدست خوندت باید کارکرد و بخوی بیشانی
 بایدت خورد ای که تو و جفت تو رجه گردید و لکن ادم را
 یانه کرد کی کشاورزی ادم کردی نه حوا
 (f. 25^b, l. 18; xx, v. 115):

و ایوب را هزار و بانصد جفت گاو بون کی بکشاورزی بیرون
 شدندی و اندر ضیعت او بوندند (f. 201^b, l. 18).

Also ff. 202^b, l. 5; 263^b, l. 2; 293^a, l. 16.

گشن ('vast,' 'large') : و نیز گفته اند یابید مرا در سباهی انبوه
 و گشن (f. 60^a, l. 5): لِخُرَجَ بِهِ حَبًّا وَ نَبَاتًا وَ جَنَاتٍ اَلْقَائًا
 اِنَّ يَوْمَ الْقَضَلِ كَانَ مِيقَاتًا تَا مَا بَدَانَ بَارَانَ نَبَاتَهَا وَ دَانَهَا اَز
 زمین بیرون آریم و بوستانهای گشن درختان انبوه گونه گونه
 (f. 338^b, l. 1; lxxviii, vv. 15-17).

گشن ('ram' ? 'the male of any animal') وَ قَدَيْكَاهُ بدل ان
 بسر دادیم بذبج عظیم گشنی بزرگ کی در بهشت جریده
 بون جهل تیر ماه حسن می گوید بخدای که ندا ندانند مگر
 گشنی از بز ان کوهی از کوه ثبیر فروز آمد
 (f. 191^a, l. 21; xxxvii, v. 107)
 مانده گشنی خاکسترگون ان بر هیجیزی نگذرد و هیجیزی
 بوی باز نیاید الا جز بر جای بمیرد (f. 316^b, l. 12).

گشنی ('copulation') : و لوطیان از یکدیگر اوچخته باشند
 همچنانک سگ از ماده سگ اویند چون گشنی کنند از یکدیگر
 باز نتوانند شد بدان بشناسند که ایشان لوطیان اند
 (f. 285^a, l. 20).

گشنیز ('coriander'?) : و گفته اند کی هیچ چیز از خزندگان ان در یافتگی نیست کی مورچه را که چون دانه گندم یا جو کی بخانه برد از بهر نهادن انرا دو نیمه کند تا نروید و اگر گشنیز باشد چهار بارش کند کی گشنیز را دو باره کنی بروید چهار باره باید تا نروید (f. 99^b, ll. 9, 10).

کفه ('chaff') : مر ترا ازیشان جدا کرد چنانک کفه را از گندم جدا کنند (f. 202^a, l. 17).

کلب ('beak') : و این هدهد مرغی بون اب شناس و زمین بیش او چون ابگینه بون می دیدی اب را زیر زمین چون سلیمن بسفر رفتی هدهد را بیاوردندی تا نشان دانی کی اب کجا نزدیک تر کلب (بدن glossed in a later hand) بران جای زنی بکندندی اب برامدی (f. 100^a, l. 10) : مجاهد می گوید هدهد نام را در کلب خون گرفت (f. 101^a, l. 7; xxvii, v. 28).

کلج ('dirt,' 'defilement'; 'pride') : اِنَّهُمْ اَنَاسٌ اِيشَانِ مردمانی اند يَكْفُرُونَ که خود را باکیزه می دارند از بیسه ما و نیز گفته اند کلجشان می اید ازین مردان و اینج می گفتند بروی افسوس می گفتند ای که ایشان غلام باره نیستند (f. 104^b, l. 18; xxvii, v. 57).

گلیمک ('a blanket', گلیم dim.) : کار بریشان سخت تنگ بون از گرسنگی و برهنگی چند تن ازیشان اندر زیر گلیمی دریده مانده بوندند و یکی گلیمی دیگر بون کجون کسی ازیشان بجاجتی بیرون خواستی شد ان گلیمک را بر پوشیدی (f. 233^a, l. 18).

گنار (= 'the lote-tree,' 'بیدر') : فِي بَيْدِرٍ مَخْضُودٍ اَنْدَرِ مِيوَهَايِ بِيْدِرِ
باشند و سدرا را برسی گنار گویند و بحر اسان ازان نباشد
(f. 288^a, l. 7; lvi, v. 27).

گندبیر (= 'a decrepit old woman') : وَقَالَتْ عَجُوزٌ عَقِيْمٌ مَر
گندبیر رحم بسته را فرزند جگونه باشد
(f. 272^a, l. 2; li, v. 29). Also ff. 288^a, l. 14; 313^a, l. 18.

F. 124^b, l. 7. . گندرو ('mastic')

See above, under طرق, where the passage is quoted.

گنده ('a ditch,' 'trench') : فُتِلَ اصْحَابُ الْاَخْدُوْدِ بِلَعْنَتِ كَرْدِه
شدند اصحاب اخدود اخدود كنده بون كه بزمین فرو كنده
بودند (f. 346^b, l. 7; lxxxv, v. 4).

كنشست ('a Jewish synagogue') : بِيْرَانِ شَدَى صَوْمَعِهَا دَرِ رُوْزْگَارِ
عِيْسَى وَ بِيْعِ وَ كَلِيْسِيَا هَمْ دَرِ رُوْزْگَارِ عِيْسَى وَ كَنْشِهَا دَرِ
شَرِيْعَتِ مُوسَى وَ مَسَاجِدِ وَ مَسْجِدِهَا دَرِ شَرِيْعَتِ مُصْطَفَى
(f. 47^b, l. 12) : وَ صَلَوَاتٍ وَ كَنْشِنَهَايِ (sic) جِهْرُوْدَانِ
(f. 47^b, l. 8).

گوارانیدن ('to digest') : اَمَّا جَانِبِهٖ طَعَامَهَا رَا بَكْشَدُ وَ بَانَ هَا ضَمَمَهٗ
طعام را اندر تن بگواراند (f. 229^a, l. 10).

گوارانده ('wholesome,' 'pleasant') : مُسْلِمَانَانِ كُنْفَتْنَدِ هِنِيَا لَكْتِ يَا
رَسُولِ اللّٰهِ كُوَارَنْدِهٖ بَانَ تَرَا (f. 158^a, l. 4) : اَيْنِ شَهْرِسْتِ
خُوشِ اِيْ كِهٖ مِيْوَهٗ اَوْ كُوَارَنْدِهٖ اسْتِ (f. 166^a, l. 13) : صَايْحُ
شَرَابِهٖ كُوَارَنْدِهٖ خُورْدَنِ اَنْ (f. 173^b, l. 12; xxxv, v. 13).

كواز (= ذراع; 'a cubit,' 'an ell') : فَكُرَى الْقَوْمِ فِيْهَا صَرَعَى كَا نَهْمُ
اَعْجَازِ تَحْلِيْلِ خَاوِيَةِ اِثْرِ اَسْجَا بُوْدِيْسِي مَرِ اَنْ قَوْمِ هُوْدِرَا بَدِيْدِيْسِي
اَنْدَرِ اَسْجَا اَنْكَنْدِهٖ وَ هَلَاكِ كَرْدِهٖ دَرَا زَايِ هَرِ مَرْدِي دَوَا زَدِهٖ رَشِ

هر رشی جند کوازی از کوازه‌های ما (f. 321^b, l. 8; lxix, v. 7):
 ثُمَّ فِي سِلْسِلَةٍ ذَرْعُهَا سَبْعُونَ ذِرَاعًا فَاسْلُكُوهُ بس از زنجیری کی
 هفتاد کوازست بکواز فریشتگان ان زنجیر اتشین را بگلولی او
 فرو کنید و ستانش باز کشید و سرش را بر باشنه بای ببندید
 و انج از ان زنجیر بماند برگردن او بر بیجید
 (f. 322^b, ll. 2-4; lxix, v. 32).

گواهان (= پینات، 'evidences'): وَ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُهُم بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ و آوردند
 بیغامبران ایشان گواهان ای که معجزها بر درستی پیامبری
 خویش (f. 131^a, l. 18; xxx, v. 8).

گواهی، گواهی (= 'testimony'): اندامهای ایشان بریشان
 گواهی دهند (f. 247^a, l. 8): بلی این همه را همی دانستم و
 گواهی دهم که جنین است (f. 204^b, l. 7).

Also f. 225^a, l. 13. گواهی also occurs, f. 246^b, l. 13.

کورموش ('a mole'): خدای تعالی موشی بفرستاند کی انرا
 کورموش خوانند تا ان بندرا باره کرد (f. 166^a, l. 20).

کوشک ('a palace,' 'castle,' 'villa').

Ff. 202^b, l. 13 (*bis*); 218^b, l. 12.

گوه‌رین ('of pearl,' 'pearly'): واگر بخواهی اسب با زین و ساز
 گوه‌رین و مرواریدین و زرین و یاقوتین بیرون اید (f. 236^b, l. 6).
 گیرانیدن (گرفتن 'causal of' 'to cause to take'): اگر خواهد همه
 روی زمین از کناره جهان تا دیگر کناره همه ابرگیراند و خواهد
 بر یکجای از روی زمین انرا نگاه دارن (f. 136^b, l. 7).

ل

لاف‌گاه (‘a public place’) وَ تَاتُونِ فِي نَادِيكُمْ الْبُكَيْرِ وَمِي كَنِيد
 در مجلسهای خویش ای که در لاف‌گاههای که بنشینید ان
 گناه منکر که همه خردمندان انرا منکر دانند و در شریعت
 ان روا نیست و دین داران انرا نشناسند بروای و منکر ایشان
 ان بون کی یکدیگر را می داشتندی در امجا که نشسته بوندی
 و نیز در لاف‌گاهها نشسته بوندی خبو در روی یکدیگر می
 زندی الخ (f. 124^b, ll. 4-7; xxix, v. 28).

لخت، لختک (‘a bit,’ ‘little bit’): مگر چیزی توانیم ساختن
 کی لختکی بدان ماند (f. 197^b, l. 6).

Also ff. 276^a, l. 14; 328^b, l. 4; 348^a, l. 18.

یکت لخت (= یکباره، یکسر، ‘altogether,’ همه تن او یکت
 لخت یکی ریش گشت بی بوست (f. 203^b, l. 10).

لشن (‘smooth,’ ‘even,’ ‘slippery’): قَاعًا صَقَصًا زمینی که اب
 گیر بوده باشد بس خشک شده چگونه لشن و هموار و برابر
 باشد (f. 24^b, l. 1; xx, v. 106): قَالَ إِنَّهُ صَرَحَ مُمَرَّكٍ مِنْ
 قَوَارِيرِ كَفْتِ ان كوشکیست لشن از شیشه
 (f. 103^b, l. 4; xxvii, v. 44).

م

مادندر (مادرندر: ‘mother-in-law’: perhaps for . . . زنانی که
 حرام باشد نکاح ایشان همیشه نه بخویشی جون دختر شیر
 و خواهر شیر و دختندر و مادندر (f. 68^a, l. 10).

مانیدن (= 'to resemble,' مانستن) : بدان وقت که تن درست
بود ترا مانید (f. 205^a, l. 2).

مبتین (. . . . ?) : و رسول مبتینی بدست خویش
بگرفت و می گفت بسم الله الذی بدینا فلو عبدنا غیره
شقینا (f. 150^a, l. 15).

محفوری ('some sort of stuff') : جنانک بیکی شهر ادیم بیرایند
و بیکی شهر دیبا بافند و بیکی شهر توزی بافند و بیکی شهر
کاغذ کنند و بیکی شهر محفوری بافند و بیکی شهر میسانی
بافند (f. 224^a, l. 1).

مرواریدین ('of pearl').

F. 286^b, l. 6. See under گوه‌رین *supra*. Also f. 76^a.

مزکت ('a mosque') : همه بهان بیرون رفتندی از مزکت و
فرو مولیذندی تا سخن رسول نشنوند (f. 75^b, l. 18) : منافقان
جون قامت کردندی از مزکت بیرون رفتندی
(f. 145^b, l. 17). Also ff. 165^b; 255^a, l. 20; 261^a, l. 16;
261^b, l. 1; 308^b, ll. 11, 14, 18; 327^a, l. 20; 354^b, l. 3;
355^a, l. 6; 357^a, l. 13; 363^b, l. 5; 365^a, l. 20.

منش ('disposition,' 'nature') : إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ عَلَا فِي الْأَرْضِ هَرَايَنَه
فرعون بزرگ منشی کرد و بزرگی نمود از خود ببادشاهی و
سلطانی خویش (f. 108^b, l. 11) : فَاسْتَكْبَرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ بزرگ
منشی کردند و گردن بکشیدند و بای از اندازه اندرگذرانیدند
در زمین مصر (f. 125^b, l. 5; xxix, v. 38) : بیعت بکردند
بخوش منشی (f. 260^a, l. 15).

Also ff. 263^b, l. 3; 274^a, l. 14.

موز ('the banana') : وَ طَلْحٍ مَّنْصُودٍ و اندر میان موز باشد بر
یکدیگر گرد کرده (f. 288^a, l. 8; lvi, v. 28).

مولیدن ('to be tired,' 'to turn back')

See فرو مولیدن *supra*.

میاجی ('a surety,' 'an intercessor'): ذو الكفل میاجی شد
کی اگر توبه کند بهشت یابد (f. 37^a, l. 12): گفت میاجی
بده کی تو می بروی (f. 130^a, l. 9).

میرانیدن (مردن 'to cause to die'; causal of): وَ لَهُ الْمَثَلُ
الْأَعْلَى و مروراست ان صفت بلندتر و ان تواناییست بر
زنده کردن افریدگان و میرانیدن ایشان
(133^b, l. 1; xxx, v. 26). Also ff. 215^b, l. 11; 216^b, l. 2.

میسانی ('fringes'?). See above, under محفوری.

ن

ناخن پیرای ('a nail-clipper'): بهیرا ازیشان باره بدو نیم فرو
شگافتند و بهیرا زنده بوست باز کردند و بهیرا بر دار کردند
زنده و بهیرا بناخن پیرای باره باره ببریزند الخ (f. 251^b, l. 12).
نبنسه ('a grand-child'): وَ وَهَبْنَا لَهُ إِسْحَاقَ وَ يَعْقُوبَ نَافِلَةً وَ
بخشیدیم مرورا فرزندی از بشت او نام او اسحق و نبنسه نام
او یعقوب (f. 34^b, l. 4; xxi, v. 72).

Also f. 124^a, l. 10; xxix, v. 26).

فرزندان و نبنسگان (f. 269^a, l. 4).

نرخ ('current price'): و نیز گفته اند عذاب ادنی عذاب
گورست و نیز گفته اند کی نرخ گرانست (f. 146^b, l. 18).
نرخ طعام را بمدینه گران کردند (f. 266^a, l. 19).

نردوان (= نردبان 'a ladder'): وَ مَعَارِجَ عَلَيْنَهَا يَنْظُرُونَ و ایشانرا
نردوانهای سیمین دانیمی تا بدان بپاهای برشدندی
(f. 237^b, l. 16; xliii, v. 32).

نرّآب ('a wave of water') : مِنْ فَوْقِهِ مَوْجٌ از زیر آن موج موجی
دیگر و موج نرّآب باشد (f. 71^a, l. 12; xxiv, v. 40) : مَوْجٌ
موجی و موج نرّآب باشد هرچ از اب بلندتر شود آن
موج است (f. 142^b, l. 21; xxxi, v. 31).

نژند ('sad,' 'wretched,' 'of mean estate') : خوار و نژند باشید
در ائش (f. 61^a, l. 6) : عزیز کند عزیزانرا که اسلام بپذیرند و
ذلیل کند نژندانرا که اسلام نپذیرند (f. 73^a, l. 18) : وَأَنْتُمْ
دَاخِرُونَ در آن حال که شما نژند¹ و خوار باشید
(f. 186^b, l. 3; xxxvii, v. 18).

نسوده ('smooth,' 'slippery') : بکوهی آتشین و نسوده بر شوند
چون بسر نزدیک رمذ باز بشنخشذ و بیایان فرو افتد
(f. 327^a, l. 17).

نشستگاه ('seat,' 'backside') : آواز آوردندی از نشستگاههای
خویش از بهر مسخرگی را (f. 124^b, l. 9) : و آنچه ناخورده
بماند یعنی اساخوان دهجه است نشستگاه بماند
(f. 267^b, l. 4).

نوا ('provision'; 'food') : نَزْلًا مِنْ غَفُورٍ رَحِيمٍ مر شمارا نوا به
باشد از طعامها و شرابها از آن خدای که تایانرا امرزنده
است و بر مومنان رحیم است (f. 226^b, l. 7; xli, v. 32).

نوسپاس (= ناسپاس 'ungrateful') : إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَكَفُورٌ هَسْت
ادمی نادان که خدای را نشناسد نوسپاس و ناخستون
بایتهای که آن راه نمایست بتوحید او

(f. 50^b, l. 19; xxii, v. 65). Also ff. 83^a, 102^b, 129^a,
129^b, 134^b, 137^a, 139^b, 141^b, 143^a, 166^b, 177^a, 183^b, etc.
The form ناسپاس occurs more rarely, e.g. on f. 176^a.

¹ Pointed and glossed نژنه in a later hand.

نوله ('the beak of a bird') : مجاهد گوید اندران روز میان خلق همه چیزها قصاص کنند تا بدان جای که اگر مرغی مرغی را بنوله بزده باشد . . . انرا قصاص کنند (f. 339^b, l. 12).

نهبن ('the lid of a pot') : كَذَلِكَ يَطْبَعُ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِ الَّذِينَ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ هَمَجِنَانِكَ نهبنی نهاد بر دلهای ان کافران تا در نیافتند بیغامها خدایرا نهبنی نهاد بر دلهای کسانی که ایشا (ایشان sic, for) ندانند دلیلهای یگانگی خدایرا (ایشان sic, for) : (f. 137^b, l. 17; xxxi, v. 59) : إِنَّهَا عَلَيْهِمْ مُّوَصَّوَةٌ فِي عَمَدٍ مُمَدَّدَةٍ ان اتشرا نهبن کنند و بر سر ایشان بر بوشندش و ان نهبن دوزخ را سوی ستونهای آهنین کشیده باشند و بران زنجیرها استوار کرده باشند تا جوشش دوزخ انرا بر نیندازد (f. 361^a, l. 12; civ, vv. 8, 9).

نیاکان ('paternal uncles') : وَ بَنَاتِ خَالَكَ و دختران نیاکان تو وَ بَنَاتِ خَالَاتِكَ و دختران خالتان تو (f. 158^b, l. 13; xxxiii, v. 49).

نیگ داشت، نیگو داشت (= نعمت 'favour,' 'luxury') : اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ يَٰۤاُدْنِيذِ نِيكَ داشت خدایرا تعالی بر شما (f. 149^b, l. 21; xxxiii, v. 9) : همه افریدگان در نیگو داشت او اند (f. 171^b, l. 6).

و

رواره ('a throne,' 'open gallery,' 'balcony') : لُتَوِيحُهُمْ مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ غُرَفًا بَخْدَايِ كِي فَرُوذِ اِرِيْمِ اِيشَانِرَا در بهشت در کاخهای کی ان بلندترین خانها باشد و اگر بشا خوانی لثوِيحُهُمْ بَخْدَايِ كِي

همیشه بداریم ایشانرا در وروارهای بهشت و ورواره[۱] مخصوص
کرد کی از خانها ان خوشتر باشد از بهر ان که همه خانها زیر
ان باشد و بودن در ان جای بهتر باشد کی بی نم باشد و
گذر باندهای خوش باشد و در خبیر است از رسول صلی الله
علیه و سلم کی در بهشت وروارهاست بتوان دید بیرون ان را
از درون ان و درون انرا از بیرون ان

(f. 128^b, ll. 4-8; xxix, v. 58).

وش (= عَبَقَرِي 'a rich kind of satin,' : وَعَبَقَرِي حِسَانِ
قتبی گوید عبقری شهر بست کی امجا وشی بافند هر چیزی
نیکو باشد انرا عبقری خوانند (f. 286^b, l. 21).

ویر ('alas!'): يَا وَيْلَنَا إِنَّا كُنَّا ظَالِمِينَ ای وای ویر ما ما بودیم
ستمکاران که فرمان خدای نکردیم (f. 32^a, l. 21; xxi, v. 48).
Also ff. 39^a, 45^a, 186^b.

ه

هر یکجندی ('every now and then'): در شان حارث قیس سهمی
امده است کی هر یکجندی بتی برستیدی باز اورا رها کردی
بتی دیگر گرفتی (f. 82^a, l. 13).

هزینه کردن ('to spend'): وَالَّذِينَ إِذَا أَنْفَقُوا لَنْ يُسْرِفُوا
کندند لَمْ يُسْرِفُوا از اندازه بنگذرند (f. 85^a, l. 1; xxv, v. 67):
وَمَا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُشْفِقُونَ و از انج ایشانرا دانه ایم از خواستهای
ایشان هزینه می کنند (f. 146^a, l. 8; xxxii, v. 16).
Also ff. 151^b, 169^b, 175^a, 182^a, and 187^a.

همچند ('the same size as'): رویش از حال بگشت و خرد شد
همچند عدسی (f. 78^a, l. 3).

همچندان ('to the same extent'): قصاص کند مر برنده دست
خویش را بکشتن و جراحت کننده خویش را بجراحت
کردن همچندان (f. 50^a, l. 13).

همگان (همه 'pl. of all'): وَ اجْعَلْ لِي لِسَانَ صِدْقٍ فِي الْآخِرِينَ
. . . و نیز گفته اند لسان صدق مرا چنان گردان که همگانم
راست گوی دارند و بمن بگردند (f. 91^a, l. 15; xxvi, v. 84).

همیدون (= 'then, اذا'): فَإِذَا هِيَ حَيْثُ تَسْعَى پس همیدون عَصَا
ماری گشت که می دویذ (f. 15^b, l. 1; xx, v. 21): إِنَّكُمْ
إِذَا لَتَخْمِرُونَ شَمَا همیدون باشید زبان کار و فریفتگان
(f. 55^b, l. 12; xxiii, v. 36).

Also ff. 39^a, l. 14; 87^a, l. 20 (= إِذَا); 88^a, l. 3 (written
بس همیدون = فَإِذَا) 88^b, l. 8 (فَإِذَا = همیدون), and l. 6; 88^b, l. 8
129^a, l. 19; 132^a, l. 15; 133^a, l. 12; 134^b, l. 8.

همیشگان ('eternal,' 'for ever'): أَنَّهُمْ هُمُ الْفَائِزُونَ ایشانند ایشان
ستکاران از عذاب من و همیشگان در بهشت
(f. 61^a, l. 19; xxxiii, v. 113).

همیشگی ('perpetuity'): دَارَ الْمَقَامَةِ در سرای جاودانی و
همیشگی که از اجا رفتن نیست و بیرون آمدن نیست
(f. 176^a, l. 20; xxxv, v. 32).

هوازی ('suddenly'): داود علیه السلم بس ان مرغ بر بام شد تا
مرورا بگيرد ان مرغ زاستر بریزد داود از بس او زاستر شد هوازی
نگاه کرد زن او را بدید برهنه بر سر حوض ایستاده اندر سرای
خویش و خویشتن را همی بشست (f. 198^a, l. 21): ابلیس

گفت برو و سوی کشاورزان و گاووان و خران شو و زنان و بچگان
ایشانرا همه را هلاک کن هوازی کس خبر نداشت کی بادی
از زمین برخاست سرد (f. 202^b, l. 5): فَلَمَّا رَأَوْهُ عَارِضًا
مُسْتَقْبِلَ آوْدِيَّتِهِمْ بس هوازی نگاه کردند ابری دیدند کی روی
سوی وادیهای ایشان نهاده بود (f. 250^a, l. 8; xlvi, v. 23).
Also ff. 214^b, l. 8; 280^a, l. 3; 313^a, l. 8; 340^b, l. 1;
355^b, l. 10; 366^b, l. 5.

ف. 286^b, l. 6; 287^b, l. 13. ('of ruby') یاقوتین

یشک ('an incisor or canine tooth') : اِنَّ يَتَلَقَى الْمُتَلَقِيَانِ عَنِ
الْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ الشِّمَالِ قَعِيدًا جو این دو فریشته سخن از زبان
او بگیرند و بنویسند و بردست راست و بردست جب
مردم نشسته باشند این بر یکی دندان یشک نشسته باشد
و ان بر دیگر (f. 268^a, l. 21): نُمُّ كَلَّا تَتَوَفَّ تَغْلُمُونَ و باز حقا که
بدانید انگاه کی ان دو فریشته منکر و نکیر کی زمین را همی
درانند بدنانهای یشک خویشتن (f. 360^a, l. 6).

یکان یکان ('one by one'): ابلیس مران معلمان و حکیمانرا و
ادیانرا همه را یکان یکان نام همی برد و صفت همی کرد و می
ستود (f. 203^a, l. 4).
See also under گان.

یله کردن ('to leave,' 'abandon'): گویند . . . ای خدای ما بیرون
ار ما را از آتش یله شان کنند جندانک از آغاز دنیا بوده
است تا سری شدن دنیا (f. 61^a, l. 9): کاشکی من بدانمی
کی اگر مرا بر من یله کندی از من چه ایذی بس مرورا ارزو
جنان امذ که کاشکی مرورا برو یله کنندی تا ببینندی که ازو
جز نیکی نیایدی (f. 198^a, ll. 6, 7): و اکنون زمین را یله کرده

است ضایع و ابش همی ندهد و گرد ان همی نگردد
 (f. 199^a, l. 11): همی بترسم کی اگر با ان شیر بر اویزم مر
 مرا بکشذ از بهر اینرا مر ان زمین را بذان شیر یله کرده ام
 (f. 199^a, l. 15). Also ff. 213^b, l. 13; 217^b, l. 13;
 236^a, ll. 1 and 4; 241^a, l. 3; 242^a, l. 8, etc.; 247^a, l. 10;
 256^a, l. 1; 256^b, l. 16; and other passages. On f. 275^b,
 l. 11 (lii, v. 45) فَذَرَهُمْ is translated by ایشانرا یله کن.

یمل ('a piece,' 'fold') و میمونه حله خواست یمانی و حله
 یکت یمل جامه باشد که ان دوباره باشد (f. 153^b, l. 15).

5. *Authorities cited by the Commentator.*

[In the case of authorities cited not more than five times, all the references are given; in the case of those cited oftener, the first five only. Amongst the latter, the earlier in the volume the last reference, the oftener, as a rule, is the name cited. Thus from the fact that *Katāda* is cited five times in the first forty-five leaves, it may be inferred that in the whole volume his name occurs more often than *Ka'bu'l-Ahbār*, who is only mentioned five times in the first 173 leaves, and so on. In giving the names, I have generally restored the Arabic بن, 'son of,' which is usually replaced in the MS. by the *izāfat*, in the Persian fashion, 'Abdu'llāh ibn Mas'ūd being called, for example, 'Abdu'llāh-i-Mas'ūd. So, too, I have written *Abū Ṭālib* for *Bū Ṭālib*, etc. Save on the first page (which, as I have already pointed out, is supplied from a much later work, and has nothing to do with the original commentary) *no written books whatever are referred to in the text*].

- Ff. 336^a, l. 1 ; 338^b, l. 10. ابراهيم التيمي (1)
- „ 294^a, l. 18. ابراهيم النخعي (2)
- „ 308^a, l. 21. احمد بن حنبل (3)
- „ 195^b, l. 10 ; 208^a, l. 9 ; 236^b, l. 1 ;
264^a, l. 10 ; 320^b, l. 17. اخفش (4)
- „ 250^a, l. 14 ; 362^b, l. 8 (see also اسماعيل السدي
سدي, infra). (5)
- „ 36^a, l. 8 ; 156^b, l. 11 ; 159^b, l. 13 ;
183^b, l. 20 ; 186^b, l. 20. انس بن مالك (6)
- „ 193^b, l. 18. ابو بكر (7)
- „ 308^a, l. 11. ابو ثور (8)
- „ 69^a, l. 15 ; 121^a, l. 1. جابر بن عبد الله الانصاري (9)
- „ 191^a, l. 12 ; 277^b, l. 13. ابن جريح (10)
- „ 36^a, l. 9 ; 120^b, l. 14 ;
141^a, l. 8 ; 145^a, ll. 16 and 21 ; 254^b, l. 9. جعفر بن محمد الصادق (11)
- „ 36^b, l. 16 ; 244^a, l. 1. جويزير (12)
- „ 210^a, l. 18 ; 241^a, l. 1. ابو حاتم (13)
- „ 5^a, l. 19 ; 6^b, l. 15 ; 9^a, l. 1 ; 35^a, l. 21 ;
39^b, l. 14. حسن بصرى (14)
- „ 44^b, l. 12 ; 63^a, l. 11 ; 69^a, l. 19 ;
126^b, l. 9 ; 140^a, l. 9. ابو حنيفة (15)
- „ 241^a, l. 1. الخليل (16)
- See ابو سعيد, infra. خدري
- Ff. 140^b, l. 15. ابو نذر (17)
- „ 13^a, l. 14 ; 175^a, l. 17 ; 270^a, l. 8. ربيع بن انس (18)
- „ 311^b, l. 8. ربيع بن خثيم (19)

- Rf.* 276^a, l. 2; 330^a, l. 4. ربيع
- „ 338^b, l. 10. ابو زين (20)
- „ 347^b, l. 13. ابو روق (21)
- „ 353^b, l. 6. الزجاج (22)
- „ 140^a, l. 10. زفر (23)
- „ 39^a, l. 9; 308^b, l. 1. زهرى (24)
- „ 338^b, l. 9. زيد بن اسلم (25)
- „ 5^b, l. 17; 40^a, l. 1; (see *supra*, s.v. اسمعيل) سدى
89^a, l. 12; 148^a, l. 14; 192^b, l. 17.
- „ 20^a, l. 18; 90^a, l. 9; 154^a, l. 5; سعيد بن جبير (26)
169^b, l. 10; 173^b, l. 2.
- „ 9^b, l. 19; 26^b, l. 1; 41^a, l. 14; ابو سعيد خدرى (27)
67^a, l. 5; 114^a, l. 20.
- „ 191^a, l. 14. سعيد بن المستيب (28)
- „ 356^b, l. 9. سفين (29)
- „ 230^a, l. 20. سليمان بن مهران (30)
- „ 353^b, l. 6. ابو سهل (31)
- „ 287^b, l. 4. ابن سيرين (32)
- „ 69^a, l. 9; 153^b, l. 2; 308^a, l. 11. شافعى (33)
- „ 40^a, l. 9; 67^a, l. 17; 103^b, l. 9; 106^b, l. 20; شعبى (34)
142^b, l. 18.
- „ 276^b, l. 17. شقيق بن سلمه (35)
- „ 230^a, l. 7; 338^b, l. 11. شهر بن حوشب (36)
- „ 339^b, l. 1. ابو صالح (37)
- „ 26^a, l. 9; 78^a, l. 2; 99^b, l. 3; 119^b, l. 8; ضحاک (38)
120^b, l. 5.

- Ff. 34^a, l. 10; 220^a, l. 3; 229^b, l. 5; أبو العالیه (39)
338^a, l. 19.
- „ 134^b, l. 1; 149^a, l. 17; 154^a, l. 1; 176^a, l. 4; عایشه (40)
190^a, l. 10.
- (41) أبو العباس عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن
„ 360^b, l. 15. عباس بن عبد المطلب
(i.e. es-Saffāh, the founder of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty,
died June 9, A.D. 754).
- „ 107^a, ll. 5, 6. عبد الله بن زبير (42)
- „ 4^b, l. 10; 6^b, l. 11; 8^b, l. 20; عبد الله بن عباس (43)
11^a, l. 9; 13^a, l. 16.
- „ 44^b, l. 11; 61^a, l. 7; 75^b, l. 5; عبد الله بن عمر (44)
78^b, l. 4; 136^a, l. 12.
- „ 286^b, l. 14; 367^b, l. 1. عبد الله بن المبارك (45)
- „ 11^a, l. 14; 26^b, l. 1; 39^a, l. 7; عبد الله بن مسعود (46)
52^a, l. 11; 80^a, l. 6.
- (In *sūra xxxix*, v. 34—f. 210^b, l. 10—it is said
that, instead of the received reading:—
وَ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِالْحَقِّ وَ صَدَّقَ بِهِ
(.الَّذِي جَاءَ بِالْحَقِّ وَ صَدَّقَ بِهِ وَ صَدَّقُوا لَهُ
he used to read
- „ 362^b, l. 10. عميد بن عمير (47)
- „ 121^a, l. 1; 230^a, l. 8; 276^a, l. 2; عطاء بن عباس (48)
350^a, l. 15.
- „ 11^a, l. 9; 59^b, l. 18; 92^a, l. 20; 111^a, l. 11; عكرمه (49)
111^b, l. 2.
- „ 28^b, l. 14; 69^a, l. 10; 106^b, l. 17; علي بن ابي طالب (50)
121^a, l. 2; 128^a, l. 20.

- Ff. 343^a, l. 14. (51) أبو عمر
- „ 53^a, l. 2; 112^a, l. 7; 138^a, l. 8; (52) عمر بن الخطاب
176^a, l. 3; 186^b, l. 13.
- „ 329^b, l. 19 (a verse of his cited). (the poet) (53) عنترة
- „ 196^b, l. 20; 197^a, l. 3; 236^b, l. 2; 272^b, l. 1; (54) الفراء
289^b, l. 12.
- „ 3^a, l. 2; 5^b, l. 15; 6^b, l. 12; 25^b, l. 6; (55) قتادة
45^b, l. 3.
- „ 201^a, l. 15; 207^b, l. 20; 271^b, l. 13; (56) قتيبي
286^b, l. 20; 320^b, l. 13.
- „ 343^a, l. 14. (57) ابن كثير
- „ 240^b, l. 21; 253^b, l. 9. (58) الكسائي
- „ 34^a, l. 13; 40^a, l. 16; 127^a, l. 12; (59) كعب الاحبار
144^a, l. 4; 173^b, l. 8.
- (In *súra xxxv*, v. 41 — f. 177^b, l. 14 — he is made
to cite the following passage from the Jewish
Scriptures: هرکت بهر برادر مسلمان جاهی کند
(خون در اسجا افتد).
- „ 191^a, l. 14. (60) محمد بن كعب
- „ 108^a, l. 20; (f. 356^b, l. 17; (61) أبي كعب (ابي بن كعب)
13^b, l. 2; 27^b, l. 17; 40^b, l. 20; 52^b, l. 15.
- (Also cited in a later note inserted on f. 62^a, at the
end of *súra xxiii*).
- „ 21^a, l. 8; 37^a, l. 10; 59^b, l. 21; 72^a, l. 12; (62) الكلبي
74^b, l. 10.
- „ 338^b, l. 17. (63) الكندي
- „ 140^b, l. 9; 308^a, l. 11; 321^a, l. 8. (64) مالك بن انس

- Ff. 3^b, l. 3; 9^b, ll. 3 and 18; 11^a, l. 5; 37^a, l. 7; مجاهد (65)
39^b, l. 10.
- „ 268^b, l. 6. مجمع التیمی (66)
- „ 146^a, l. 3. معاذ بن جبل (67)
- (Cited once: reference unfortunately lost.) ابو معمر (68)
- „ 4^a, l. 6; 14^b, l. 1; 44^b, l. 18; 72^a, l. 10; مقاتل (69)
73^a, l. 9.
- „ 73^a, l. 15. مقداد اسود (70)
- „ 285^b, l. 11. مكحول شامی (71)
- „ 321^b, l. 1. مورج (72)
- „ 264^a, l. 10. المورخ (73)
- „ 89^b, l. 19. ابو موسیٰ الشعری (74)
- „ 100^a, l. 10; 195^b, l. 11; 230^a, l. 15. نافع بن الأزرق (75)
- „ 37^b, l. 5; 98^a, l. 8; 201^b, l. 4; وهب بن منبه (76)
205^a, l. 4; 290^b, l. 3; 326^a, l. 6.
- „ 11^a, l. 6; 116^a, l. 8; 126^b, l. 16; ابو هریره (77)
182^b, l. 12; 230^b, l. 3.
- „ 112^b, l. 11; 188^b, l. 11. یحییٰ بن سلام (78)
- „ 226^a, l. 16. یحییٰ بن معاذ الرازی (79)
- „ 119^b, l. 11. یزید رقاشی (80)
- „ 339^a, l. 13. یعقوب بن السكیت (81)
- „ 44^b, l. 13; 308^a, l. 20. ابو یوسف (82)

Now, as will be seen from the above list, all these authorities are old; many of them are the actual companions or younger contemporaries of the Prophet, others are amongst the best known of the early traditionists, and only a very few fall even

as late as the second half of the third century of the *hijra*. I have not been able to ascertain the exact dates of all, but I think that the most modern of them is Yaḥyá b. Mo'ádh er-Rázi, whose death is generally placed (Ibn Khallikán, Abu'l-Maḥásin, Jámí) in A.H. 258 (A.D. 872), though the *Fihrist* (p. 184) gives A.H. 206. Ibn Ḥanbal is another of the most recent authorities cited: he died in A.H. 241 (=A.D. 855). Speaking broadly, I think it may be safely asserted that, so far as the evidence afforded by the list of authorities goes, there is nothing to show that our commentary was composed at a date later than the end of the third century of the *hijra*, i.e. at the beginning of the tenth century of our era. More, no doubt, might be gleaned as to the channels of tradition used by our author (who commonly cites the ultimate authority only, without giving the *isnád*) by a careful examination of this list and of the passages therein referred to, but for the present I must pass on to another topic. Before doing so I may observe that in the marginal and interlinear notes added by a later hand, one written book is once referred to, viz. the *Tafstru'l-Kawásht*, composed by Muwaffaku'd-Din Aḥmad b. Yúsuḥ-i-Mawṣilí-i-Sheybání-i-Sháfi'í, who died, according to Hájí Khalfa (vol. ii, p. 377, No. 3390) in A.H. 680.

6. *Allusions to historical events not directly connected with the Sacred Text.*

From these but little information as to the probable date of the work can be gathered. The 'Abbásid Caliphs are alluded to, but in a quite general manner, in explaining the meaning of the mysterious letters *حَمَّ عَسَق* prefixed to *súra xlii* (f. 230*), which are thus interpreted: *ح* stands for *حرب قريش* ("the War of the Kureysh"); *م* for *ملك أمية* ("the Empire of the Omayyads"); *ع* for *دولت عباسيان* ("the Dynasty of the 'Abbásids"); *س* for *بيرون آمدن سفيان*

(“the coming forth of Sofyán”); and قى for ظهور قائم (“the Manifestation of Him who shall arise,” i.e. the Mahdí). The last two are prophetic, not historical, and belong to the cycle of prodigies connected with that mysterious “Last Time” (آخر الزمان) in the contemplation of which the Persian Muslim is so prone to indulge. We might, therefore, fairly assume that the author of our commentary expected the ‘Abbásid rule to continue until the end of all things; but this does not materially help us, for, though their actual authority in Persia began to wane rapidly during the latter part of the ninth century, they continued to receive a more or less nominal allegiance from the sovereigns of successive dynasties—Sámánids, Ghaznavids, Seljúks, etc.—until the time of the Mongol invasion, i.e. until a date very little anterior to the date of transcription of our MS.

The Omayyads, with the exception of the pious ‘Omar II, are, of course, severely censured, e.g. on f. 254^b, *d propos* of the words (in *súra* xlvi, v. 24) *وَتَقَطَّعُوا أَرْحَامَكُمْ*.

7. Soundness of the tradition followed.

Not only is our commentator (as will be seen shortly) sober and moderate in his views, but he seems also to follow, as a rule, old and good traditions from which many, even of the earlier, commentators depart. Thus he recognizes *Rahmán* as a name of God, not an attribute; for he says (f. 238^b, ll. 3–5), in commenting on v. 44 of *súra* xliii:

بس جو ما نفرموديم ايشان مر بتانرا جرا همى برستند بخدايى
ديگر ايدون گويد مر انكسهارا ببرس كما سوى ايشان رسولان فرستاديم
بیش از تو از مومنان اهل كتاب كى ما هيچ كس را فرموده بوديم

کجزیکت خدای کنام اور حمن است مر کسهای دیگرا بخدایی
برستند.

He also knows that *Furqán* need not, as the Muham-
madans commonly believed, mean "that which *separates*
Truth from Falsehood," but may have the signification of
"salvation," "deliverance" (though perhaps he did not
recognize it as a loan-word from the Syriac); for he says
(f. 32^b, ll. 9-11; xxi, v. 49):

و لَقَدْ آتَيْنَا بَخْدَايَ كَه دَانِيم مَا مُوسَى وَ هَرُونَ الْفُرْقَانَ وَ نِيَاءَ
موسى و هرونرا حجتى كه جدا كردى بدان حجت میان حق و
باطل حجتى روشن و نیز گفته اند فرقان توریه است كه درو فرق
است میان حق و باطل و نیز گفته اند الفرقان نصرتش دانیم بر
دشمن و رستگارى و حلال و حرام بدید كردیم.

He also gives (f. 49^a, ll. 5-12) a full account of the verses:

تلك الغرائق العلى منها الشفاعة ترجى

which the Prophet was tempted (at the Devil's suggestion,
as the Muslim commentators assert) to insert in the
Súratu'n-najm; an incident often ignored by Muhammadan
theologians.

Again (f. 116^a, ll. 8-11), he explicitly states, on the
authority of Abú Hureyra, that the Prophet's uncle Abú
Tálib died a pagan; while even Ibn Hishám (ed. Wüsten-
feld, p. 278) tries to show that he embraced Islám on his
death-bed.

The following curious passage (f. 261^b, l. 12 *et seq.*) seems
worth noticing, though I know not to what heresy the
commentator alludes when he speaks of professing Muslims
who account Adam more excellent than Muḥammad:

و اندر میان مسلمانان اختلاف نیست كى محمد صلى الله عليه
وسلم از همه بیغامبران فاضلتر است جز گروهى كه ایشان را كس
بشمار نبرن كایشان گویند كادم از محمد عليه السلم فاضلتر بون.

8. *Views of the author.*

That our author was not a Shí'ite is clear from many passages. In enumerating the orthodox Caliphs (الراشدون المهديون) on f. 48^a, l. 5, he omits the name of 'Othmán; but that this is accidental, not intentional, appears from another passage (f. 208^b, l. 13) in which all four are mentioned in eulogistic terms; and from a panegyric on the virtues of each extending from f. 261^b, l. 19 to f. 263^a, l. 13. Although here and elsewhere (*e.g.* on f. 355^a, in commentating vv. 1-3 of *súra xov*) he speaks with especial respect of 'Alí and his family, he discusses, with apparently equal lack of sympathy, the views of the Ráfi'is (Shí'ites) and of the Harúris (a sect of Khárijites, who repudiated 'Alí) on f. 308^a. With the Mu'tazilites, Kaðaris, or partisans of the doctrine of Free-will, he has clearly no sympathy, for he declares (on f. 283^b, l. 10) v. 53 of *súra liv* to be a refutation of their doctrines.

To which of the four orthodox schools of the Sunnites he belonged is not clear, for he cites the views of all without indicating a preference for any one, though Abú Hanífa's opinion is most often adduced. He may perhaps be guarding himself against the anthropomorphic views of the Hanbalite school when, in commenting on v. 75 of *súra xxxviii*, he says (f. 207^a, l. 1 *et seq.*), *à propos* of the words لِمَا خَلَقْتُ بِيَدَيَّ :

بِيَدَيَّ خُونِ اَفْرِيدَمِ و ما مريدرا بارسی گفتن روا نه بينيم ندانيم
 كه يد جيست و لكن دانيم كي خصوصيت است مراهرينش ادم را
 خاصه كي جيزه‌هاى ديگر را ان خصوصيت نيست و ابليس را ان
 خصوصيت نبوت و ان خصوصيت را يد خواند تا افرينش ادم را بر
 افرينش ابليس و جيزه‌هاى ديگر فضل بون بدان خصوصيت و اندرين
 باب. بيش ازين خوض نشايد كردن تا تشبيه نبايد كرد .

9. *Where and when did the Author live?*

Of these two questions the first is the easier to answer. Only one passage in the whole volume gives any indication of the author's dwelling-place, but that one seems to me to show pretty conclusively that he wrote in Khurásán. The passage in question occurs on f. 288^a, l. 7, in the commentary on v. 27 of *súra* lvi, and runs as follows:

فی بیدر مَحْضُودِ اَندَرِ مِیوهایِ سَدرِ باشند و سَدرا باری سَنار
گَویند و بخراسان از آن نباشد .

“‘*Fi sidrⁱⁿ mahkⁱⁿhūdⁱⁿ*’ ‘amongst the fruit of the *sidr*-tree will they dwell’; in Persian the *sidr*-tree is called *kunār*, but it does not occur in Khurásán.”

As to *when* the author lived, that is a much more difficult question, to the answering of which what has gone before is, for the most part, preparatory. If we take the word *sāhibuhu* in the colophon as meaning ‘its author,’ then, of course, the question is settled once and for all: the commentary was composed at any rate not long before A.H. 628 (A.D. 1231), and the manuscript is the author's autograph. But can we take *sāhibuhu* in this sense here? I think not. The absence of allusions to any authority later than the second half of the third century of the *hijra*; the fact that, although in Arabic the word *ṣāhib*, as applied to a book, properly means *author*, in Persian it commonly means *owner*; the absence of all mention of a commentator named Muḥammad b. Abi'l Faṭḥ; but more than all this the archaic character of the language in which the commentary is written, all seem to me to point in the opposite direction, and to indicate a much earlier date for its composition. How much earlier it is hard to say. The language appears to me to be quite as archaic as that of the *Shāhnāma*, which was completed in A.H. 400 (A.D. 1009–1010). And if this be admitted, it would really point to the higher antiquity of the commentary; for Firdawsī certainly studied to be

archaic, and is, in fact, much more so than his contemporaries, while our commentator studies only to make himself clear, and evidently chooses such words and expressions as his contemporaries can most easily understand. Therefore the occurrence of a given word or expression in the commentary shows that it was still in actual use, nay, was the commonest and simplest word whereby at that time the idea to be connoted could be expressed; while the occurrence of the same word in the *Sháhnáma* would prove only that it was within the antiquarian knowledge of Firdawsí, an ardent admirer and student of Persian antiquity. The *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí, in short, was, like the *Brut* of our English Layamon, in some sense a *tour de force*—an artificial, though consummately skilful, attempt to restore, by exclusion of the foreign words which had invaded the language, a national tongue belonging to a past generation.

There is another similar fact which, to my mind, tells very strongly in favour of the antiquity of the commentary, and that is that in a good many cases quite common Arabic words, which must have been thoroughly naturalised in Persian long before the thirteenth century of our era, and, indeed, even before the eleventh century, are explained by their Persian equivalents, evidently because the commentator thought that their meaning might not be clear to his readers. I will give a few instances:

(1.) On f. 126^b, l. 20, the word *kitáb*, 'book,' is explained as follows in *súra* xxix, v. 47:

وَمَا كُنْتُمْ تَقْلُوبُوا مِنْ قَبْلِهِ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَنُبُودِي تَوَايَ مُحَمَّدٍ خَوَانِدَه
بیش از قرآن کتابی را و کتاب نامه باشد ای نامه نبشته.

(2.) On f. 142^b, l. 21, the word *mauj* 'a wave,' is explained as follows in *súra* xxxi, v. 31:

مَوْجٌ مَوْجِيٌّ وَ مَوْجٌ نَرَةٌ أَبٌ بِأَشَدِّ هَرَجٍ أَزْ أَبٍ بَلَنْدَتَرِ شُونَ أَنْ
موج است.

(3.) On f. 162^a, l. 15, the commentator thinks it necessary to explain the common expression 'arḡa kardan 'to offer,' 'represent,' in *sūra xxxiii*, v. 72:

إِنَّا عَرَضْنَا الْأَمَانَةَ مَا عَرَضَ كَرِيمٌ وَعَرَضَ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِشَيْءٍ
كَسَى أَرَادَ تَأْتِيهِ بَيْنَهُ .

(4.) On f. 188^b, l. 9, the word *fitna*, in *sūra xxxvii*, v. 61, is explained as follows:

إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاهَا فِتْنَةً لِّلظَّالِمِينَ مَا أَفْرَدِينَا أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِشَيْءٍ
مِّمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا وَمَا أَفْرَدِينَا أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا
مِمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا وَمَا أَفْرَدِينَا أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا
مِمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا وَمَا أَفْرَدِينَا أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّمَّنْ كَانُوا فِيهَا .

(5.) On f. 90^b, *sūra xxvi*, v. 74, the common word *taḡlīd* 'imitation,' 'blind conformity,' is explained as follows:

كَذَلِكَ يَفْعَلُونَ هَمَجِينَ مَي كَرَدَنَد وَ اِيْشَانَرَا مَي بَرَسْتِيْزَنَد مَا
نِيْز بَرِي بَدْرَان رُوِيْم وَ هَرَج اِيْشَان كَرَدَنَد هَمَان كَنِيْم وَ دَرِيْن اِيْت
بَدِيْذ كَرْدَه اَسْت نَكُوْهَش تَقْلِيْد وَ فَسَاد قَوْل اِنْكَس كِي اَوْ بَتَقْلِيْد
كُوِيْذ وَ تَقْلِيْد اِنْ يَأْتِيْ كِي كَرِي مَي كَنَد اَوْرَا كُوِيْزَنَد جَرَا مَي
كَنِي كُوِيْذ بَرَه بَر كَرْدَن فُلَان كِي اَوْ كَرْد مَن هَمَان كَنَم كِي اَوْ كَرْد .

For all these reasons I think it probable that this commentary was written at an earlier date than the *Shāhnāma*, probably during the tenth century of our era, possibly even as early as the end of the ninth century. If this view be correct, it is not only the oldest known Persian commentary on the *Qur'ān*, but probably the oldest Persian prose work composed subsequently to the Muhammadan conquest of Persia. Here, however, I feel that I am beginning to pass from the solid ground of the Positive, and to enter the region of Conjecture. Although I have submitted the manuscript to a pretty exhaustive examination, I may have overlooked points of importance which might help to fix the date. Also I am well aware that the material here published, however carefully collected, might have been

better worked up. But, knowing how often good material is lost, or practically lost, because he who has gathered it together will not send it forth save in an ideally perfect form which practically he cannot bestow upon it; remembering, too, those wise words of Háfiz—

آفتهاست در تأخیر و طالب را زیان دارد

(“There are perils in delay, and it is injurious to the student”);

and reflecting that the mere publication of such a notice as this often suffices to elicit from other scholars criticisms and remarks of the greatest value (and such criticism I earnestly desire), I send forth this imperfect notice of a manuscript which I deem, on several grounds, to be of great interest and importance. I hope, at no very distant date, to be able to publish more copious selections of the text than the few pages of specimen extracts (drawn entirely from the first 65 leaves) which I here subjoin.

SPECIMEN EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD COMMENTARY ON THE
KUR'ÁN DESCRIBED IN THE FOREGOING PAGES.

[*N.B.*—The original spelling and pointing, even when erroneous or inconsistent, have almost invariably been retained. In one or two cases only has an omitted dot been restored.]

I (f. 7^a, ll. 5–9; ch. xix, v. 38). *Christian sects.*

فَأَخْتَلَفَ الْأَحْزَابُ مِنْ بَيْنِهِمْ نَاسِرُوا شَذَنُوا مَرَّ يَكْدِيغُورَا هَر
فرقتی و جماعتی از ترسانان مَرَّ فرقتی دیگرا و احزاب جمع
حزب است و حزب گروهی باشد گُرد امده در معصیت خدای
تعالی و ایشان سباه دیو باشند و ترسانان سه گروه شدند یکت گروه
از ایشانرا نسطوری خوانند و گروهی دیگرا یعقوبی خوانند و گروهی
دیگرا ملکایی خوانند و مقالتهای ایشان بیش ازین گفته ایم .

II (f. 16^b, l. 11—f. 17^a, l. 1; ch. xx, v. 41). *An etymology of Moses' name.*

وَتَكَاتَكْ فُكُونَا مِي اَز مَوْنَدِيم تَرَا بِنَعْمَتِي اَز بَس نَعْمَتِي وَ مَحْنَتِي
 اَز بَس مَحْنَتِي بِيَش اَز بِيَا مِيرِي اَز مَوْنَدِي وَ نِيَز كُفْتِه اَنَد بَرَهَانِيْدِيم
 تَرَا رَهَانِيْدِنِي اَز مَحْنَتِي بَس مَحْنَتِي مَحْسَتِيْن مَحْنَتِ اَن بُوْد كِي
 اُو دَر شَكَم مَانَدِر حَمَل كُشْت دَر سَالِي كِه فِرْعَوْن كُوْنَدَا نَرَا مِي كُشْت
 اَز اَن مَحْنَتَش بَرَهَانِيْدِيم بَس مَانَدِرَش دَر دَرِيَا اَفَكَنْد بَس شِيْر
 نَسْتَد مَلْغَر شِيْر مَانَدِر بَس رِيَش فِرْعَوْن بَغْرُفْت فِرْعَوْن خَوَاسْت كِه
 اَوْرَا بَكَشْد دُو طَبَقِي يَكِي اَنِكُشْت اَفْرُوخْتِه يَكِي يَاقُوْت سَرخ بِيَش
 اُو نِهَانْد اَز بَهْر اَز مَآيَش كِي اَيْسِيَه مِي كُفْت كِه اُو اَز نَادَانِي كَرْد
 وَ مَوْسِي خَوَاسْت كِي يَاقُوْت بَر گُيْرْد جَبْرِيْل رَا بَانِشَاه بَفِرْسْتَاد تَا
 دَسْت اُو سُوِي اَتَش بَرْد تَا اَتَش بَر گُفْرْت بَذَان سَبَب اَز كُشْتَن
 فِرْعَوْن بَرَسْت بَس مَحْنَتِي دِيْغَر اَن بُوْد كِجُوْن قَبْطِي رَا بَكُشْت
 فِرْعَوْن تَدْبِيْر كَرْد رَاي زَنْدَن كِي اَوْرَا قِصَاص بَايْذ كَرْد مَرْدِي كِه دَر اَن
 مَجْلِس حَاضِر بُوْد وَ دُوسْت مَوْسِي دُوَان بِيَا مَذ وَ مَوْسِي رَا خَبْر كَرْد
 كِه اَيْشَان دَر دَل جِه دَارَنْد وَ خَوَاهَنْد كِي تَرَا بَكُشَنْد مَوْسِي
 بَغْرِيخْت اَزِيْن هَمِه مَحْنَتِهَاش بَرَهَانِيْدِيم بِيَش اَز بِيَا مِيرِي وَ عِبْد
 اللّٰه عَبَّاس مِي كُوْبِيْذ كِي جُوْن اَب مَوْسِي رَا بَرَابَر اَن حَوْض كِه
 كُنِيْزَكَا ن اَز اَجَا اَب بَرْدَنْدِي¹ تَا بُوْت مَوْسِي دَر مِيَا ن دَر خُشْتَان
 بِيَا وَ بَحْت كُنِيْزَكَا ن بَغْرُفْتَنْد اَوْرَا وَ بَنْزْدِيْكُ اَيْسِيَه بَرْدَنْد وَ مَوْ بِيْزَا ن
 عِبْرِي اَب بَلْشَد وَ شِي دَر خُشْت بَاشْد جُوْن مِيَا ن اَب وَ دَر خُشْتَش
 يَافْتَنْد مَوْسِي نَام كَرْدَنْد اِي كِه اَب وَ دَر خُشْت وَ تَا زِيَا نَش مَوْسِي
 * خَوَانْد

¹ A word (برد or آورد) seems to have been accidentally omitted here.

III (f. 32^b, ll. 9-11; xxi, v. 49). *Meaning of 'Furkân.'*

وَ لَقَدْ آتَيْنَا بَخْدَايَ كَه دَادِيم مَا مُوسَى وَ هَرُونَ الْفُرْقَانَ وَ ضِيَاءَ
 موسی و هرونرا حجتی که جزا کردی بدان حجت میان حق و باطل
 حجتی روشن و نیز گفته اند فرقان توریة است که درو فرق است
 میان حق و باطل و نیز گفته اند الفرقان نصرتش دادیم بردشمن
 و رست کاری و حلال و حرام بدید کردیم *

IV (f. 33^b, ll. 2-13; xxi, v. 64). *Falsehood occasionally justifiable.*

قَالَ بَلْ فَعَلَهُ كَبِيرُهُمْ كُفْت ابرهیم بل کی کرد مهتر ایشان ای بت
 بزرگ هَذَا این بت کی تبر بر کردن اوست از خشم انک جرا بتان
 خردرا برو برابر می کنند در برستش و بذین ان خواست تا حجت
 بریشان درست کند بس گفت فَسَلُّوْهُمْ بمرسید ازیشان تا کی کرد
 این براستای ایشان و کی شکست ایشانرا اِنْ كَانُوا يَكْفُوْنَ اِثْر
 هستند سخن گویان و اِثْر توانند کی سخن گویند و درین ایت
 مفسرانرا تاویلهاست تا دروغ از ابرهیم نفی کنند ای کی دور کنند
 و حاجت نیست بدان تاویل کی همه خردمندان دروغ از بهر
 باطل کردن باطلی و درست کردن حقی روا داشته اند و نیکو
 داشته اند انرا و در شریعت هم رواست و در خبر امده است کی
 ابرهیم خلیل صلوات الله علیه سه دروغ گفت نگفت از ان دروغ
 یکی مگر از بهر انک تا درست کند اسلام را و باطل کند کفررا و یکی
 از ان اینست بل فعله کبیرهم و دیگری انی سقیم و سدیگران بوند
 کی سارهرا گفت زن خودرا که خواهر منست و ان مفسران که

تاویل کرده اند گروهی گفته اند فعله کبیرهم خودرا خواست گفت
 که ایشانرا شکست بزرگ ایشان و ان خودرا خواست ای که من
 شکستم و ایشان بی نیفتادند بنداشتند بت را می گویند
 و گروهی گفته اند بل فعله کبیرهم بیوسته ان گانوا ینطقونه است بت
 بزرگ ایشان شکست ایشانرا برسید ایشانرا اگر توانند کی سخن
 گویند ای که جنانک سخن گفتن ازیشان محالست بت شکستن
 از بب بزرگ محالست *

V (f. 34^a, ll. 8-17; xxi, v. 69). *Abraham delivered from
 Nimrod's fire.*

قُلْنَا يَا نَارُ كُونِي بَرْدًا وَسَلَامًا عَلَىٰ إِبْرَاهِيمَ گفتیم باش ای آتش سرد
 سلامت و تن درست ای که بر ابرهیم سرد گرد سردی که ابرهیم را
 رنج نرسد و در علم آمده است که سرما او دفع کرد گرمای او را و
 گرمای او دفع کرد¹ سرمای او را و سلامت گشت بر ابرهیم و ابو
 العالیه می گویند که اگر نگفتی که سرد باش بر ابرهیم و این تقیید
 نکردی تا بقیامت سرد بماندی و قتاده می گویند که آتش ازو
 سوخت مگر بند او را و یکی از مفسران² می گویند کی ابرهیم را در
 آتش انداختند و او صد و بیست و شش ساله بود کعب احبار می
 گویند هیچ جانوری نبود ان روز که نه آتش نمرون می بکشت تا
 ابرهیم را نسوزد مگر این شکند که او آتش را می دمید و می افروخت
 و رسول صلوات الله علیه فرمود تا شکندرا بکشند و آمده است در
 علم کی هفت شبان روز ابرهیم را اندر آتش بداشتند و آتش می
 سوخت بس هفت شبان روز سران آتش ببوشیدند بس روز دیگر

¹ Sic, for کرد.

² Sic, for متران.

بکشاندند بنگریستند گرونه ابرهیم بنه گشته بون ویکت موی او نسوخته
 بون و امده است که آتش همه جهان سرد شد و هیچ نانی نبخت
 و بر هیچ چیز کار نکرد *

VI (f. 35^a, l. 15—f. 35^b, l. 10; xxi, v. 79). *The wisdom of
 David and Solomon.*

فَقَهْمُنَاكَا سُلَيْمَنَ دَرِيَا بَانِيذِيمِ سَلِيمَانِرَا جَوَابِ اَنْ مَسَلَهْ كِي دَاوِدْ
 صَلَوَاتِ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْهِ خَلَاْفِ اَنْ حَكْمْ كَرْدَهْ بُونْ وَ فِهْمْ دَانِيْمِ سَلِيمَانِرَا تَا
 حَكْمِي كَرْدْ كِي اَنْ بَصَوَابْ تَزْدِيكَتْ تَرِ بُونْ وَ كَلَّا اَتَيْنَا حَكْمَا وَ عِلْمَا
 وَ هَمْمَرَا دَانِيْمِ اِي كِه دَاوِدْرَا وَ سَلِيمَانِرَا حَكْمِي صَوَابْ وَ عِلْمِي دَرِ
 حَكْمِ اَيْنِ دَلِيلِ مِي كَنْدْ كِه اَنْجْ دَاوِدْ كَرْدْ صَوَابْ بُونْ وَ اَنْجْ سَلِيمَانِ
 كَرْدْ صَوَابْ بُونْ اَمَّا حَكْمِ سَلِيمَانِ بِهْ اَمْدْ هَرْدُو خَصْمِ دَرَانِ بُونْ وَ دَرِ
 حَكْمِ دَاوِدْ بِهْ اَمْدْ يَكِي گِرُوَهْ بُونْ اَزْ بَهْرِ اَيْنِ اَنْ اَوْلِيْتَرِ اَمْدْ وَ اَنْجْ كُفْتْ
 كِه فِهْمْ دَانِيْمِ سَلِيمَانِرَا اَنْ مَسَلَهْ كِي اَوْرَا فَضِيلَتِ نَهَادْ بَدَانِ مَسَلَهْ
 اَزْ بَهْرَانَكْ اَوْ دَرِ خَرْدَنَكِي اَيْنِ مَسَلَهْ دَرِ يَافْتْ وَ دَاوِدْ دَرِ بَزْرُوكِي وَ اَزْ
 كُوْنْدَكُنْ جَنْبِيْنِ حَكْمِي عَجَبْ بَاشْدْ وَ نَشَايْذْ كِه كَسِي گُرُوِيْذْ كِه دَاوِدْ
 غَلَطْ كَرْدْ كِي بِيغَامَبِرَانِ صَلَوَاتِ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْهِمْ مَعْصُومَانِدْ اَزْ غَلَطْ وَ خَطَا
 وَ حَسَنِ بَصَرِي مِي گُرُوِيْذْ اَثْرِ اَيْنِ اَيْتِ نَيْسْتِي قَاضِيَانِ هَلَاكْ شَدَهْ
 اَنْدِي وَ عِلْمَا كُفْتَهْ اَنْدْ كِه بِيغَامَبِرَانِرَا بَا جِهَادِ حَاجَتِ نَيْسْتِ كِي
 وَحِي اَسْمَانِ مَنِ اِيْذْ وَ بَعْضِي كُفْتَهْ اَنْدْ كِي رَوَا بَاشْدْ كِي اَجْتِهَادِ كَنْدْ
 كِي اَجْتِهَادِ فَضِيلَتِسْتِ رَوَا نَبَاشْدْ كِي اَيْشَانِرَا اَيْنِ فَضِيلَتِ نَبَاشْدْ
 وَ اَثْرِ گُرُوِيْذْ كِي دَاوِدْ جِگَرُوَهْ نَقْضِ كَرْدْ حَكْمِ خُوْدْرَا بَا جِهَادِ سَلِيمَانِ
 جَوَابِ اَنْسْتِ كِي دَاوِدْ حَكْمِ نَكْرَدَهْ بُونْ فَتْوِي دَاوَهْ بُونْ وَ كُفْتَهْ بُونْ
 كِي حَكْمِ بَدِيْنِ فَتْوِي خَوَاهَمْ كَرْدْ جَوْنِ فَتْوِي سَلِيمَانِ بَدِيْذِ اَزْ فَتْوِي

خود رجوع کرد و روا باشد که انج سلیمان گفت بوحی گفت و داود باجتهاد حکم کرد از بهر آن نقص کرد کی اجتهاد بنص باطل شون و هر اجتهادی که مخالف نص قرانست باطل است * فصل *
 ببايد دانست حکم این مسله در شریعت ما انج در شریعت ماست انست کی جون ستوران در کشت مردمان اوفتند و بخورند بشب یا بروز تاوان واجب نیاید از بهر انک رسول گفت صلی الله علیه و سلم التَّجْمَأُ جَبَّارٌ کَرْدَهٗ ستوران که زبان گوینده ندارند هدرست و بی قیمت و این مذهب عراقیانست ابو حنیفه و یاران او و مذهب شافعی انست کی هر چه بشب تباه کنند و در کشت کسی اوفتند تاوان بر خذاوند ستور واجب ایذ و انج بروز هلاک کنند تاوان بر خذاوند ستور واجب نیاید *

VII (f. 36^a, l. 14—f. 37^a, l. 3; xxi, vv. 83, 84). *The Story of Job.*

قصه^۱ حسن بصری می گویند کی ایوب بسر موص خدای تعالی اورا خواسته بسیار دان و فرزندان خواستش هلاک شد و فرزندانش بمردند گفت ای خذاوند من بسیار نیکوی کردی براستای من بهلاک شدن مال من و مردن فرزندان من از بهر انک مرا مشغول می کردند هر دو روز بنگاه داشت مال مشغول بوزم و شب بنگاه^۱ داشت فرزندان اکنون ببردازم از بهر خدمت تو گوش خویش و چشم خویش و شب خویش و روز خویش بزبان ثنای تو گویم و بدل ترا یان دارم جون بر نیامد ابلیس را حیلت او و نتوانست که اورا در فتنه افگند مبتلا شد ایوب بتن خویش تا

¹ Sic, for نگاه.

ریش گشت هفت اندام او و کرم درو افتاد و سخت شد بلای او تا
 او بدان رسید کی او را بر خاک دان بنی اسرائیل بینداختند و کس
 بر او نشدنی جز زن او کی برو صبر کرد و از مردمان نان خواستی و
 ایوب را دادی و سه تن بدو گرویده بودند چون آن بلا بدیدند هر
 سه برگشتند و ایوب صلوات الله علیه هر روز حمد و ثنای خدای
 زیادت می گفت و ابلیس می کوشید کی مگر او را برگرداند از دین
 خویش یا سخنی گوید که در آن جزعی باشد و یا کله از خدای خویش
 و نمی توانست بس دیوانرا گرد کرد و بریشان تدبیر کرد و ازیشان
 رای خواست کی جکنم تا ایوب را بی راه کنم یا از مرتبه خویش
 بیفکنم گفتند مرورا بر ادم چه کردی که از بهشتش بیفگندی و از
 کدام راه در آمدی برو ابلیس گفت زن او را بفریتم حواری تا بدان
 راه ادم را در زلت افگندم دیوان گفتند بر ایوب همین کن و زنش را
 بفریب ابلیس گفت رای اینست گشما می گویند بس امد بر زن
 ایوب و یان کرد مرورا ریحهای ایوب از بس جمال او و مال او و
 فرزند او زن ایوب بخروشید و طمع افتاد دشمن خدای را ابلیس
 درو کی از راهش ببرد بس بزچه تر بیارود و گفت ایوب را بگوی
 تا این بزچه را بسمل کند و به شود وزن او دختر میشا بون بسر
 یوسف یعقوب بس زن ایوب بیامد خروشان تا بر ایوب و گفت
 ای ایوب تا کی عذاب خواهد کرد ترا خدای تو و نخواهد بخشون
 بر تو کجا شد ان مال و کجا شد ان فرزندان و کجا شدند ان
 دوستان کجا شد ان روی نیکوی تو کی جای کرمان گشت این
 بزچه بسمل کن تا برهی ایوب گفت دشمن خدای بر تو امد و
 در تو دمید باهستگی تا باسخ دادی او را چرا می گری بر من
 چه گوی ان مال و فرزندان و جوانی و تن درستی مرا که داده بون

زن گفت خدای داده بون گفت چند سال در نعمت زیستیم و ما را بر خورداری داد بدان زن گفت هشتاد سال بس گفت چند سالست تا ما را مبتلا کرده است بدین گفت هفت سال و ماهی چند گفت ایوب و یلک بخدای که انصاف نمی دهی خدای خویش را جرا صبر نکنی در بلا هشتاد سال جنابک در نعمت هشتاد سال بودیم بس گفت بخدای که اگر مرا خدای شفا دهد صد تازیانه است بزنم بس براندش از بر خون و گفت حرام است بر من هر چه تو اری اگر بخورم بس ابلیس بیک بارگی نو میزد شد از فتنه ایوب و ایوب بماند تنها سجده کرد و گفت ای خدایانده مسنی الضر و انت ارحم الراحمین و روایت کرده است جویر از صحاک از عبد الله عباس که سبب بلای ایوب آن بود کی درویشی کسی برو ستمی می کرد فریاد خواست از ایوب که ان ستم ازو باز دارند او نداشت و نیز گفته اند کی مبتلا شد بی گناهی تا ثواب ان او را مَدَّخِر مَانِدَ قَاسًا جَبَّتَا لَهُ مَسْأَجِبًا کَرِیمِ دَعَا اَوْرَا فَكَشَفْنَا مَا بِوِ مِنْ ضُرٍّ و برگزفتم ازو ان رنج که برو بود ای که ببردم ازو ان بیماری او و آتیتاه اهلک و دادیم سرورا فرزندان او و مثلهم معهم و هم چند ایشان بریشان فرزندان دیگر و ان جنان بود که خدای تعالی زنده کرد هرکی مرده بودند از بسران و دختران او و هم چند ایشان فرزندان دان و عبد الله عباس می گوید هر خواسته کی از ان از بشده بود دو جندان باز دان رَحْمَةً مِنْ هِنْدِنَا بِحُشُونِمْ بَرُو بِحُشُونِمْ که جز ما ان بخشایش کس نتواند کی از بس نماز دیگر تا انگاه کی انتاب فرو شد برو ملخ زرین می بارید و نوگری لیلعابدین و قصه ایوب بندیست مریکی گویانرا کی خدایرا بیکی می برستند *

VIII (f. 37^a, ll. 3-15 ; xxi, v. 85). *The Story of Dhū'l-Kifl.*

وَاسْمَعِيلَ وَادْرِيسَ وَيَاذُكُنْ اِسْمَعِيلَ بِيغَامْبِرَا وَاَدْرِيسَا وَدَا
 الْكِفْلِ كُلِّ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ وَذُو الْكِفْلِ رَا هَمَّ بُونَد اَز شَكِيْبَان بَرگَزَار
 طَاعَتِ مَا و بَر بَلَاهَا كِه بَذِيْشَان رَسِيْذ و عِلْمَارَا خِلَافِ اسْتِ دَر ذُو
 الْكِفْلِ گَرْهِيْ گُفْتَنَد كِه او اِلْيَاسِ بِيغَامْبِرِ اسْتِ و گَرْهِيْ گُفْتَنَد كِيْ او
 يَسَعَ بِيغَامْبِرِ اسْتِ و نَامِ او بَشْرِ بِنِ اَيُوْبِ اسْتِ و گَرْهِيْ گُفْتَهْ اَنَد
 كِه او بِيغَامْبِرِ نَبُوْدِ مَرْدِيْ بُوْدِ بَارَسَا بَبَذِيْرِفْتِ كَارِ بِيَاْمِيْرِيْ بَكُنَدِ و فَا
 كَرْدِ و بَكْرَدِ و مَجَاهِدِ مِيْ گُوِيْذِ كِيْ جُوْنِ يَسَعَ بِيغَامْبِرَا اَجَلِ نَزْدِيْكَ
 اَمْدِ اسْتِ خُوِيْشِ رَا گَرْدِ كَرْدِ و گُفْتِ هَرَكْتِ اَز مَن سَهْ كَارِ بَبَذِيْرِنِ اوْرَا
 خَلِيْفَتِ خُوْنِ كَنَمِ هَمِيْشَهْ بَرُوْزِ رُوْزَهْ دَارِنِ و بَشَبِ قِيَامِ كُنَدِ و دَر
 خَشْمِ نَشُوْدِ مَرْدِيْ بَر خَاسْتِ كِيْ دَر جَشْمِ مَرْدَمَانِ دَر نِيَاْمِذِ گُفْتِ
 مَن اِيْنِ هَر سَهْ بَكْنَمِ يَسَعَ اوْرَا خَلِيْفَتِ خُوْنِ كَرْدِ و بَهْرَسَهْ و فَا كَرْدِ ذُو
 الْكِفْلِ اوْسْتِ و كَلْبِيْ مِيْ گُوِيْذِ كِيْ جِهَارِ صَدِ بِيغَامْبِرِ بُوْدَنَدِ سِيْصَدِ
 اَزِيْشَانِ كَشْتَهْ شَدِ و صَدِ بَمَانَدِ ذُو الْكِفْلِ هَر صَدْرَا بَبَذِيْرِفْتِ و
 خَدْمَتِ اِيْشَانِ مِيْ كَرْدِ و دَر بَايَسْتِ اِيْشَانِ اَز آَبِ و نَانِ مِيْ
 دَانَدِ و نِيْزِ گُفْتَهْ اَنَدِ كِيْ ذُو الْكِفْلِ مَرْدِيْ بُوْدِ بَارَسَا و دَر رُوْزْخَاْرِ او
 جَبَاْرِيْ بُوْدِ اَز جَبَاْرَانِ ذُو الْكِفْلِ مِيَاْمِجِيْ شَدِ كِيْ اَكْرِ تُوْبَهْ كُنَدِ
 بَهِيْشْتِ يَابْذِ اَنِ مَرْدِ اَز مُلْكْتِ بِيْرُوْنِ اَمْدِ و قِبَالَهْ اَز ذُو الْكِفْلِ بَسْتَنَدِ
 جُوْنِ فَرْمَانِ يَافْتِ اَنِ قِبَالَهْ بَرُوْدِنِ كَرْدَنَدِ بَاْمَدَاْدَانِ قِبَالَهْرَا بَاذِ (sic)
 يَافْتَنَدِ بِيْشِ اِيْشَانِ و نَبِيْشْتَهْ دَرُوْ كِيْ خُدَايِ تَعَالِيْ و فَا كَرْدِ بَذَانِجِ ذُو
 الْكِفْلِ مِيَاْمِجِيْ شَدَهْ بُوْدِ اِيْ كِه بَهِيْشْتِ دَانِ اَنِ مَرْدِ تَايِبِرَا *

IX (f. 37^b, l. 13—f. 38^a, l. 12; xxi, vv. 87, 88). *The Story of Jonah.*

قصه ' عبد الله عباس می گوید کی ملکی بود نام او یغلث برده کرد از بنی اسرائیل نه سبط و نیم سبطرا و ان عقوبتی بود مر ایشانرا از خدای تعالی چون مدت عقوبت ایشان سبری شد وحی کرد خدای تعالی بحزقیل بیغامبر کی بتزدیکت جزقیا ملک شو و بگوی او را کی مردی جلد و امین و بیغامبر بتزدیکت یغلث ملک فرست تا بگوید او را کی دست باز دار از بندگان من و من از ایشان خشنود شدم و مدت عقوبت ایشان بگذشت بس جزقیا یونس بن متی را بخواند و فرمود او را تا بسوی ان ملک رود بس گفت خدای عز و جل مرا نام زد کرده است و ترا گفتست کی یونس را فرست گفت نه و لکن مرا فرموده است کی بیامبری جلد و امین فرست و ان توی یونس گفت جز من جلدان و امینان بسیارند ایشانرا فرست ملک گفت جز ترا نفرستم و ترا باید رفت از بیش ان ملک بخشم بیرون امذ و در دریا نشست چون کشتی در میانه دریا رسید موجها بخاست و کشتی جنان شد کی نزدیک بود کی غرق شون مردمانی که در کشتی بودند و کشتی بانان گفتند که در میان ما مردی است گناه کار او را در اب اندازیم تا کشتی بیارامذ یونس گفت منم ان مرد عاصی مردمان کشتی گفتند ما اولی تریم بمعصیت از تو قرعه زدند سه بار نام یونس بدید امذ یونس بر خاست و خود را در اب انداخت ماهی از ماهیان دریا بفرمان خدای تعالی او را فرو برد بس جهل شبان روز در شکم ماهی بماند و باواز بلند می گفت لا اله الا انت سبحانک انی كنت من الظالمین بس جهل شبان روز ماهی بر انداخت او را

چون جوزکی بر کنده خدای تعالی درخت کذورا برویانید تا یونس در سایهٔ آن قرار گرفت و از آن کذومی خورد تا نیرو گرفت بس روزی بادی بخاست تا آن درخت را خشک کرد خوب خوار آن کذورا بخورد تا بیفتاد و خشک شد یونس تنگ دلی کرد وحی آمد که اندوه می خوری از بهر درختی که در ساعتی رست و در ساعتی خشک شد و اندوه بندگان من مخوری که در دست کافران اسیر مانده اند و نیز گفته اند کجمن یونس را مردمان او دروغ زن کردند خبر کرد ایشانرا کی تا سه روز عذاب خدای بریشان فرود آید و خود از میان ایشان بیرون شد چون عذاب فرود آمد و بدیشان نزدیک شد دعا کردند و زاری کردند دعای باخلاص خدای تعالی آن عذاب ازیشان بگردانید چون خبر کردند یونس را که ایشان هلاک نشدند تنگش آمد که بازگشتی سوی قوم خویش از بیم آنکه نباید کی او را دروغ زن خوانند و بدروغ مرزنش کنند برفت جنانک گفتیم فَأَسْتَجِيبَا لَهُ وَنَجَّيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْعَمِّ مَسْتَجَاب کردیم دعای او را و برهانیدیم او را از غم گناه بس چهل شبان روز و نیز گفته اند از غم شکنب ماهی *

X (f. 39^a, ll. 4-13; xxi, v. 96). *Gog and Magog.—Allusion to Daotylometry.*

حَتَّىٰ إِذَا فُتِحَتْ^۱ يَاجُوجَ وَمَاجُوجَ تَا چُونِ اَنگَاَه كِي كِشَاذَه شُونِد
بِنْد يَاجُوج وَ مَاجُوج اِي كِه رُوز رِستَاخِيز وَ اَيْن يَاجُوج وَ مَاجُوج
دُوگِرُوَه اَنْد اَز خَلْقِ خَدَايِ تَعَالِي وَ رَوَايَت كِرْدَه اَنْد كِي مَرْدَمَان دَه

^۱ Sic, with *taahdid*.

جزوند نه ازیشان یاجوج و ماجوج اند و یکت جزو همه مردمان
 وَ هُمْ مِنْ كَلِّ كَدَابِ يَثْرَسُونَ از هر بشته و بلندی بیرون می آیند
 بشتاب و می روند بشتاب عبد الله مسعود می گوید کی یاجوج
 و ماجوج بیرون آیند بس دجال و فساد بسیار کنند و بیران کنند
 همه جهانرا بس خدای تعالی کرمی بریشان گمارند هم جنانک در
 بینی گوسبندان باشد در بینهای ایشان و گوشهای ایشان در رون
 و همه بمیرند و زهری روایت می کند از ام سلمه کی او گفت رسول
 صلوات الله علیه خفته بود در خانه من بیدار شد هر دو چشم سرخ
 کرده و گفت لا اله الا الله سه بار بس گفت ویل للعرب من امر قد
 اقترب بس گفت درین ساعت امروز از سد یاجوج و ماجوج
 جندینی کشاده شد و اشارت کرد بعقد تسعین ان یکت انگشت را
 بیش گرفت جنانک نودرا گیرند و نیز گفته اند کی ایشان دو جند
 مردمان دیگرند *

XI (f. 47^b, ll. 1-18; xxii, v. 41).

الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ اِنَانِك بیرون کرده شدند ایشان از
 سرایهای ایشان و خانهای ایشان بغير حق بناحق ای که انانک از
 مکه بگریختند و بمدینه رفتند از رنج کافران اِلَّا اَنْ يَقُولُوا رَبَّنَا اللّٰهُ
 ای که بیرون نکردند ایشانرا از مکه مگر بدانچ ایشان می گفتند
 کی خدای ما الله است و یکیست وَ لَوْ لَا دَعَّى اللّٰهُ النَّاسَ وَاكْثَرَ
 نیستی باز داشت خدای مردمانرا ای که اگر نه انستی که باز می
 داری خدای تعالی بَعْضَهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ گروهی مردمانرا از گروهی
 لَهْدَمَتْ صَوَابِعُ هر اینه کی بیران کرده شدی صومعهای بارسان

جون جوزکی برکنده خدای تعالی درخت کذورا برویانید تا یونس در سایه آن قرار گرفت و از آن کدومی خورد تا نیرو گرفت بس روزی بادی بخواست تا آن درخت را خشک کرد خوب خوار آن کذورا بخورد تا بیفتاد و خشک شد یونس تنگ دلی کرد وحی آمد که اندوه می خوری از بهر درختی که در ساعتی رست و در ساعتی خشک شد و اندوه بندگان من مخوری که در دست کافران اسیر مانده اند و نیز گفته اند کچون یونس را مردمان او دروغ زن کردند خیر کرد ایشانرا کی تا سه روز عذاب خدای بریشان فرود آید و خون از میان ایشان بیرون شد چون عذاب فرود آمد و بدیشان نزدیک شد دعا کردند و زاری کردند دعای باخلاص خدای تعالی آن عذاب ازیشان بگردانید چون خبر کردند یونس را که ایشان هلاک نشدند تنگش آمد که باز گشتی سوی قوم خویش از بیم انک نباید کی او را دروغ زن خوانند و بدروغ سرزنش کنند برفت جنانک گفتیم فَاسْجَبْنَا لَهُ وَمَجَّيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْغَمِّ مَسْجَابٍ کردیم دعای او را و برهانیدیم او را از غم گناه بس جهل شبان روز و نیز گفته اند از غم شکنب ماهی *

X (f. 39^a, ll. 4-13; xxi, v. 96). *Gog and Magog.*—*Allusion to Daotylometry.*

حَتَّى إِذَا فَتَحْتُمْ¹ يَاجُوجَ وَ مَاجُوجَ تا چون انگاه کی کشاده شون بند یاجوج و ماجوج ای که روز رستاخیز و این یاجوج و ماجوج دو گروه اند از خلق خدای تعالی و روایت کرده اند کی مردمان ده

¹ Sic, with *tashdid*.

جزوند نه ازیشان یا جوج و ماجوج اند و یکت جزو همه مردمان
 وَ هُمْ مِنْ كَلِّ حَدَابٍ يَتَسَلَوْنَ از هر بشته و بلندی بیرون می آیند
 بشتاب و می روند بشتاب عبد الله مسعود می گوید کی یا جوج
 و ماجوج بیرون آیند بس دجال و فساد بسیار کنند و بیران کنند
 همه جهانرا بس خدای تعالی کرمی بریشان گمارند هم جنانک در
 بینی گوسبندان باشد در بینهای ایشان و گوشهای ایشان در رون
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 مردمان دیگرند *

XI (f. 47^b, ll. 1-18; xxii, v. 41).

الَّذِينَ أَخْرَجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ اِنَانِك بیرون کرده شدند ایشان از
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 نیستی باز داشت خدای مردمانرا ای که اگر نه انستی که باز می
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 لَقَدْ مَتَّ صَوَابِعُ هر اینه کی بیران کرده شدی صومعهای بارسان

ترسان که گوشه گرفته‌اند از مردمان و نشسته‌اند در صومعه‌ها در
 بیابان و بَیْع و کلیسهای ترسان و صَلَوَات و کنشهای^۱ جهودان
 و مَسَاجِد و مسجدهای مسلمانان ای اگر باز نداشتی کافرانرا کی
 بت برستانند بشمشیر غازیان بیران شذی عبادتگاههای همه
 مسلمانان و خدای برستان و نیز گفته‌اند و لو لا دفع الله الناس عن
 النفوس و اگر نه انستی که باز می داری خدای تعالی کشتن از
 مردمان بقصاص کشندگان و باز نداری از حقوق مردمان بگواهی
 گواهان لهدمت صوامع بیران شذی صومعه‌ها در روزگار عیسی و بیع
 و کلیسیاها هم در روزگار عیسی و کنشها در شریعت موسی و مساجد
 و مسجدها در شریعت مصطفی ای که اگر دست کافرانرا بودی و
 خدای تعالی بشمشیر غازیان شرایشان دفع نکردی نه در روزگار
 عیسی خدایرا برستیزندی و نه در روزگار موسی و نه در روزگار
 مصطفی و بیرانی مسجد بدان باشد کی درو نماز نکنند ای که همه
 معطل شذی و صومعه‌ها باشد کی گردش برارند بی گوشه و در خیر
 می ایذ از رسول صلوات الله علیه کی صومعه مومن خانه اوست و
 بیعه نام عجمیست اورا بزبان تازی آورده‌اند و بارهی ذیمه است
 يَذْكُرُ فِيهَا اسْمَ اللّٰهِ كَثِيْرًا يٰۤاَن كَرِهَ هُوْنَ دَر اَن خدایرا بسیاری و
 لَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللّٰهَ مَنۢ يَنْصُرُهٗ بِخَدَای که خدای تعالی انرا یاری دهد و
 نصرت کند کی دین خدایرا تعالی نصرت کند اِنَّ اللّٰهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيْزٌ
 خدای تعالی تواناست برافریدگان خویش بر ایذ عزیز کس برو بر
 نیاید *

^۱ کنشهای. *Sic, for*

XII (f. 49^a, ll. 5-12; xxii, v. 51). *The Devil-inspired verses in surá liii.*

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِكَ أَمْذَةً است در تفسیر که رسول صلوات
 الله علیه سورة والتجم می خواند دیو بر زبان او براند تلك
الفرانیق العلی 'منها الشفاعة ترجی' این ستایش بتانست ای
 کی آن بتانی که بلندترند از همه در مرتبه و ازیشان امید شفاعتست
 بت برستان شادی کردند و سجده کردند و یکی رییس بود ازیشان
 نام او سعید بن العاص گفت وقت امذ بسر بو کبشه را ای که رسول
 کیان کند بتان مارا بنیکی بس خدای تعالی این را باطل کرد
 جنانک یاز کنیم و نیز گفته اند کی رسول بخواند و لکن یکی از
 منافقان بخواند و دیو بران داشته بود او را تا بخواند مردمان
 بنداشتند که رسول می خواند و گروهی گفته اند که رسول در خواب
 بود کی این بر زبان او برفت بس جبرئیل او را خبر کرد از بس
 بیداری از خوانده او و بگفت او را که دیو بر زبان تو جان راند و
 این آیت پیامد *

XIII (f. 52^b, l. 19—f. 53^a, l. 7; xxiii, v. 1). *The buzzing noise attendant on the revelation of the Kur'an.*

قَدْ أَفْلَحَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ کعب احبار می گوید کی خدای تعالی نیافرید
 بدان ید کی صفت اوست مگر سه چیز آدم را بیافرید و کس در
 میان نبود بید خویش افریذ و جنت عدن بید خون افریذ
 و توریت را بید خون نبشت ای که کس در میان نبود بس گفت
 جنت عدن را سخن گوی سخن گفت قد افلح المؤمنون از بس کی

کرامت دران بهشت دید بهشتیانرا و عمر خطاب روایت می کند
 کجوں وحی آمدی بر بیغامبر همچنانک بائگ زنبوران باشد گرد بر گرد
 روی مبارک او می شنیدندی بس روزی برو قران فرود آمد چون
 بحال خویش باز آمد و فریشته باز گشت روی سوی قبله کرد و
 دستها بر گرفت و بس گفت اَللّٰهُمَّ زِدْنَا وَلَا تَقْضِنَا وَ اَكْرِمْنَا وَلَا تُهِنَّا
 وَ اَعْظِنَا وَلَا تَحْرِئْنَا وَ اَثِرْنَا وَلَا تُؤْتِرْ عَلَيْنَا وَ اَرْضِنَا عَنَّا بس
 گفت فرود فرستادند بر من ده ایت هرک ان بکنند در بهشت
 روز بس بر خواند قد افلح المؤمنون نیک بخت شدند گرویدگان
 و یافتند جاودانگی در بهشت *

XIV (f. 55^a, ll. 4-8; xxiii, v. 27). *What is meant by 'the Eye of God.'*

فَاَوْحَيْنَا اِلَيْهِ بِس بِيْغَامِ دَانِيْم بوشيده سوی او بر زبان جبرئیل
 اَنْ اَصْنَعَ الْفُلْكَ بِاَعْيُنِنَا کشتی کن بدیدار ما وَ وَحَيْنًا و بفرمان ما
 و باری اعمیننا ان باشد کی بچشم ما و مقتضای این سخن ان
 نباشد کی چشم باشد و لکن این هم جنان باشد کی یکی دیگر
 گوید کی این کالا می خرم بچشم تو ای که انج توگوی بدان خرم
 کی من درین ندانم ایجا همانست ای که انج ما فرماییم ان کن
 که تو کشتی ندانی کرد *

XV (f. 59^b, l. 17—f. 60^a, l. 6; xxiii, v. 96). *The troubles of 'Othmān and 'Alī foreshadowed.*

رَبِّ فَلَا يَجْعَلُنِيْ مَعَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِيْنَ ای خداوند من مکن مرا
 بر مردمانی که ایشان کافران اند و ستم کاران و عکرمه می گوید که
 بخدای تعالی خبر کرد رسول خویشرا از ان دو گروهی و فتنه کی

در روزگار عثمان و علی بود بس بیاموخت اورا کی چگونه دعا کن
گفت اگر مرا بنمایان فتنه و دوگره‌ی ای که در روزگار من باشد
مکن مرا یاران گروه کی ایشان باغیانند و ملک جوینانند نه بحق و
کلبی می گویند که رسول صلوات الله علیه در خواب دید ان
جنگها کی بس او خواست بود و ان فتنها کی امت او بدان مبتلا
خواستند شد از بس او دیگر روز بر منبر شد و خطبه کرد و گفت
نباید کی بس من کافر گردید گروهی از شما گردین گروهی دیگر می زند
ای که یکدیگر را می کشید اما اگر شما جنین کنید کی می گویم یابید
مرا بر لشکر انبوه شمشیر برگرفته و رویهای شمارا بدان شمشیر همی
زنم کسی از بس بشتش بکشید بنگرست جبرئیل بود این آیت
بیاورد رب اما ترینی ما توعدون ای که دعا کن و مگویی که من بر
لشکری می ایم کی شمارا می زنم از بهر انک از بس مرگ زنده
شدن نیست درین جهان و نیز گفته اند یابید مرا در سباهی انبوه
و گش ای که یاران مرا و گرویدگان بمن ایشانرا یابید که بر شما
شمشیر زند *

XVI (f. 64^a, l. 13—f. 64^b, l. 2; xxiv, v. 11). *The slander
against 'Ayesha.*

قصه، این آیت ان بود کی رسول صلوات الله علیه بسفری رفت
که انرا غزات مرسیع خوانند و نیز غزات بنی المصطلق خوانند
سال ششم از هجرت و عایشه را بر خون برد از ان مهرهای که داشت
بر خون یک دانه گم شد از ان عایشه از مهرهای که انرا جذع
ظفاری خوانند عایشه رضی الله عنها بحاجت انعیان رفته بود
چون یک دانه ندید بجستن یک دانه رفت و رسول صلوات الله
علیه برگرفت از ان منزل و ان کزاهه کی عایشه در ان بود با سرپوش

بود برگرفتند و ندانستند که او در امجا نیست از بهر آنکه عایشه
 لافربود و سبک بس چون عایشه باز آمد دران منزل هیچ کس را
 ندید مگر صفوان معطل را و او دم دار بود بر اشتر خود نشانده
 و بیش سخن نگفت برو تا بنزدیکت رسول آورد او را عبد الله اُبی
 منافق و حسان ثابت و مسطح ائانه و حمنه دختر جحش که خواهر
 زینب بود و زینب عروس رسول بود این گروه و مردمانی دیگر در
 گفتم گوی افتادند و عایشه را در زبان گرفتند و گفتند نرست عایشه
 از صفوان و این دروغ بود و فاش شد این دروغ میان مردمان و
 عایشه ندانست بس چون بدانست رجحور گشت و بیمار گشت
 تا خدای تعالی بس سی و هفت روز از آمدن رسول بمدینه این
 آیت بفرستاد *

XVII (f. 65^a, ll. 9-14; xxiv, v. 14). *The same continued—
 Hasdn-i-Thābit's verses (Cf. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld,
 p. 739).*

وامده است که حسان ثابت بار خواست از عایشه تا بر او در
 ایذ از بس آنکه نابینا شده بود مسروق گفت عایشه را کی دستوری
 دهی تا در ایذ عایشه گفت او نه عذاب بزرگ بدو رسیده است ای
 که نه او را حد زنده اند و نیز گفته اند عذاب بزرگ نا بینای او بود
 بس حسان در آمد و این بیجا بخواند (شعر)

حصان رزان ما تزن بریبه	و تصیح غرثان من لحوم الغوافل
فان كنت قد قلت التي بلغنكم	فلا رفعت سوطی الی انامل
و کیف وودی ما حییت و نصرتی	لال رسول الله زین المحافل
فان الذی قد قیل لیس بلایط	ولکنه قول امرئ غیر ما حل

ART. XVII.—*Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī's Interpretation of the Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscriptions.* Edited by G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., Hon. Member R.A.S.

A LINGERING illness, ending with a premature death, prevented the late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī from completing his article on one of his most important discoveries, the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Pillar. What he had written, or rather dictated to his assistant—a transcript as well as Sanskrit and English translations, together with some notes—was sent after his death to England, with the sculpture (now in the British Museum), and made over for publication to the Royal Asiatic Society. With the permission of the Society's Council, I have undertaken to edit these materials, and thus for the last time to perform a task which I have performed more than once for my lamented friend's papers during his lifetime. In doing this I have compared Dr. Bhagvānlāl's transcript first with the originals on the stone, and afterwards again with an excellent paper impression, presented to me by Dr. James Burgess in 1889. The collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarizing the chief results deducible from the inscriptions.

The Mathurā Lion Pillar, or rather Lion Capital, as Dr. Bhagvānlāl more correctly calls it in his notes to the transcript, measures 1 ft. 7 ins. in height and 2 ft. 8 ins. in

width, and consists of two lions standing closely joined together, back to back, on a pedestal, a square block of red sandstone forming an oblong 10 ins. square at the top and 11 ins. square at the base, and 1 ft. 8 ins. in height. Above, at the point of the junction of the two backs, there is a square flattened space with a hole in the middle, and there is also a corresponding hole at the bottom. It is thus evident that the sculpture belonged to the upper portion of some pillar, but did not stand quite at the top. And various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa leave no doubt as to the exact position of the two lions and as to the nature of the object which they carried. For example, on plate xxxviii. fig. 1 (Burgess, Arch. Rep. South Indian, vol. i.), we have a pillar, surmounted by an architrave on which two lions *couchant* are placed back to back, and above them rises an enormous Dharmachakra. Similar structures occur *ibidem*, fig. 6 and on plate xl. figs. 3 and 4. The arrangement seems to have been a very common one, the lions as supporters of the Dharmachakra being symbols of the Buddha, who is often called the lion of the Śākya race. The place where the pillar was set up seems to have been, according to the inscription H., the Guhavihāra, apparently one of the Buddhist monasteries at Mathurā, with which town the sculpture is also connected by the name of the Satrap Śuḍasa or Śodāsa. If the exact find-spot of the Lion Capital were known, it would be possible to identify the site of the Guhavihāra, which is not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

The inscriptions, eighteen in number, are incised all over the bodies of the two animals, and even at the bottom of the block on which they stand. They run in various directions, and their separation and correct arrangement must have been a very difficult task, which Dr. Bhagvānlāl has, however, performed with his often-proved ingenuity and patience. Most of the letters are cut boldly and deeply, but they vary considerably in size, the large ones, which are most frequent, measuring nearly two inches in height,

and the smallest ones, *e.g.* in the inscription H., not quite half-an-inch. The lines sometimes run straight, but occasionally slant downwards towards the left, like those of the Shâhbâzgarhî version of Aśoka's edicts. The preservation is, on the whole, good, though accidental scratches are not rare, and some characters, especially on the chests of the lions, are half obliterated.

The alphabet of the inscriptions is that which used to be called the Bactro-Pali or Ariano-Pali, but which, as Professor Terrien de Lacouperie has shown on the evidence of a passage from the *Fa-wan shu lin*,¹ is identical with the *Kharoshthî* or *Karotthî lipi* of the Jaina and Buddhist scriptures. The characters closely agree with those of the Shâhbâzgarhî and Mansehra versions of Aśoka edicts, as well as with those on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings. The chief differences are found (1) in the lingual *tha*, which consists of a vertical stroke with two short horizontal bars, 𑀧 instead of 𑀦; (2) in the dental *da*, which in several cases looks exactly like *tra* 𑀤, and seems to be developed from the Shâhbâzgarhî 𑀤 in *divani* (Edict iv. l. 8); (3) in the dental *sa*, the head of which is invariably open to the left, while in the older documents it is closed by an elongation of the vertical stroke, and thus has the form 𑀱 instead of 𑀰; (4) in the medial *u*, which, with the sole exception of *mu*, consists of a loop attached to the end of the vertical strokes; *mu* has once in *mukh*^v (A. II. l. 8) the Aśoka form, in *Śakamunisa* (A. II. l. 7) the later one; (5) in the position of the medial *e*, which sometimes is attached to the right of the end of the vertical strokes; (6) in the group *spa* (A. II. l. 8), where we have 𑀱, as on the coins, instead of 𑀱 or 𑀱 in the Aśoka Edicts. It may also be noted that the upward strokes at the foot of the verticals, which are so common in Aśoka's

¹ Babylonian and Oriental Record, vol. i. p. 58 ff.

inscriptions, are rare, and that horizontal base-strokes, which are used only with *ja* and also with *ḡha* in the Mansehra version, occur here, just as on the coins, with other letters. Thus the fifth sign in *agramaheshia* (A. 1. 1. 2) is \uparrow .

The language is a Prakrit, closely connected with that of the northern Aśoka inscriptions, but showing a leaning towards the Mahārāshṭrī. With the Śhāhbāzgarhī dialect it agrees (1) in frequently preserving *ra* in groups, e.g. in *agramaheshia*, *parigrahe*, *praḡhavi pradese*, etc.; (2) in the preservation of the three sibilants, *śa*, *sha*, and *sa*, the last of which, however, appears for *śa* in *samana* (once in J. perhaps *śamana*), *Pishpasria*, *saspae* for *śasvate*, and in *Sakastana*, i.e. Śakasthāna; while in *pradeśa*, *śarira*, *chaturdisasa*, *agramaheshia*, and so forth, the palatal and the lingual duly occur in their proper places; (3) in the use of *spa* for *sva* (substitute for *śva*) in *saspae*, and perhaps in *Pishpasria* if the name corresponds to *Vīśvāśrī*; and (4) the omission of the aspiration in the third syllable of *Sakastana* for Śakasthāna, which is found also in other Mathurā inscriptions (see *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i. p. 375). With the Mahārāshṭrī agrees (1) the substitution of *va* for medial *pa* in *chhatrava* (*pa* being preserved only in *busaparo*); and (2) the frequent elision of medial gutturals, palatals, dentals, and *ya*, e.g. in *Nakaraasa* for *Nāgarakassa*, *Kusulaasa* for *Kusulakasa*, *veya-udino* for *vegodīṛṇaḡ*, *ayariyaśa* for *āchāryasya*, *viyaa* for *viyaya*, *puya* for *pūjā*, *saspae* for *śasvate*, analogous examples occur, however, also in the literary Pali. Peculiar are the constant substitutions of dental *na* for lingual *ṇa*, which is also found in the dialect of Aśoka's Eastern inscriptions, the complete omission of the Anusvāra, which possibly may be graphic, the group *shṭa* in *Pulishtena*, and the curious elision of *si* in *Tachilasa* for *Tāchhasilassa* or *Tākshasilasya*, which makes the name of the town agree very closely with the Greek *Taxila*. The occasional hardening of the mediæ and the softening of the tenues, as in *nakaraasa* for *nāgarakassa*, *bhakavata* for *bhagavanta*, *niyadido* for

niryātitaḥ, and *pagasana* for *pakāśanam*, in Sanskrit *prakāśanam*, are common to most Prakrit dialects.

The declension offers few peculiarities. The nominative singular of the masculine *a*-stems ends in *o*, and that of the neuter usually in *a*, once in *o* (*patiḥhavitō*, A. II. l. 6). The other cases may be shown by the following paradigm:—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Instr. Budhena.	
Dat. Budhaya (-dhāya).	
Gen. Budhasa (-dhassa).	Budhana (-dhāna).
Loc. Budhe.	

The masculine *i*-stems and *u*-stems no doubt took the usual Prakrit inflexions, as the nominative *kalui* and the genitives *munisa* and *bhikkhusa* indicate. The instrumental of the feminine *t*-stems ends in *ia*, as in *agramahesia*, and the dative-genitive of the *a*-stems in *ae*, i.e. *āe*, as in *puyae*.

The instrumental of the *ṛi*-stems ends in *ra*, i.e. *rā*, as in *dhitra*, *matra*, and *bhratra*. There are a few remnants of the consonantal declensions, viz. the nominative *yuvaraya* for **yuvarājā*, the genitive *yuvaraṇa* for **yuvarājñah* and *saspae* for *śāsvate*. If several words stand in the same case, sometimes only one or some of them are inflected, the remaining showing only the pure stem; see e.g. A. II. l. 2, E. II. 2, 3. The same peculiarity occurs in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā.

The single inflected verbal form *bhusati* (A. II. l. 8), Sanskrit *bhavishyati*, is of the Pali type and closely agrees with the Shāhāzgarhī *bhosati*. *Karita* (J. l. 2), i.e. *kāritā*, I take for a representative of the absolutive *kārayitvā*.

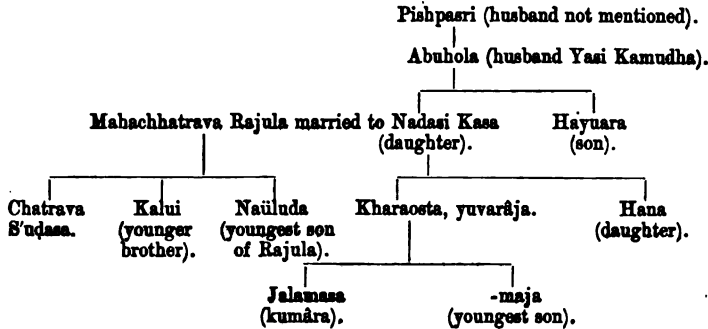
As regards the contents of the inscriptions, they record:—

- (1) The deposition of a relic of Buddha in a Stūpa (*nisima*), and the assignment of the Stūpa and of a monastery, probably called the Guhavihāra, to the community of the Sarvāstivāda monks by the queen-consort of the great Satrap Rajula and various relatives of hers (Inscr. A.).

- (2) The assignment of a piece of land (for the Vihāra ?) during the reign of the Satrap Śudasa, son of Rajula (Inscr. M.).
- (3) The erection of a *samanachhatra*, a funeral monument for an ascetic (?), by the *yurardja* Kharacosta, son of Rajula, and his sons (Inscr. E.).
- (4) The erection of a Stūpa (*nisima*) by one Pulishta, a monk (?), and its assignment to the Sarvāstivādas (J.).
- (5) Honorific mentions of (a) the great Satrap *Kusulaa Patika* and the Satrap *Mevaki Miyika* (Inscr. G.); (b) of the Satrap *Khardaa* (Inscr. Q.); (c) of the whole country of the Śakas (Inscr. P.); (d) of one *Koḍina* of Takshaśilā (Inscr. R.); (e) of the teacher *Buddhila*, a Sarvāstivāda monk from Nagara (Inscr. F. and N.); (f) of the teacher *Buddhadeva* by one *Ayimita* (Inscr. K. and L.).
- (6) A wish that the army, i.e. that of the Satrap of Mathurā, which had started on a foraging expedition, might be victorious (?) (Inscr. I.).
- (7) The statement of Śudasa's parentage and an enumeration of two younger brothers of his (Inscr. B., C., and D.).
- (8) An expression of homage to the Buddhist Triratna (Inscr. O.).

The gist of all this probably is that during the reign of the Satrap Śudasa a site was acquired in Mathurā, and a monastery (with relics) and a *samanachhatra* were built, the donors being various members of the reigning family. In accordance with the practice, observable in various other inscriptions, portions of the spiritual merit gained by these pious works were assigned to a number of individuals, probably connected with the donors by relationship or by spiritual bonds. Hence their names were inscribed on the capital, mostly with the addition of the word *puyae*, "for the worship of," or "in honour of." The insertion of the whole country of the Śakas in this list is remarkable, as a similar case is not known.

Most important is the information regarding the family of the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā, the pedigree of which stands as follows :—



The genealogy on the right side as far as Kharaoṣṭa is given in the Inscription A., and the names of Kharaoṣṭa's sons in Inscription E. With respect to the left side it must be noted that, though the Inscription B. calls Śuḍasa the son of Rajula, there is no evidence to show that Nadasi Kasa was his mother. It is quite possible that he was the son of another wife of Rajula. If the interpretation put on the Inscriptions C. and D. be correct, they name two other younger brothers of Śuḍasa—Kalui and Naūluda.

Sir A. Cunningham¹ has identified the *chhatrava Śuḍasa* with the *Mahākshatrava Śoḍasa* of the Mathurā inscriptions in the Brāhmī lipi (Arch. Surv. Rep. vol. iii. p. 30 and plate xii. no. 1), and *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii. pp. 195, 199). The identification is, of course, unobjectionable. And it may be added that the second inscription quoted is dated in the year 42 or 72 of an unspecified era, which no doubt precedes that of the Kushana kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, who, on the evidence of the inscriptions, ruled later over Mathurā. Śuḍasa or Śoḍasa,

¹ *Academy* of 1891, April 28, p. 397, and "Coins of the Indo-Scythians," ii. p. 21. Sir A. Cunningham repeatedly called this Satrap *Saudasa*, but there is no evidence for this form of the name, which in all probability is not a Sanskrit word.

therefore, cannot have ruled later than in the first half of the first century A.D.,¹ but may possibly be still earlier. As our inscriptions call him twice *chhatrava*, and as in the other two he receives the titles *mahākshatrapa* and *svāmin*, which seem to indicate a rise in dignity or power, ours probably belong to the beginning of his reign.

The *mahachhatrava Rajula* has been identified by Sir A. Cunningham, ll. cc. and Arch. Surv. Rep. vol. iii. p. 40, with the *mahākshatrapa* and *rājan Rājuvūla* of the Mora well inscription,² and with the *mahachhatrava* or *chhatrava Rajubula* or *Rajuvula* of the coins,³ whose name is in Greek PAZY, and who receives the epithet *apratihatachakra* "of unopposed rule." I have formerly expressed my doubts regarding this identification. But I must now admit that it is probable. For *Rajuvula* may be shortened to *Rajula* just as *Devadatta* to *Devala*, *Somadatta* to *Somila*, and so forth. As regards *Kharaosta*, the brother of *Śuḍasa*, who was invested with the dignity of a *yuvārāja* or Cæsar, Sir A. Cunningham ("Coins of the Indo-Scythians," ii. p. 25) identifies him with the *Kharamosta* or *Charamosti* of the coins, and appeals to our inscription as the proof for his conjecture. He has, however, not noticed that the father of *Kharaosta* is *Rajula*, while *Kharamosta* is called the son of *Arta*, or in Greek *Artaos*. It would, therefore, appear that they are two different persons, even if their names should be identical. The fact that *Kharaosta* bears the title *yuvārāja* indicates that he was designated to be the successor of *Śuḍasa*, be it because the latter was childless or because the order of the succession went, as with the Western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's family, from brother to brother.

The other Satraps, *Kusulaa Patika* and *Mevaki Miyaka*

¹ Sir A. Cunningham ("Coins of the Indo-Scythians," p. 27) assigns *S'udasa* to this period.

² Arch. Surv. Rep. vol. xx. p. 48 and plate v No. 4. I possess a very good photograph of the inscription, presented to me by Sir A. Cunningham, and a squeeze by Dr. Führer.

³ P. Gardner, "Catalogue of Indian Coins," p. 67; Sir A. Cunningham, "Coins of the Indo-Scythians," ii. pp. 22, 69.

(Inscr. G.), as well as Khardaa (Inscr. Q.), may be considered to have been connected with the donors by family or other ties. But it is for the present not possible to say what the connection was. Sir A. Cunningham's attempt¹ to identify the first with the Satrap Liako Kusuluka of Moga's plate and the third with Kharasta does not appear satisfactory. As Kusulaa or Kusuluka is used in conjunction with two different other names, the obvious inference is that it is a tribal or family name. With respect to Khardaa and Kharasta I cannot understand on what ground the two names are declared to be the same.

Transcript.

A. I.²

1. Mahachhatravasa Rajulasa
2. agramaheshia³ Yasia
3. Kamudhaa dhitra
4. Kharastasa yuvaraña
5. matra Nadasia Kasaye⁴

A. II.⁵

1. sadha matra A[b]uholaa
2. pi[ta]mahi-Pishpasria bhra-
3. [t]ra Hayuarana sadha Hana-dhi[tra]⁶
4. a[te]urena⁷ [a]rakapa-⁸
5. rivarena iše pradhavipra[de]-
6. še nisime śarira pra[ti]ḥhavito⁹

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 22 and 25.

² These five lines are incised on the top; in line 3 there is a round hole for fixing the capital, probably a Dharmachakra; see above.

³ The syllable *śhi* looks like *śri*; but the apparent *ra*-stroke is probably nothing but a base line, such as are often attached to various letters.

⁴ Possibly *kasuye* to be read. Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *Nadasiaka sayam*.

⁵ These eleven lines are incised on the back of the lions.

⁶ Read *Hayuarena*. Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *dhida*.

⁷ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *āurena*, but a blurred letter, *te* or *ja*, certainly stands between *a* and *u*.

⁸ The first syllable may be read as *ho*.

⁹ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *pratiḥhaviti*, and takes this as equivalent to *prati-śhḥāpayati*, which is impossible on account of the instrumentals *Nadasia Kasaye*, *matra* and *dhitra* (A. I. 3 and 5).

7. bhakavata-Śakamuniśa Budhaśa [| *]
8. mukihitaya śaśpae bhuśati [| *]
9. Thuva cha saḡharamo cha chat[u]-
10. diśaśa saḡhaśa Sarva-
11. stivadana paṛigrahe [|| *].

Translation.

I.

By *Nadasi Kasa*, the first queen of the great Satrap Rajula, the daughter of *Yasi Kamudha*, the mother of the Cæsar (*yurarāja*) *Kharaosta*,

II.

(*Who is associated*) with her mother *Abuhola*, her grandmother *Pishpasri* (*Viśvaśri* ?), her brother *Hayuara*, her daughter *Hana*, (and) with the crowd of the women of the harem, has deposited in this spot of the earth, in the Stûpa (*nisima*), a relic of divine Śākyamuni Buddha ; it will conduce to eternal welfare (*vis.*) liberation. Both the Stûpa (*thuva*) and the monastery (*are*) for the acceptance of the community of Sarvāstivāda (*monks*) that belongs to the four quarters (*of the world*).

REMARKS.

- (1) The proper names are probably all barbaric, and belong to some Śaka dialect. Hence the otherwise possible identification of *Pishpasri* with Sanskrit *Viśvaśri* becomes rather doubtful. Dr. Bhagvānlāl suggests the tempting, but linguistically impossible, identification of *Nadasi* with Sanskrit *Nandaśri*. *Yasi Kamudha* must be a male name, because *Nadasi*'s mother, *Abuhola*, appears in A. II. In the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā masculine *i*-stems occasionally take the feminine terminations, Ep. Ind. ii. p. 197. It is, however, possible that the full form of the name is *Yasia Kamudhaa*, and that it has not

been inflected; compare *pitamahi-Pishpasria* and *Hana-dhitra* in A. II.

- (2) The explanation of *ateürena arakaparivarena*, taken to correspond to Sanskrit *ántahpureṇa áryakáparivárena*, is not quite certain, because the *árya* is usually represented in Prakrit by *aira*, *ayira*, *ayya*, or *ajja*.
- (3) As we have in J. I. 2 [n]is[i]mo *karita niyadido*, the word *nisima* must be a substantive. Professor Pischel proposes to take it as equivalent to Prakrit *nisima*, and to Sanskrit *niḥsama* "uneven," "high," "elevated," and to explain it, if it be used as a noun, as an equivalent of "Stúpa." He points out that, according to Vararuchi's *Prákritaprákása*, 12, 6, *sama* becomes *sima* in the Śaurasenī dialect. The explanation fits excellently. Dr. Bhagvānlál reads *nisimi* and explains this as the locative of *nisi*, which latter he identifies with Sanskrit **nishtā*, "a place where a Buddha had sat."
- (4) The word *ise* occurs in the sense of *asmin* in the Zeda inscription of Kanishka, Samvat 11 (see the facsimile in M. Senart's "Notes d'épigraphie Indienne," iii. p. 10), in the phrase *ise chhunami*, i.e. *asmin kshane*. *Pratithavito* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock-Edicts.
- (5) *Mukihitaya saspae* corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi, to Sanskrit *mukihitāya śavate*. Dr. Bhagvānlál corrects *mukihitayasaspa[ti]e*, which, as he thinks, might represent Sanskrit *mukihitayasas-prāptaye*.

Transcript.

B.¹

1. Mahachhatravasa
2. Rajulasa putre
3. Śudase chhatrave [||*]

¹ Incised on the neck of the lion to the right, in large characters.

Translation.

While Śudasa, the son of the great Satrap Rajula, (*was*)
Satrap.

*Transcript.*C. and D.¹

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| C. 1. Kalui a- | D. 1. Naūludo |
| 2. vara[j]o ² [*]. | 2. putra kani[ṭho *]. ³ |

Translation.

- (C.) Kalui, the younger (brother).
(D.) Naūludo, the youngest son (*of Rajula*).

*Transcript.*E.⁴

1. Kharaosto yuvaraya
2. Jalamasa kumara
3. -maja kaniṭho
4. samanachhatra karita [|| *].⁵

Translation.

Kharaosta, the Cæsar,
Jalamasa the prince (P),
-maja the youngest.
A funeral monument for a monk has been erected.⁶

¹ Incised in small characters, close to the left of B.

² The *ja* is abnormal, as there is apparently a *ra*-stroke across its vertical.

³ This is Dr. Bhagvānlāl's restoration.

⁴ Incised to the right of B.; first three lines in very large characters, fourth in smaller ones.

⁵ In line 1 Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *Kharaosti*, which is perhaps possible. Between ll. 1 and 2 stands (below the letters *vara*) in small characters the word *konuio* (in Sanskrit *kaumudikā*), which Dr. Bhagvānlāl's transcript omits, and before it are some indistinct scratches, possibly remnants of letters. In line 2 Dr. Bhagvānlāl omits the letter *sa*. In line 4 Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *samanamotra*, which is quite possible, but yields no meaning.

⁶ The translation of *chhatra* "funeral monument" may perhaps be justified by the use of the term *chhatra*, which in Rajputana and Gujarat is frequently used to denote the cenotaphs of princes and monks, over which an umbrella-like dome is erected. Dr. Bhagvānlāl renders this inscription as follows: "The youngest son of the son of Jalama, the heir-apparent of Kharaosti,

*Transcript.*F.¹

1. Budhilasa Nakaraasa
2. bhikhusa Sarvastivadasa [||*].

Translation.

(*In honour*) of Budhila, inhabitant of Nakara (*Nagara*), a monk of the Sarvāstivāda (school).²

*Transcript.*G.³

1. Mahachhatravasa Kusulaasa ⁴ Patikasa Mevaki cha ⁵
2. Miyikasa chhatravasa puyae [||*].

Translation.

For the worship of the great Satrap Kusulaa Patika ⁶ and of Mevaki, the Miyika Satrap.

*Transcript.*H.⁷

Guhavihare [||*].

Translation.

In the Guha-monastery.

appointed āmātra of the Sramanas." He takes *-maja* for a remnant of the Sanskrit word *āmaja*, and probably considers the unknown term *āmātra* to be justified by the word *mahāmātra*, which, however, stands for *mahati mātrā yasya saḥ*.

¹ Incised on the neck of the lion to the left, in large characters.

² The word *puyae* must, no doubt, be understood, as Dr. Bhagvānlāl suggests.

³ Incised below F., in rather smaller characters.

⁴ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *kusulakasa*, but the *a* is distinct.

⁵ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *Mevakisa*, but the letter can only be an abnormal *ḍa* or a normal *cha*.

⁶ *i.e.* of *Patika*, the *kusulaka*, which seems to be a tribal or territorial name; compare *Liako Kusuluko* on the copper-plate of *Moga*.

⁷ This and the following inscriptions are incised in the front, *i.e.* on the chests of the lions. H. stands at the top in very minute characters. Some portions of the front are weather-worn, and some inscriptions consequently undecipherable.

*Transcript.*I.¹

1. Veyaudino kadhavaro [b]ueapa-
2. ro² kadha-
3. varo
4. viyaa [||*].

*Translation.*³

The army started in haste ; the army (*is*) intent on wealth : victory !

*Transcript.*J.⁴

1. -[śamana]- P[u]lishṭena
2. [n]is[i]mo karita niyadido⁵
3. Sarvastivadana parigrahe [||*].⁶

Translation.

By the monk (?) Pulisṭa a Stūpa (*nisima*) was ordered to be made and given in the possession of the Sarvāstivādas.

¹ Incised just below H. in large characters.

² Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *usaparo*. The first letter is not quite distinct, and may be read as *bu* or *tu*.

³ Dr. Bhagvānlāl states that he can make nothing of this inscription, which, he thinks, may be written in some Scythian dialect. The words seem, however, to be Mahārāshṭrī Prakrit, and may, perhaps, be rendered tentatively in Sanskrit by *vegodīrṇaḥ skandhāvāraḥ, buaparaḥ skandhāvāraḥ, vijayaḥ*.

⁴ Incised in large characters below the end of the first line of I. According to Dr. Bhagvānlāl "about five letters" have been lost at the beginning of l. 1, and three at the beginning of l. 2. The squeeze shows, at the beginning of l. 1, remnants of the three letters which have been entered in the transcript, and possibly of a fourth. In l. 2 nothing has been lost. There are, however, (1) an enormous *sha* just below the blank space between *veyaudino* and *kadhavaro*, and (2) below, written crosswise, and running up towards the *ka* of *kadhavaro*, the word *khalāsana* "of the Khalāsas." Below this is again a blurred sign, possibly *śo*.

⁵ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *visamo* and *niyāita*. The last two syllables, *dido*, are, however, quite plain.

⁶ This third line stands on the squeeze below the inscription G.

*Transcript.*K. and L.¹

- K. 1. Ayariyasa
2. Buddhadevasa
- L. 3. udaena Ayimito [|| *].²

Translation.

On account of the exaltation of the teacher Buddhadeva, Ayimita.³

*Transcript.*M.⁴

1. Ohhatrave Śudasa
2. imo parḍhavi-⁵
3. pradeśo [||].

Translation.

This piece of land (*was given*) when Śudasa was Satrap.

*Transcript.*N.⁶

1. Ayariasa Budhilasa Nakarakasa bhikhu-
2. sa Sarvastivadasa pagasa-⁷
3. na Mahasaghiana pra-
4. nāvida⁸ v[a]khalulasa⁹ [|| *].

¹ Incised on the chest of the left lion, the letters of l. 1 running on after *Pulihṣena* (J. 1), and those of l. 3 after *niyadido* (J. 2).

² Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *Ayamita[sa]*, but the letters are perfectly plain.

³ *Udaena* is probably equivalent to Sanskrit *udayana*, and the inscription seems to indicate that one *Ayimita* has formed a wish or done something for the prosperity or glorification of the teacher Buddhadeva. *Ayimitra* corresponds exactly to Sanskrit *Atimitra*. Dr. Bhagvānlāl's translation differs in accordance with his reading or restoration, "[For the merit] of Buddhadeva, the Āchārya, (*and*) of Udayana Āryamitra.

⁴ Also incised on the chest of the left lion.

⁵ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *paḍhavi*, but the letters are plainly *paḍhravi*. Compare the spelling *paṣri* for *paṣi* = *paṣi*.

⁶ Incised chiefly inside the circle at the bottom of the capital; the first three letters of l. 1 protruding on the right and the last two on the left.

⁷ Dr. Bhagvānlāl says that there is a blank at the end of the line, and fills it up by *śā*. The squeeze shows a slightly blurred *sa*.

⁸ Dr. Bhagvānlāl reads *jāvida*, but the squeeze has distinctly *nāvida*.

⁹ The reverse shows the consonant *va* distinctly. The vowel may also be *e*.

Translation.

(In honour) of the teacher Buddhila, a native of Nakara (Nagara), a Sarvastivāda monk, who knows the wisdom of the famous¹ Mahāsaṃghikas and is eager to explain it.²

*Transcript.*O.³

1. Sarva-Budhana puya dhamasa
2. puya saghasa puya [|| *].

Translation.

Adoration to all the Buddhas, adoration to the Dharma, adoration to the Saṃgha !

*Transcript.*P. Q. R.⁴

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Sarvasa Sakasta- | 1. Khardaasa ⁵ | 1. Koḍinasa |
| 2. nasa puyae. | 2. chhatravasa. | 2. Tachhilasa. |

Translation.

(P.) In honour of the whole Sakastana,

(Q.) Of the Satrap Khardaa,

(R.) Of Koḍina (*Kauṇḍinya*), a native of Tachhila.

¹ *Pagasana*, i.e. *prakāśanam*, "famous."

² Dr. Bhagvānlāl takes *vida* as equivalent to *vidyā*, and translates "delighting in the exposition of wisdom and knowledge to the members of the Great Congregation." But the Mahāsaṃghikas are a well-known school, opposed to the Sarvastivādins. Perhaps the inscription means to praise Buddhila for his proficiency in the doctrines of the two schools.

³ Incised to the left of N. on the flank of the left lion.

⁴ P. stands on the flank of the right lion just to the right of O.; Q. on the foot; and R. partly on the chest and partly on the foot of the same lion.

⁵ Thus also Sir A. Cunningham, "Coins of the Indo-Scythians," ii. p. 22. Dr. Bhagvānlāl adds that the reading is uncertain, and that the word may be *Khanvaasa* or *Khadvaasa*.



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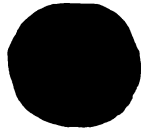


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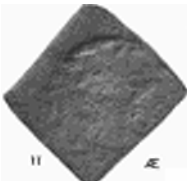


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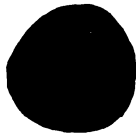


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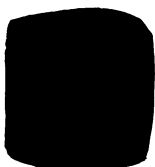


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15 Æ



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ART. XVIII.—*The Northern Kshatrapas.* By PANDIT.
BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRAJĪ, Ph.D., M.R.A.S. Edited by
E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S., Late Fellow of St.
John's College, Cambridge.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

[SINCE the publication in this *Journal* of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's article on the Western Kshatrapas, a period of no less than four years has elapsed. The delay in issuing this, the final portion of his notes, is due to the fact that a study of these notes convinced me of the impossibility of publishing them in anything like their original form; and my task was postponed, until Dr. Bühler most generously undertook to revise the most important part of the Paṇḍit's work, viz. that which deals with the inscriptions engraved on the Lion Capital. Dr. Bühler's results, which are published in another article in the present number, have enabled me to deal with the rest of the work. While I have been obliged to omit some portions and to correct others, I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to give a concise and connected exposition of the Paṇḍit's own views.

One of the omissions which I have made needs a few words of explanation. All friends of the Paṇḍit will remember that, among his coins, there was a specimen in gold on which he laid the greatest value, and from the evidence of which he made some important historical deductions. In the following article no mention of this coin will be found. There can be no doubt that the Paṇḍit was mistaken in regarding it as a genuine specimen. Its falsity, which is proved by the strongest evidences of fabric and inscriptions, was fully recognised by the greatest of all Indian numismatists, the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, and appears to me to be absolutely beyond question. The coin itself may be seen among the selected specimens from the Paṇḍit's collection in the British Museum.

The Paṇḍit's manuscript will now be entrusted to the care of the Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society.—E. J. RAPSON.]

The Northern Kshatrapas.

Under this title I include those princes who, during the first century of the Christian era, ruled over various portions of that part of India which is included between the valleys of the Himalayas on the north, Mathurā on the south-west, and the junction of the Ganges and Jumna on the south-east. As I have previously remarked (*Journal* for 1890, p. 640), the coins of some of these rulers have been already published by Prinsep and Cunningham. To the last-mentioned scholar is due the identification of the Rājjabala (or Rājubala) and Çodāsa,¹ whose names appear on the coins, with the Rajula and his son Çudāsa (or Çodāsa), who are known to us from stone inscriptions found at Mathurā. The inscriptions engraved on the stone Lion Capital, which I discovered in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, not only confirm what was already known, but also afford much new and important information. They form the basis of all my researches into the history of the Northern Kshatrapas.

The Discovery of the Lion Capital.

The remains found on the site of the ancient city of Mathurā have been most fruitful in the results which they have yielded to the study of Indian archæology and epigraphy. My first visit to this place was made in 1869. At this period the third volume of Cunningham's Reports, which treats at length of the antiquities of Mathurā, was unpublished, and I had with me only the first volume, which contains little more than a general description of this locality. I accordingly began an independent investigation of all the old shrines and Brahman rest-houses, and mounds of ruins.

Among other discoveries which I made on this occasion, I found, while digging in the compound of a Rajput at

¹ Cunningham gives this name as Çaudāsa. This is, however, a mistake. The only two forms which occur either on coins or in inscriptions are Çodāsa and Çudāsa.

Saptarshitla, the beautiful life-sized figure of a woman, which is now in the Museum at Dehli, it having been placed there, at my request, by the then Deputy-Collector, Mr. MacMahon. This statue, which is made of the hard black stone found at Peshawar and in other northern districts, is quite unique. All the other sculptures found at Mathurā are of reddish sandstone. Its style is also northern, and the richness of the dress shows it to be the statue of a queen. In the forehead there is a small hole, which, no doubt, originally contained a real jewel. I conjecture that this statue may be one of Nandaçriyakā (Nadasi Kasa). It may, perhaps, have been carved in the north by her orders and placed in her *vihāra* at Mathurā.

Proceeding southwards I found a built altar containing some sculptures which were worshipped as images of the goddess of small-pox. In the steps of this altar was fixed the upper portion of a pillar or capital covered with an inscription in Kharoshthi characters. This was the first inscription found by me at Mathurā, and I tried hard to get the capital taken out and examined. I found, however, that, although the place belonged to poor people, this could not be managed without the expenditure of a very large sum of money. I was obliged, therefore, to go away disappointed; but I resolved to pay another visit to the place on some future occasion.

On my return to Bombay I communicated my discoveries to Dr. Bhau Daji, with a request that he would take steps to gain possession of the objects which I had found. He accordingly procured for me a letter from the Bombay Government, addressed to the Collector of Muttra, and furnished me with the necessary funds for purchase. On my return to Mathurā, alas! I found that General Cunningham had been there in the meantime, and that most of the places which I had marked had been opened and the objects found in them removed. My disappointment may be imagined. Fortunately, however, the capital with its Kharoshthi inscriptions still remained fixed in the same place. This object was to me a very great

treasure, far more precious than any of the other objects which I had lost, and I at once set to work to find out by what means I might obtain it.

This was no easy task. The place belonged to Hindus of a lower caste, who altogether declined to listen to my proposals. Among them, an old woman and a young man were particularly obstinate in their refusal to part with the capital. No offer of money was sufficient to induce them to allow it to be separated from the altar. I then sought the help of an intermediary, and, by the offer of a good sum of money, procured the services of a *modi*, who undertook to use his good offices in endeavouring to persuade these people. At the same time I supplied him with more money to be distributed among the owners, so as to satisfy them and prevent their raising any disturbance. The *modi* at last succeeded, and got the capital taken out and brought to my place. I had then to spend a further sum to satisfy some of the people who had accompanied the *modi*. However, at last my treasure was secured, and, with great delight, I despatched it with other objects found at Mathurā to Bombay.

Description of the Lion Capital.

This Capital is, as I have previously remarked, the real basis of my paper on the Northern Kshatrapas. Its inscriptions, taken in conjunction with the coin-legends, have, I hope, enabled me to recover some traces of the history of these rulers.

The Capital is cut out of red sandstone, and represents two lions seated back to back with their heads turned sideways so as to face in the same direction—a common design in the Scythian period. The workmanship is poor. The height is 1 foot 7 inches; and the length, measured from the left ear of one lion to the right ear of the other, is 2 feet 8 inches. At the base the length is 2 feet 11½ inches.

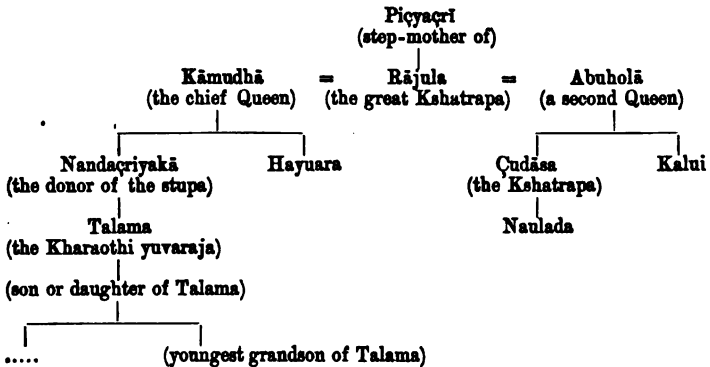
A square pillar passing through the back forms a noteworthy feature in the construction of this Capital. The height of this square pillar is 1 foot 8 inches, the breadth at the bottom 11 inches, and at the top 10 inches. In the centre of these squares at the top and bottom of the pillar are round holes, the object of which was, doubtless, to fix the Capital in its place in the column to which it originally belonged.

The whole surface is completely covered with inscriptions, not excepting even the top and bottom, which must necessarily have been concealed from view when the Capital was fixed in position. From this fact I infer that the inscriptions are of the nature of religious memoranda, not intended to be read by the public.

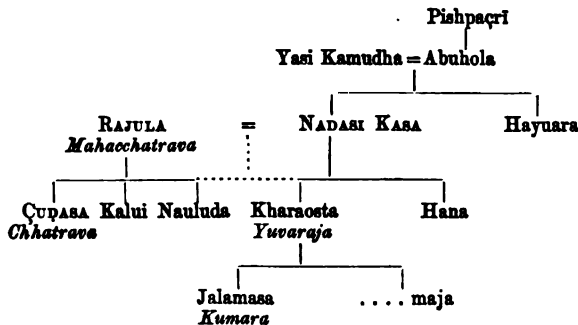
The position which the various inscriptions occupy with regard to one another seems to have been determined by their relative importance. That relating to the donor, a royal lady named Nandaçriyakā (Nadasi Kasa), is placed at the top. Her own relations are mentioned close to her on the back of the pillar; while the relations of her father occupy the back, neck, and chest of the right lion. The left lion is reserved for the relations of her husband and for his superiors, who appear to be royal persons of great power. Here, too, is inscribed the name of a monk, apparently the chief priest of the royal household. He is mentioned again in the circle at the bottom of the Capital. By this position is indicated, I believe, his function as sustainer of the religious burdens of the family.

[In the Paṇḍit's MS. there follows an account of the different inscriptions, together with a transliteration and translations into Sanskrit and English of each. This part of the Paṇḍit's work has been edited by Dr. Bühler in an article which appears in the present number of the *Journal*, with the result that certain difficulties in the original version have completely vanished in the light of Dr. Bühler's scholarship and acumen. Two wrong readings, which Dr. Bühler has corrected, sufficed to make the genealogical table of the family of Nandaçriyakā (or Nadasi Kasa), as given in the Paṇḍit's version, not only complicate but also almost incredible. The first of these wrong readings occurs

in inscription A. I. line 3, where the Paṇḍit took the word *Kamudhaa* as a *feminine* proper name in apposition to *Agramahesia*, and so regarded *Kāmudhā* as the name of Nandaçriyakā's mother. The second is in E., which the Paṇḍit translated as referring to "the youngest son of the son of Talama, the Kharaothi yuvaraja." The genealogical table was therefore, according to the Paṇḍit, as follows:—



It is scarcely necessary to point out the enormous and practically insuperable difficulties presented by this table, which refers to members of a family all of whom were living at the same time; but it is only fair to say that the Paṇḍit's ingenuity suggested a *possible* explanation of these difficulties. A reference to Dr. Bühler's article will, however, at once show how a correction of the two fundamental errors makes everything perfectly simple. In dealing with the remaining portion of the Paṇḍit's work I shall, as a rule, tacitly accept these and other corrections, only adding a note when the result of this procedure is a change in the whole line of argument. The following table, which summarises Dr. Bühler's results, is borrowed from his article:—



The following proper names are also found in the inscriptions:— the *āchārya* Budhila of Nakara (inscrs. F. and N.); the *mahācchātrava* Kusulaa Patika, and the *chhatrava* Mevaki Miyika (G.); Pulishta, probably a monk (J.); Ayimita, who adds an inscription in honour of the *āchārya* Buddhadeva (K. and L.); the *chhatrava* Khardaa (Q.); and Koḍina, an inhabitant of Takshila (R.).]

Coins of the Northern Kshatrapas.

Rajula has been identified by Cunningham with the prince whose name appears on coins both as Rañjubula and as Rājuvula. These two forms of the name occur on distinct classes of coins, which may be thus described:—

The form *Rañjubula* is found on the small coins of base metal which are imitated from those of Strato II.¹ (Pl. 1.)

Obv.—Bust of Rañjubula r. wearing diadem.

Rev.—Athene l.; holding in l. hand ægis, and with r. hurling thunderbolt. Inscr. in Kharoshthi characters—*Apratihatachakrasa chhatrapasa* (or *mahāchhatrapasa*) *Rajubulasa* (or *Rañjubulasa*). (Pl. 2 and 3.)

The coins on which the name appears as Rājuvula are somewhat larger and are made of bronze.

Obv.—Standing figure facing and holding some object, perhaps a snake, in r. hand. Inscr. in Indian characters—*Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa*.

Rev.—Lakshmi standing between two elephants with trunks upraised.² (Pl. 4.)

The second class, bearing, so far as has been hitherto observed, only the title *Mahākshatrapa*, must be later in date than the first. The coins of Çudāsa are imitated from this second class.

Obv.—Type similar. Inscr. in Indian characters—*Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Çoḍāsasa*.

Rev.—As on the second class of Rājula's coins. (Pl. 5 and 6.)

¹ [Cunningham, "Coins of Ancient India," p. 86.]

² [The reverse types of these coins are almost always so much worn as to be unrecognisable.]

Çudāsa appears as a simple *Kshatrapa* on the coins, and in the inscriptions of the Lion Capital; but we know from other inscriptions that he attained to the higher dignity of a *Mahākshatrapa*.

I possess a coin which is so evidently imitated from the coins of Çudāsa, that I conjecture that it must have been issued by a ruler who immediately succeeded him. No son of Çudāsa is mentioned, and I conjecture that this Kshatrapa may have been a nominee of the Mahākshatrapa Kusulaka Patika. The inscription on this specimen (Pl. 7) is imperfect; but, on comparing it with the coin engraved by Prinsep (p. 223, Pl. 23), I read the whole legend as *Sakamita khatapasa putasa Mevakusa*. The proper name Mevaku is, no doubt, derived from the name of the tribe—the Mevs or Meds—which spread itself so widely over that part of India that the whole district as far as Rajputana has been named after them Mevād or Medapāt. These Mevs were a barbarous and oppressive people, and instances of their tyranny are recorded in literature as late as the 13th century.

[Until better-preserved specimens are discovered, there must remain considerable doubt as to the correct reading of the coin just described. In the meantime it may be noticed that the name of a Kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika occurs in conjunction with that of the Mahākshatrapa Kusulaka Patika in inscr. G. of the Lion Capital, and that a Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa, whose name begins with Ma- or Me-, is mentioned in an inscription published by Dr. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii. p. 199, Pl. No. 3.]

Between the middle of the first century before Christ and the last quarter of the first century after Christ, the supremacy over Northern India passed from the Greeks to the Kushans. But in the interval we see traces of three other races who gained for themselves more or less power. These races are: (1) the Pahlava or old Persian, (2) the Çaka, and (3) the native Hindu. I will proceed to examine the evidences which are to be found of these different rulers, and to make such suggestions, with regard to the history of each, as seem to me probable.

The Pahlava or Old Persian Dynasty.

The Sanskrit word "Pahlava" is commonly used to mean "Persian." An instance is to be found in the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar, near Junagadh, in which we find mention of a *Pahlava Kulana*, a name which appears to be the Persian *Kulnuva* in a Sanskritised form. To this Pahlava race I unhesitatingly attribute the family of Rājula. The name Çudāsa is in all likelihood an Indianised form of the Persian Zodas and Hayuara of Hayour. "Rājula" itself is probably an Indian disguise of some Persian name; and the other names of the family, such as Kalui, Naulada, Hana, and Abuhola, all have a Persian appearance.

Another distinctly Persian name—Hagāmasha—is found on a class of coins, of which I give an illustration in Pl. 8. From the style of his coins, I infer that Hagāmasha was the immediate predecessor of Rājula, and probably the first member of this dynasty.

Obv.—Horse to l.

Rev.—Type (as on the coin of Rājula, *v. sup.* p. 547), Female figure, standing. Inscr.: *Khatapasa Hagāmashasa*.

[Another coin of this class, having a horse as its type, has been described by Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87. It bears the names of two satraps, Hagāna and Hagāmasha—*Khatapāna Hagāna Hagāmashasa*—who may, perhaps, have been brothers ruling conjointly. This coin is figured in Pl. 9.]

Kharaosta.

[The Paṇḍit, in his version of Inscr. E. of the Lion Capital, regards the word Kharaosta as the title of a dynasty, not as a personal name; and therefore translates *Kharaosto yuvaraja* as meaning *the heir-apparent of the Kharaosta family*. He identifies the title with the *Kshaharāta* or *Chhaharāta* of Nahapāna's coins, and of the Taxila copper-plate; and also reads on certain coins, copied from those of Azes, the legend *Chhatrapasa Ksharaotasa Artasa= Of the Kshatraps Artas the Kharaosta*. Sir A. Cunningham has, however, shown from more perfect specimens that the coins are of a Kshatraps Artas, son of *Kharamosta* (*Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 170); and that the true description of these coins, figures

of which are given in the Plate, Nos. 16 and 17, should be as follows:—

Obv.—Horseman to r. with couched lance. Greek Inscr.: ΧΑΡΑΜΩΣΤΕΙ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Maneless Indian Lion to r. Inscr. in Kharoshthi characters: *Chhatrapasa Kharamastasa Artasa putrasa.*

This particular identification, from which the Paṇḍit has made some important historical deductions, must, therefore, be given up; and, apart from this, there seems to be no sufficient reason for the other identification of Kharaosta with Kshabarāta.]

The Çaka Dynasty.

The members of this dynasty are distinguished by the title *Kujula*, which appears in a Greek form as ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ or ΚΟΖΟΛΑ. This title seems to have denoted an office somewhat superior to that of Kshatrapa. These Çaka rulers seem to have been originally vassals of the last Greek king Hermæus, and subsequently to have gained independence on the destruction of the Greek power by the Kushans. This independence they retained for a short period only, until they were deprived of some portion of their power by the Kushans.

The first of these Çaka princes was Kujula Kadphises,¹ who strikes coins at first in conjunction with Hermæus, and afterwards in his own name. After the reign of his successor, Kozola Kadaphes, we find no instance of the title *Kujula*, or its equivalent *Kusula*, until the period to which the Taxila copper-plate and the inscribed Lion Capital belong. To this interval, during which the power of the *Kujula* dynasty seems to have ceased, I would ascribe the rise of the native Hindu dynasty, whose coins are described below.

¹ [It is scarcely necessary to remark that the theories here expressed are at variance with the views commonly accepted. *Kujula Kadphises* is usually regarded as the *Kushan conqueror* of Hermæus. In fact, both *Kujula Kadphises* and *Kozola Kadaphes* expressly call themselves *Kushan* or *Khushan* on their coins (see Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, p. 64.)]

The fact that, in a prominent position among the other inscriptions on the Lion Capital, we find one (Inscr. G.) devoted to the honourable mention of a Mahākshatrapa—Kusulaka Patika—unconnected by family ties with the donor of the stūpa, leads me to conjecture that this Mahākshatrapa had gained some sort of supremacy over the dynasty to which Rājula and Çudāsa belonged. From the Taxila copper-plate, which is dated in the 78th year of the Great King Moga, we learn further that this Kusulaka Patika was the son of the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusulaka.

The Taxila copper-plate grant has been edited and translated by Dowson in Vol. XX. of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society; but as this version is, in certain points, erroneous and imperfect, I append a revised and corrected edition.

THE TAXILA COPPER-PLATE.

[१] संवत्सरथे षट्सततिमए २० + २० + १० + ४ + ४ [= ७८]
महारायस महत्स मोनस पनेमसमासस दिवसे पञ्चमे ४ + १ [= ५]
एताथे पुत्र्याथे छहरात(स)

[२] कुत्सस च छचपस लिचको कुसुलको नाम तस पुषो पति(को)
तखशिक्षाथे नगरे उत्तरेण प्रापुदेशो छेम नाम ऋष

[३] श्रे पतिको पतिठावित भगवत श्रक्षमुनिस शरिरं (प)तिठ-
वति संघारामं च सञ्जुधान पुथाथे मातापितानं पुथाथे त

[४] छचपस सपुषदारस आयुवसवदिए भ(वतु?) सञ्ज च नाति
नक्षधवस पुथाथे स महानपतिपतिकस ऋषति (. .

[५] रोहिषिमिषेव च ह्मसङ्कारामे नववम्मिष

SANSKRIT.

[१] संवत्सरे अष्टसप्ततितमे [७८] महाराजस महतो मोगस्य पने-
मसमासस्य दिवसे पक्षमे [५] एतस्मात्पूर्वस्मात् चहरातस्य

[२] चुत्सस्य च चचपस्य लिखकः कुमुलस्यो नाम तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः
तक्षशिलायां नगरे उत्तरेण प्राच्यदेशः क्षेमनामा चच

[३] स पतिकः प्रतिष्ठापितवान् भगवतः श्याकमुनेः शारीरं प्रति-
ष्ठापयति सङ्घारामं च सर्वनुधानां पूजायै मातापितृभ्योः पूजायै तत्

[४] चचपस्य सपुत्रदारस्य अपूर्वसपुत्री भवतु सर्वस्य च ज्ञातिव
र्द्धस्य पूजायै स महानृपतिपतिकस्य जयति (. .

[५] रोहिणीमित्रेण यो ऽस्मिन् सङ्घारामे नववर्त्मिकः

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Panemasa, in the seventy-
eighth year of the reign of the august Moga the Great King
—on the above-mentioned day, Patika, the son of Liaka
Kusula, Kshatrpa of the Kshaharata and Chutsea (tribes),
placed here on the spot called Kshema, to the north-east
of the city of Taxila, a relic of the divine Buddha Çakya-
muni, and built a sanghārāma for the worship of all
Buddhists, and (in particular) of his mother and father.
May this act be for an increase in the 'long life and
strength of the Kshatrpa with his wife and sons; and
may this (divine relic) be for the worship of all his
Gardabha kinsfolk. Of this great king Patika the (. . .)
is victorious. (Engraved) by Rohinimitra, who is overseer
of the work in this monastery.

On the back of the plate there is the inscription *Patikasa
chhatrapasa Liaka*. This is probably the signature of Patika
with the addition of his father's name.

[The reading and translation of the last line are due to Dr. Bühler, who has also pointed out other corrections which should be made. As Dr. Bühler himself intends to re-edit this plate, it has been thought best to give the Paṇḍit's version as nearly as possible in its original form.]

The Hindu Kings.

As I have already stated, there seems reason to believe that, in the interval between the time of Kozola Kadaphes and the time of Liaka Kusulaka (*i.e.* about the year 78 of the era established by the Great King Moga or Maues), the Çaka power suffered great diminution, probably at the hands of the Kushan conquerors of Northern India. The conflict between these two invading races would probably afford an opportunity for the growth of a native Hindu power; and to this period we may attribute the coins of three princes bearing purely Hindu names.¹ From the evidence of style, I classify these in the following order—Rāmadatta, Gomitra, Vishṇumitra.

(1) RĀMADATTA.

Obv.—Figure of a woman with right hand raised, and holding a lotus (?); beneath her feet a curved line; r. trident; l. cow; above, in Indian characters, *Rājño Rāmadatasa.*

Rev.—Indistinct. (Pl. 13 and 14.)

The coins of Rāmadatta are of two kinds. Those found near Mathurā are generally of copper, while those found in the neighbourhood of Taxila are both of copper and brass. The Mathurā coins appear to have the reverse quite blank, and seem to have been impressed with a die while the metal was in a molten state. This method of coining seems to be peculiarly Indian, and is illustrated by coins found at Tripuri, near Jubbulpore, a specimen of which is figured in the Plate.

¹ [Coins of similar fabric bearing other purely Hindu names have been found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. (See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87.)]

Obv.—Inscr. in Açoka characters, *Tripuri*. Symbols: Cross, curved line, and chaitya (?).

Rev.—Plain. (Pl. 15.)

The Taxila coins are struck so that the reverse type is raised above the surface, while the obverse type is impressed below the surface. The reverse type is, on all the known specimens, so much worn as to be unrecognisable.

[According to Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 89, this reverse type consists of "three elephants, one to front and the others facing to r. and l., each with a man mounted on his neck.]

With regard to the symbols which appear on the obverse of Rāmadatta's coins, the trident and the cow signify, according to Indian ideas, respectively "power" and "the earth." The curved line denotes a river—probably in the case of Rāmadatta's coins "the Indus," and on the Tripuri coins "the Nerbudda," on the banks of which Tripuri is situated.

(2) GOMITRA.

Obv.—Standing female figure with curved line at feet; r. Bo-tree; l. taurine symbol; above, inscr. in Indian characters, *Gomitasa*.

Rev.—Indistinct. (Pl. 10 and 11.)

The coins of Gomitra are also of two kinds—brass and copper. The copper coins are usually square.

(3) VISHNUMITRA.

Obv.—Standing female figure with curved line at feet. Symbols, indistinct. Inscr. in Indian characters, *Vishnumitasa*.

Rev.—Indistinct. (Pl. 12.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. SANSKRIT IN CEYLON.

There has lately come into my hands what is, so far as I know, a unique MS. of another old Sanna on a Sanskrit poem composed in Ceylon. The author is Wilgam-mūla Mahā Thera, and the work on which he comments is the Sūrya-stotra-ṣataka, written "by the celebrated poet Mayūra."

By the latter the author of the Pūjāvali and of the Yogārṇawa is doubtless meant. Wilgam-mūla states in his colophon that he was pupil of "the great master of the six languages and of the three Piṭakas, Śrī Rājaguru Galaturu-mūla Mahā Swāmi."

Mayūra-pāda wrote at the end of the thirteenth century. I do not know the dates of either of the others. "Master of the six languages" is an epithet also applied to Śrī Rāhula of Totagamuwa (floruit 1415), and is explained in the Sanna on his Scela-lihini-sandese as meaning master of Sanskrit, Pāli, the three principal Prakrit dialects, and Tamil.

The poem itself has been much read in India, and often commented on, and the date of Mayūra is therefore of importance. It is, of course, just possible that some other Mayūra is meant. But in Ceylon the name can only suggest the very famous scholar and poet of that name who was contemporary with Dharmakīrti, and lived under the patronage of the royal author Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu, who began to reign 1267 A.D. There is no other Ceylon scholar or poet called Mayūra.

RH. D.

2. PĀLI SUTTAS PRINTED IN CEYLON.

SIR,—In view of the value of the Pāli Sutta-literature, of which a fresh and interesting specimen appeared under Mr. Chalmers's editorship in the last number of the *Journal*, it may be of value to enumerate the Suttas that have been recently (*i.e.* since the publication of my Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pāli Books) printed in Ceylon :

Ānguttara-nikāya.	Complete edition of text commenced.	Colombo, 1893.
"	" " , commentary (Manorathapāraṇī).	" 1893.
"	Dānuppatti-sutta.	" 1893.
"	Kālakārāma-s.	" 1893.
"	Kālāma-s.	" 1893.
"	Pattakamma-vagga 'Prāptakarma-sūtra'	
	= Ang. iv. 65.	" 1893.
Majjhima-nikāya	Āṅgulimāla-s.	" 1891.
"	Bālopaṇḍita-s.	" 1893.
"	Cūla-puṇṇamāya-s.	" 1893.

Also a 'Vyāghra-padya'-sūtra (differing from Ānguttara iv. 194), and an Āṣivisopama-sutta, not yet identified.

All the above separate Suttas have Sinhalese interpretations (*padagata sanna*).

It is most unfortunate that the editors (Dr. Trenckner and Dr. Morris) of two of the chief collections of Suttas, the Majjhima and Ānguttara, should have been removed by death with their work unfinished. It is to be hoped that these important texts will not be left long incomplete.

C. BENDALL.

3. THE NEW BURMESE DICTIONARY.

DEAR PROF. RHYSDAVIDS,—May I be allowed a few words on Stevenson's most useful new Burmese Dictionary.

We do not call the new English Dictionaries *revised Johnsons*, and it cannot be conceded that the American Baptist Missionaries have any claim to copyright in Judson. This is really a new work. The old dictionary consisted of 786 pages; the present consists of 1188 pages

of a larger size. A great feature, moreover, is the introduction of explanatory Burmese sentences. Should not the next edition be called Stevenson's Burmese Dictionary based on Judson?

The pronunciation of many of the words is given in English characters, but as there is no scheme of transliteration, European students will derive small help from this.

What will disappoint most scholars is an absence of all attempt to give derivations and correct popular errors.

At p. v. of the preface Mr. Stevenson says: "The compiler had hoped, in the course of the compilation of this work, to have been able to throw some light on the *etymology* of the Burmese language. In this he has been greatly disappointed. So far as the compiler's experience goes the Burmese appear to have no idea of, or take any interest in, the *etymology* of their *own* language. . . . In fact, it has often appeared to the compiler that the Burmese affect to despise their own language and unduly exalt Pali." This is very true, and I have found, on asking learned men to explain some of their own terms, that they always offered fanciful derivations from that language. It is a great pity, however, that Mr. Stevenson has not made an attempt in this direction, for it would not be difficult to anyone on the spot. For instance, the derivations of names of the months, which are pure Burmese, would have been very interesting.

As regards spelling, too, Mr. Stevenson might have made an effort to correct modes which are clearly inaccurate, though generally used. Judson, in his preface, says: "Indeed, there is no writer in Burmese who has uniformly followed any mode of orthography."

Two instances strike me very forcibly. The word ခင်ဆွား *k'enbyā* (*Sir* or *Madam*) is, he admits, derived from သခင် ဆုရား *thak'en burā*, the *r* being pronounced as *y*; it ought, therefore, to be written ခင်ဆွား according to its derivation.

The other is မြင်းပိုရ် *Myin-mo(r)* (*Mount Meru*). Judson gave the old spelling မြင့်ပိုရ်, and this, I take it, is the true representation of မဟာမေရု *Mahāmeru*. The word မြင့် means *lofty*, from မြင် *to see*, whereas မြင်း is *a horse*, a totally different root.

A little more research would have helped to correct various errors. ဓာမရီ, *cāmari*, is said to be a fabulous beast or bird with a splendid tail, whereas it is, according to Childers, the Yak. ကရဝိတ်, *Karawit*, is thought to be the Garuda, but it is probably the *Karaviko*, or Indian cuckoo. ဇော်, *zaw*, denoting *excellence*, is said to be derived from ဇော်ဂျီ *zawgyi*, a Bengali form of Sans. *yogi*; but there is an old Burmese root ဇော် *tsaw*, found in ဇော်တား *tsawkā*, *to be haughty*, ဇော်ဘွား *tsawbā*, *a Shan prince*, ဇော်ကဲ *tsawkē*, *a Karen chief*, which is a more probable solution.

Mr. Stevenson has done excellent work, and will, I trust, when the present edition is exhausted, bring out another and also a grammar.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

4. THE BRHADDEVATĀ—CORRECTION.

SIR,—In the first of the two legends from the *Bṛhaddevatā* edited by me in the January number of this year's *Journal*, I misunderstood the point of verses 15 to 18 (p. 15), and accordingly mistranslated them. The passage is not an enumeration of what Agni received from the gods as his share of the sacrifice in return for his services. It states that he dismembered himself, and that his *vr*

became identified with substances to which those parts may be fancied to bear some resemblance, and which are used in connection with the sacrifice.

The translation on p. 16 should accordingly run as follows: "Then Agni, well-pleased, rejoicing, honoured by all the gods, shaking *off* his members, unweariedly performed the office of Hotr at sacrifices, accompanied by his brethren, rejoicing, the divine-souled oblation-bearer. His bone (was=) became the Devadāru tree, (his) fat and flesh (became) bdellium, (his) sinew (became) the fragrant tejana grass, (his) semen (became) silver and gold, the hair of (his) body (became) kāça grass, the hair of (his) head (became) kuça grass, and (his) nails (became) tortoises, (his) entrails (became) the avakā plant, (his) marrow (became) sand and gravel, (his) blood and bile (became) various minerals such as red chalk."

I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Tawney, Librarian of the India Office, for drawing my attention to the probable incorrectness of my former interpretation.

The only Vedic passage I can discover referring in any way to self-dismemberment on the part of Agni is that mentioned in my notes (pp. 22 and 18, lines 6-10), *viz.* TS. VI. ii. 8, 5-6. It is there stated that Agni, reflecting that his elder brothers had perished because they had bones, resolved on shattering (his) bones; and the bones which he shattered became the Pütudru (=Devadāru) tree, while the dead flesh became bdellium. It is no doubt this passage which suggested the further identifications in our Brhaddevatā story. It is natural enough that various parts of Agni (as Yajña) should be identified with substances mentioned in the Brāhmanas in connection with sacrificial performances. The above being, without doubt, the true interpretation of our passage in the Brhaddevatā, what I have said in the notes (p. 22) about 'kūrmāḥ' is of no value, the word simply having its ordinary meaning of 'tortoises.' It is also wrong to take 'sikata-çarkarāḥ' to mean 'ground sugar,' which is never used at sacrifices. The word is a Dvandva compound

signifying 'sand and gravel (or pebbles),' which play an important part in the preparation of the sacrificial altar. In the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa they are usually taken as being Agni's cinders and ashes.

A. A. MACDONELL.

5. BUDDHIST ABHIDHAMMA.

Uppingham, Rutland.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—In view of the unsettled state of opinion as to the real meaning of the Pāli word "Abhidhammo," the following extract from the MSS. of the Atthasālinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhamma-saṅgani of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, may be of interest:—

"Tattha abhidhammo ti. Ken' atthena abhidhammo? Dhammātirekadhammavisesatthena atirekavisesatthadīpato hi ettha abhisaddo. Bālhā 'me dukkhā vedanā abhikkamanti abhikkantavaṇṇā ti ādisu viya. Tasmā yathā samussitesu bahusu chātesu ca dhājesu ca, yaṇ atirekappamāṇaṇ visesa-vaṇṇasaṇṭhānaṇ ca chattaṇ taṇ atichattaṇ ti vuccati, yo atirekappamāṇo nānāvīrāgavaṇṇavisesasampanno va dhājo so atidhājo ti vuccati, yathā ca ekato sannipātesu rājā-kumāresu o' eva deveṣu ca, yo jāti-bhoga-yasu-issariyādisampattīhi atirekatāro o' eva visesavantatāro ca rājā-kumāro so abhirājā-kumāro ti vuccati, yo āyu-vaṇṇa-issariya sampattī ādīhi atirekatāro o' eva visesavantatāro ca devo atidevo ti vuccati, tathārūpo brahmā pi atibrahmā ti vuccati, evamevaṇ ayam pi dhammo dhammātireka dhammavisesatthena abhidhammo ti vuccati."

"In this passage he uses the word 'abhidhammo.' What is its meaning? Well, the word 'abhi' is here used to denote the meanings of 'excess' and 'distinction,' giving the meaning of 'excess over the dhammo' and 'distinction from the dhammo'—as in such passages as 'these very severe pains come hard upon me'

“And so, just as when many sunshades and flags are uplifted, the sunshade that exceeds the rest in size and is distinguished from them in appearance and position, is called the ‘pre-eminent’ (ati) sunshade, and the flag that exceeds the rest in size and is distinguished from them by its various forms and colours, is called the ‘pre-eminent’ flag; and just as, when princes and kings are collected together, the prince who is superior in rank, wealth, honour, and dominion is called the ‘pre-eminent’ prince, and the king who exceeds and is distinguished from his fellows in long life, beauty, and dominion is called the ‘pre-eminent’ king, and a superior Brāhmā is called an Ati-brāhmā, just so this Dhammo (Truth) is called ‘Abhi-dhammo’ because it exceeds and is distinguished from the ‘Dhammo’—*i.e.* the Sutta-Pitaka.”

Buddhaghosa then proceeds to show the difference of treatment of the same subject in the Sutta and Abhidhamma Pitakas. The treatment is more detailed, he says, in the Abhidhammo. “The five khandas, for instance, are treated in the Suttas briefly and not in detail, whereas in the Abhidhammo they are set out much more fully. The same is the case with the 12 Āyatanas, the 18 Elements, the 4 Truths, etc.”

The outcome would seem to be that the difference between the Suttas and the Abhidhamma is one not of subject-matter but of treatment, and that the latter may be considered in a certain sense as the complement and expansion of the former, just as the Pauline Epistles are often supplementary commentaries of the Gospels, collecting and, to a certain extent, systematizing their scattered utterances.

ARNOLD C. TAYLOR.

6. THE ṢŪFĪ CREED.

Norwood, 12 May, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—In his interesting paper on the “Mantiq ut-Ṭāir” Mr. Rogers referred to the analysis of the poem published by M. Garcin de Tassy under the title “La

Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans," and quoted the list of Šūfī articles of belief there given by De Tassy.

The fifth article is—that there is no real distinction between good and evil. It is incorrect to call this an article of the Šūfī creed. Speaking strictly it is only a consequence which logically follows from their doctrine of Unification (Tauḥīd), the ascription of all existence, all action, all events to the One First Cause. No sect, except possibly the Maulāīs, would admit such an article of faith. Men are hardly ever so bad (or so good) as their creeds seem to require. The first stage of the Šūfī "Way" (Ṭarīqat) was Sharī'at, the strict observance of legal and moral obligations, and the next stage a long course of self-mortification, typified by the seven valleys of poverty, etc., described in the "Mantiq ut-Ṭā'ir." In India the popular idea of a Šūfī is not a bold, bad man, regardless of right and wrong, but a meek and quiet spirit. In fact "Šūfī Šāhib" means much what "Quaker" meant to our ancestors. When Sir R. Burton wrote of the Šūfī cult as a sort of Bacchanalian affair he was thinking of the Anacreontic effusions of Hāfiz and other poets, who were not genuine Šūfīs at all, but merely played with Šūfī ideas. Of course no one would deny that hypocrites always abounded, and probably now there is very little genuine religious fervour left among the most prominent Šūfī orders. No one for instance who has seen the services of the Maulavis, the so-called "Dancing Dervishes," at Pera, can feel strongly persuaded of the sincerity of their religious feelings. But Dr. Wolff speaks highly of the Šūfīs of Bokhārā. Dr. Tholuck, in his "Blüthensammlung," finds a connection between Šūfī doctrine and the aspect of Christianity presented by St. John, and even Dr. Pusey found much to admire in it.

In article seven of his Šūfī creed De Tassy speaks of Annihilation (Fanā) as identical with Nirvana. This is misleading, because the Šūfī doctrine was not Annihilation as the Be all and End all of their "Way," but Eternal

abiding in God *after* annihilation (Baqā ba'd ul-fanā), a doctrine which I venture to think owed its parentage rather to Proclus and Plotinus than to Gautama Buddha.

The eighth article of the Ṣūfī creed, according to De Tassy, is Metempsychosis. I am very strongly of opinion that Metempsychosis in the ordinary acceptation of the term was not a doctrine generally held by the Ṣūfis. What they held was a form of Aristotle's doctrine of the Soul, as set forth in his "De Anima." It was a doctrine similar to Milton's.

"So from the root

Spirits lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More airy, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes; flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed
To *Vital* spirits aspire, to *Animal*,
To *Intellectual*, give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding, whence the Soul
Reason receives and reason is her being."

—*Paradise Lost*, Book v. 479.

See "Gulshan i Rāz," the "Mystic Rose Garden" (text and translation published by Trübner, 1880), page 50.

The same doctrine is set forth in the Masnavi of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī (translation published by Trübner, 1887).

"I died as inanimate matter and arose a plant,
I died as a plant and arose again an animal,
I died as an animal and arose a man.
Why then should I fear to become less by dying?
I shall die once again as a man
To rise an angel perfect from head to foot!
Again when I suffer dissolution as an angel
I shall become what passes the conception of man!
Let me then become non-existent, for non-existence
Sings to me in organ tones, 'To Him shall we return.'"
(p. 159.)

If this doctrine is to be called Metempsychosis at all it is certainly something quite different from Indian Metempsychosis. In fact Metempsychosis (Naskh or Tanāsukh) is denounced in the "Gulshan i Raz" (p. 10), and the "Commentator Lāhijī" distinguishes it from the Ṣūfī doctrine (p. 37, note 3). See also the "Dabistān" (translation by Shea and Troyer, 1843), Vol. III. page 277.

As you remarked in the discussion, the history of Ṣūfism has yet to be written. The best authority is, I think, the "Tazkirat ul Auliya" or "Memoirs of the Saints," by the author of the "Mantiq ut-Ṭāir," supplemented by the "Lives of the Saints," by Jāmī, the introduction to which has been translated by De Sacy (Notices et Extraits des MSS., Vol. XII. page 426). There we find recorded the simple utterances of religious emotion of the early Saints, some of them women, and are constantly reminded of St. Theresa and Mme. Guyon. In the utterances of later Ṣūfīs we can trace, if I am not mistaken, Christian influences, and a constantly increasing infusion of neo-Platonist metaphysics as interpreted by the Moslem philosophers. At length in the "Gulshan i Rāz" written in the beginning of the fourteenth century we have a full-blown "Gnosis" (Ma'rifat) or metaphysical theosophy.—Yours faithfully,

E. H. WHINFIELD.

7. AN ANCIENT STONE IN CEYLON.

DEAR SIR,—The photograph which I send you represents a so-called "Contemplation Stone" lying amid the ruins of Anurādhapura. I have seen a similar one at Alu Wihāra (the very ancient Wihāra, where the Pitakas were first written down), on the summit of one of the huge boulders which help to form the temple. Others also have been found in Ceylon, though sometimes, it appears, with only



CONTEMPLATION STONE AT ANURĀDHAPURA

nine holes instead of twenty-five. The popular explanation of the purpose for which these stones were designed is as follows: Various ingredients, such as sandal-wood, flowers, sweet oil, etc., being placed in the holes, the devotee gazed fixedly at them hour after hour, till at last, through the efficacy of his meditation on the fading flowers, and so on, he was enabled to realize the impermanence of all things. But some doubt is thrown on this explanation by the fact that Mr. Bell, who is in charge of the excavations at Anurādhapura, found a contemplation stone underneath another stone of large dimensions, the latter being on a level with the floor of the building that was being exhumed. It is difficult to see why the contemplation stone should have been placed in this situation, if used for the purpose described. I understand that nothing is said about these curious stones in the old Pāli books, and it would be very interesting if any of the readers of the *Journal* could throw light on the subject.—I am, faithfully yours,

ERNEST M. BOWDEN.

8. A BURMESE SAINT.

SIR,—I enclose herewith an interesting paper by Major R. C. Temple, which appeared in the *Rangoon Gazette* of October, 1893, on a supposed Mahomedan saint called *Badar* or *Budder*, revered by Mahomedans, Hindus, and Buddhists, in Arakan and Tenasserim, who is supposed, more especially, to exercise an influence over maritime affairs.

Major Temple comes to the conclusion that he was a Mahomedan Fakir, and that *Maddra*, the name usual in Tenasserim, is a corruption of Baddra or Budder.

Curiously, however, the legend at Akyab says he was discovered by *Hindus*.

Major Temple points out that there are spots from Arakan¹ to Mergui in Tenasserim where he is revered as a *nat* or *deva*, and that "his worship is precisely that which is common all over the East to supernatural beings."

I would suggest that instead of Maddra being a corruption of Baddra it is the reverse, and that *Maddra* is the short for *Samudra* (or *Samudda*) *Devatā*. The Chittagonian Hindus, being the chief navigators of that part, on their conversion to Mahomedanism, naturally made him a Pir (Peer) or saint.

I cannot understand the contradictory assertion that "Buddhamaw is a corruption of (Urdu) Budder-makam," though "Buddha" may be a corruption of "Buddar."

March 29th.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

PIR BADAR IN BURMA.

Dr. Anderson, "English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century," 1890, p. 338, makes the following statement:—

"On the day following [the 28th June, 1687] the ship *James*, the consort of the *Curtana*, arrived in Mergui harbour; and Armiger Gosline, her commander, was ordered to ride near the *Resolution* opposite Mr. White's house, to prevent the crew taking the vessel to the other side of Banda-makhon."

In a long footnote Dr. Anderson remarks on this statement thus: "The Banda-makhon of Davenport is the island that forms the western side of Mergui harbour In the map of the northern part of the Mergui Archipelago, published by James Horsburgh, hydrographer to the Hon. East India Company, Feb. 1, 1830, and corrected at the

¹ I cannot hold myself responsible for the spelling of others. Arakan appears to be the official way of spelling the name.—Sr. A. St. J.

Admiralty up to June, 1871, this small island is called Madramacan. But I could find no native of Mergui who knew it by this name, as it is invariably called Pataw.

“Towards the northern part of the eastern shore of the island there is, however, a locality which the inhabitants of the town of Mergui called Buddha-makhan, and I am disposed to think that Madramacan is a corruption of this word. It is said to have derived its name from the circumstance that a Mahomedan saint called Budhar Udin resided there. The legend about him is that he came from the North by sea, and, being attracted to the northern part of Pataw by its natural beauty, he built a hut on the banks of a small stream, where it enters the sea, and where lies a huge boulder, on which he meditated for forty days, receiving from God whatever he asked for in his prayers. The Mahomedans, in consequence, called the place Budhar Udin's Makhan.

“It is a curious circumstance, however, that the place is revered alike by Buddhists and Mahomedans, and by the Chinese of Mergui. The Buddhists, after the custom of their religion, affix gold leaf to the boulder, whereas the Chinese leave small squares of brown paper ornamented with a representation in gold leaf of their deity, who patronizes seafaring men.

“Colonel Sir Edward Sladen informs me that the promontory at Akyab, known as the Point, is called by the Arakanese Buddha Makan after a Mahomedan saint, Buddha Aouliah, who chose it as a place of residence, and passed the greater part of his hermit life there. The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan. Buddhists, Mahomedans, and Hindus all come, and either worship or solicit intercession with the unseen powers as a means of deliverance from evil, or success in any proposed worldly undertaking.

“‘One of the large boulders has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the residence of Buddha Sahib;’ and Sir Edward mentions

that on an immediately adjoining boulder there is a small Mahomedan mosque.

“On still another boulder, more sacred than the rest, a dome has been built, ‘because it contains the footprint of Buddha [? Aouliah], as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer or went through other devotional exercises.’ ‘Hindus,’ according to Sir Edward Sladen, ‘are said to have been the first who discovered the saint’s supernatural powers. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation; and in verification of this I have the authority of that accomplished Babu Pratapa Chander Gosha, that Hindus, especially women of the Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage, by river or sea, generally drop a few coppers into the water as an offering to Buddha Udin, saying, *Darya ka panch payse Buddhar Buddahar!*’”

Dr. Anderson then asks: “Is it likely that the Mahomedans have appropriated some legend about Buddha Gautama?” My answer would be: “Most assuredly not.”

Butler’s “Gazetteer of the Mergui District,” 1884, is silent on this and all other antiquarian subjects.

In reply to certain questions asked by the Government, the Commissioner of Arracan stated in 1892 as follows: “That part of Akyab town, known as the Point or Scandal Point, is in reality a narrow headland or promontory, which projects into the sea beyond the coast-line, and defines on its western side the mouth or entrance of the Kaladan River. It is called by the Arakanese Buddha-maw, *maw* being the Burmese for a promontory, and Buddha signifying Budder. This is in reality a Burmese corruption of the Urdu original, Buddermaw, or Buddermakam. The promontory itself of Buddermaw forms the apparent termination to a range of hills, which skirt the whole length of the Arakan coast-line, and are traced south of Akyab in the highlands which form the Western Borongo Island. The same range is continued at Ramree and comes to an abrupt termination in the Island of Cheduba.

“At the base of this headland, immediately south of the

town of Akyab, there is a defined line of almost perpendicular tilted rock, the base surface of which is exposed and weather-worn, so as to present the appearance of several huge boulders piled up into a compressed mass and raised some fifty feet above the level of the surrounding country. This is the spot known as Buddermakam, and takes its name from the Mahomedan saint Budder Aulia, who chose it as a place of residence, and passed the greater part of his hermit life there.

“The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan. Buddhists, Mahomedans, and Hindus all come, and either worship or solicit intercession with the unseen powers, as a means of deliverance from evil or success in any proposed worldly undertaking. One of the large boulders on the ridge has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the actual residence of Budder Sahib. On another, immediately adjoining, is a small Mahomedan mosque. A dome has been built over a third, more sacred than the rest, because it contains the footprint of Buddha, as well as an impression or indenture made by him¹ when he knelt in prayer, or went through other devotional exercises.

“It seems at first difficult to account for the fact that three such opposite creeds as Hinduism, Mahomedanism, and Buddhism should unite to worship at the same shrine, and believe in the efficacy of offerings to an unseen power, common to all three, under slightly varying designations and conditions.

“The explanation I have arrived at is as follows: Budder Aulia, or, as he is more familiarly styled, Budder Sahib, was a Mahomedan *fakir*, who possessed great supernatural powers, which led to his being regarded almost in the light of a prophet. It is only natural that Mahomedans should reverence the spot where he lived and died, and offer their prayers under a surer hope of their being heard, than if

¹ Who is meant? Buddha or Budder? It is not usual to hear of Buddha praying.—Sr. A. Sr. J.

offered up elsewhere. Buddhists, in deference to the divine character of the saint Budder, mix him up in their minds with the guardian nat, or minor deity, of the place. They, therefore, worship him regularly, and are profuse in their reverence and religious offerings.

“Hindus are said to have been the first who discovered Budder’s supernatural powers. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation, so that those who make offerings and invoke his aid perform successful sea voyages, and return in safety with wealth acquired on the journey to their native homes.

“The legend states that, on one occasion, two Hindus, by name Manich [P Manik] and Chand, were returning by sea from Bassein to Chittagong, and put into Akyab to take in water. They anchored off the rock known as Buddermakam, and proceeded to a small tank near the sacred rocks. Here they met the *fakir*, and were asked by him to hollow out the cave, which was to form his future habitation. They pleaded poverty and the losses they had sustained in their trading adventure. The *fakir* said, ‘never mind, do as I bid you. If you are poor and without merchandize, load the soil from this sacred spot, and before your journey’s end you will be rewarded.’ The brothers did as they were bid. The cave was constructed, a well dug, and they proceeded on their journey towards Chittagong. The *fakir*’s words came true. On proceeding to unload their goods, they found in their place nothing but gold and the most valuable of gems.

“Miracles are performed to this day, it is believed, by virtue of the powers still exercised by the *fakir*. Sick people are cured by coming and bathing in the water of the sacred well. Others, who cannot come themselves, obtain relief as soon as the votive offering has been made on their account at the shrine, and the saint or *fakir*, or minor deity, has appeared, or has made intercession, or exercised supernatural agency, as the case may be.

“Amongst Burmese and Arakanese, the most common form of offerings made to the *nats* or minor deities consists

of food or strong drinks. Here, at Buddermakam, it has been found that the sacrifice of a goat on the spot is the most efficacious of offerings, and it is the one which is most prominently made by those who have any great favour to ask, or any impending calamity from which they would seek deliverance.

“There is, I am told, at Sandoway, a singular group of large boulders, similar in appearance to those at Buddermakam, and similarly named and held in reverence. It is, no doubt, due to Budder Sahib’s connection with navigation and sea journeys that his fame has extended along the whole coast-line as far south as the Malayan peninsula, and probably further. This will account for the shrine near Mergui called Maddra-makam. Maddra is undoubtedly a corruption of Buddha or Budder.

“From the description given of each, I conclude that the two shrines are in all respects identical, both as regards nature of site, general appearance, and universality of worship.”

It will have been noticed by the reader that the description given by Sir Edward Sladen and the official note just quoted are identical in many respects. They must have, in fact, an unacknowledged common origin in some older work, which I suspect is Sir Arthur Phayre’s, if only it can be unearthed.

In the “List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma,” 1892, p. 3 f, we find—“No. 8. District: Akyab. Locality: Southern side of the Island of Akyab and near the eastern shore of the Bay. Name of object: Buddha-makam Cave. Any local history of tradition regarding it: A cave and mosque constructed in memory of one Buddha Auliya, whom the Mussulmans regard as an eminent saint. The tradition regarding it is that, some 120 years ago, two brothers, Manik and Chand, traders from Chittagong, while on their homeward voyage in a vessel laden with turmeric, touched at Akyab for water and anchored off the rocks, now known as the Buddha-makam rock. During the night Manik had a vision, in

which he was requested by the saint to construct him an abode near the locality, being told that in order to enable him to do so all the turmeric in his vessel would be transformed into gold. Next morning the brothers, observing the miraculous transformation of their cargo, dug a well and constructed the present cave. Custody and present use: Worship by Buddhists, Hindus, and Mussulmans. Present state of preservation: It is in good condition and is kept in repair by a respectable Mussulman."

In the entries regarding Sandoway and Mergui in this very perfunctory compilation there is no reference to any cave as place sacred to Badar Aulia.

In Forchhammer's "Report on the Antiquities of Arakan," 1892, p. 60 f, we find the following information, together with a photograph, No. 88, plate xlii.

"There are a few modern temples in Akyab which are interesting inasmuch as their architectural style is a mixture of the Burmese turreted pagoda and the Mahomedan four-cornered minaret structure surmounted by a hemispherical cupola. The worship, too, is mixed. Both temples are visited by Mahomedans and Buddhists, and the Buddermokan has also its votaries.

"The Buddermokan is said to have been founded in A.D. 1756 by the Mussulmans in memory of one Budder Auliah, whom they regard as an eminent saint. Colonel Nelson Davies, in 1876, Deputy Commissioner of Akyab, gives the following account in a record preserved in the office of the Commissioner of Arakan, and kindly lent to me: 'On the southern side of the island of Akyab, near the eastern end of the Bay, there is a group of masonry buildings, one of which, in its style of construction, resembles an Indian mosque; the other is a cave constructed of stone on the bare rock, which superstructure once served as a hermit's cell. The spot where these buildings are situated is called Buddermokan, Budder being the name of a saint of Islam, and *mokan*, a place of abode. It is said that 140 years ago [*i.e.* 1736 A.D., be it noted], or thereabouts, two brothers named Manick and Chan [P Chand],

traders from Chittagong, while returning from Cape Negrais in a vessel loaded with turmeric, called at Akyab for water, and the vessel anchored off the Buddermokan rocks. On the following night, after Chan and Manick had procured water near these rocks, Manick had a dream that the saint Budder Auliah desired him to construct a cave or a place of abode at the locality near where they procured the water. Manick replied that he had no means wherewith he could comply with the request. Budder then said that all his (Manick's) turmeric would turn into gold, and that he should therefore endeavour to erect the building from the proceeds thereof. When morning came Manick, observing that all the turmeric had been transformed into gold, consulted his brother Chan on the subject of the dream, and they conjointly constructed a cave and also dug a well at the locality now known as Buddermokan.

“There are orders in Persian [P i.e. in the Persian or Urdu character] in the Deputy Commissioner's Court of Akyab, dated 1834, from William Dampier, Esquire, Commissioner of Chittagong, and also from T. Dickenson, Esquire, Commissioner of Arakan, to the effect that one Hussain Ally (then the *thugyi*¹ of Bhudamaw Circle) was to have charge of the Buddermokan in token of his good services rendered to the British force in 1825, and to enjoy any sums that he might collect on account of alms and offerings.

“In 1849 Mr. R. C. Raikes, the officiating Magistrate of Akyab, ordered that Hussain Ally was to have charge of the Buddermokan buildings, and granted permission to one Ma Min Oung, a female *fakir*, to erect a building. Accordingly in 1849 the present masonry buildings were constructed by her. She also redug the tank.

“The expenditure for the whole work came to about Rs. 2000. After Hussain Ally's death his son Abdoolah had charge, and after his death his sister Mi Moorazamal, the present wife of Abdool Marein, pleader, took charge. Abdool Marein is now in charge on behalf of his wife.”

¹ Thū-gyi (Bur.), a head man. For Bhudamaw read Buddhama. — St. A. St. J.

Burmese corruptions of Musalman names are always difficult, and those just given are, as stated, impossible. All I can suggest for Marein is that it is a mistake for Karen (=Karim) and that the pleader's name was Abdu'l-Karim, "the servant of the Generous"; or possibly, by metathesis, for Rahim, which would make his name Abdu'r-Rahim, "the servant of the Compassionate." Ar-Rahim is the second and Al-Karim is the forty-second of the ninety-nine "Names" of God. See Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam," p. 141, Herklot's "*Qanoon-e-Islam*," p. 24 ff., and my own "Proper Names of Panjabis," p. 43 ff. There is no "Most Comely Name of God" at all like Marein. Moorazamal may be merely a misprint of Murazamat, a possible designation for a woman.

Dr. Forchhammer next goes on to describe the "Budder-mokan" thus: "The interior is very simple—a square or quadrangular room. There are really two caves, one on the top of the rocks. This has an entrance in the north and south sides; the arch is vaulted and so is the inner chamber. The exterior of the cave is 9 ft. 3 in. wide, 11 ft. 6 in. long, and 8 ft. 6 in. high; the inner chamber measures 7 ft. by 5 ft. 8 in., height 6 ft. 5 in.; the material is partly stone, partly brick plastered over; the whole is absolutely devoid of decorative designs. The other cave is similarly constructed, only the floor is the bare rock, slightly slanting towards the south entrance; it is smaller than the preceding cave. The principal mosque stands on a platform; a flight of brick and stone stairs leads up to it. The east front of the temple measures 28 ft. 6 in.; the south side 26 ft. 6 in.; the chamber is 16 ft. 9 in. long, and 13 ft. wide. The ceiling is a cupola; on the west side is a niche, let 1 ft. into the wall, with a pointed arch and a pilaster each side. [This must be the *mihrab* that is obligatory in every mosque.] Over it hangs a copy in Persian [? character not language] of the grant mentioned above. A small prayer-hall [if meant for Muhammandans this is (? an *idgah*], also quadrangular, with a low cupola, is pressed in between the rocks close by. All the buildings are in

good order. The curiously-shaped rocks capped by these buildings form a very picturesque group. The principal mosque has become the prototype for many Buddhist temples. This pagoda is the most perfect type of the blending of the Indian mosque and the Burmese turreted spire."

I cannot quite follow Dr. Forchhammer in mixing up the terms "temple," "mosque," and "pagoda" in one and the same building. But I am quite of one mind with him as to the extreme architectural value of the old mosque at Akyab, and have long pitched on its dome and central spire as the connecting link between ancient *chaitya* architecture and the modern Burmese spired pagoda. From this point of view this building is certainly one of the most important old structures in Burma, and one of the most worth preserving.

I have now allowed such witnesses as I can procure from the Burmese side to tell their story, each in his own way, and the evidence amounts to this: There is a supernatural being worshipped along the Burmese coast by seafarers from Akyab to Mergui at certain spots specially dedicated to him. These spots, so far as yet known, are at Akyab, Sandoway, and Mergui. To the Buddhists he is a *nat*; to the Hindus a *deva* or inferior god; to the Muhammadans a saint; to the Chinese a spirit. His worship is precisely that which is common all over the East to spirits or supernatural beings, believed in by the folk irrespective of their particular form of professed belief, and it points, in just the same way as do all other instances, to the survival of an old local animistic worship in "pre-religious" days. As in all other similar cases, one of the contending professed religions has chiefly annexed this particular being to itself, and he is pre-eminently a Muhammadan saint, legendarily that saint best known to the bulk of the Muhammadan seafaring population, namely, Pir Badar of their own chief town Chittagong.

In that remarkably accurate work Beale's "Oriental Biographical Dictionary," 1881, there is an entry, Pir

“Badar,” at p. 216, which explains the matter under discussion. Pir Badar or Badar is the great saint of the Chittagonians, Badru'ddin Aulia and Badr Sahib, under the various corruptions above given, being merely variants of his title of the ordinary sort.

Beale says of this saint: “Pir Badar, a celebrated Musalman saint, whose tomb is at Chitagun in Bengal, and is evidently of great antiquity. There is a stone scraped into furrows, on which, it is said, Pir Badar used to sit. There is also another bearing an inscription, which, from exposure to the weather and having on it numerous coats of whitewash, is illegible. There is a mosque near the tomb with a slab of granite, bearing an illegible inscription, apparently from the Kuran. At a short distance is the masjid of Muhammad Yasin, with an inscription conveying the year of the Hijri 1136 (1724 A.D.).”

Unfortunately there is not a word about Pir Badar in the “Statistical Account of Bengal,” vol. vi. Chittagong, etc. Clearly, in quoting the foregoing extracts, we have not yet dug up all the information procurable from books, records, and reports about Pir Badar himself in his own native town, nor about “Buddermokan.” What is wanted as to Pir Badar is a specific account about him, his date, doings, miracles, worship, and so on; and what is wanted about “Buddermokan” is the source from which Sladen’s and the official account came, and details about his cult at Akyab, Sandoway, and Mergui, and at other places along the coast, should it happen to exist at any other spots than those already cited.

Perhaps readers of these notes, interested in such things, and possessing information on the point, will kindly add to that herein collected.

R. C. T.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1894.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

10th April, 1894.—Lord REAY (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Dr. Serge d'Oldenburg, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of St. Petersburg, had been elected a member of the Society.

Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I., read a paper on the "Castes of India." The paper will be published in the October *Journal*.

Anniversary Meeting, Tuesday, 8th May, 1894.—The Right Hon. the Lord REAY (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Sardar Sir Atar Singh, K.C.I.E.
General G. G. Alexander, C.B., and
Arnold C. Taylor, Esq., M.A.

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D., etc. (Secretary), read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1893.

The Council regrets to have to report the loss by death, or retirement, of the following sixteen members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. H. M. Becher,
2. Mr. C. J. Connell,

3. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby,
4. Mr. C. Erskine,
5. Mr. S. E. Gopalacharlu,
6. Mr. F. S. Growse,
7. Mr. Haridas Sastri,
8. Dr. Schrupf.

There have resigned—

1. Mr. T. Biddulph,
2. Mr. H. Butts,
3. Mr. S. S. Hosain,
4. Sir H. Howorth,
5. Mr. R. B. Joyner,
6. Mr. J. Kelsall,
7. Mr. L. Reid,
8. Major-Gen. Steel.

The membership of five gentlemen in arrears with their subscriptions has elapsed under Rule 46.

On the other hand the following forty-two new members have been elected during the year :—

1. Mr. W. J. Jones,
2. Mr. F. E. Pargiter, B.C.S.
3. Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse,
4. The Rev. A. W. Greenup,
5. Mr. Taw Sein Ko,
6. Mr. W. Richer,
7. Mons. L. Finot,
8. Mr. J. R. Innes,
9. Mrs. J. Young Gibson,
10. Mons. L. de la Vallée Poussin,
11. Mr. A. F. D. Cunningham, I.C.S., C.I.E.
12. The Hon. W. H. Rattigan,
13. Mr. S. A. Strong, M.A.
14. Mr. E. J. Barton, I.C.S. (retired),
15. Mr. F. H. Hill Guillemard,
16. Mr. K. B. Dutt,
17. Mr. B. Borrah,

18. Mr. B. Dé, I.C.S.
19. Mr. B. L. Gupta, I.C.S.
20. Pandit Hari Prasad Sastri,
21. Dr. Hans Stumme,
22. Mr. D. E. Hogarth,
23. Mr. R. J. Lake,
24. Mr. H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (retired),
25. The Rāja Visvanāth Singh,
26. Mr. P. Beni Madho,
27. Hon. Dr. Ras Bibari Ghosh,
28. Mr. Hem Chandra Banerji,
29. Mr. E. J. L. Scott,
30. Mr. J. M. Parsonson,
31. Mr. Gura Prasad Sen,
32. Mr. P. N. Bose, B.Sc.
33. Rāja Pyari Mohun Mukerji, C.S.I.
34. Rai Bahadur B. Chandra Chatterji, C.I.E.
35. Dr. Trailokya Nath Mittar,
36. Hon. Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerji,
37. The Rev. W. Ridding,
38. Major-General Jago-Trelawney,
39. Mr. R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., C.I.E.
40. Lieut.-Col. Plunkett, R.E.
41. Mr. H. Leitner,
42. Mr. Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.

The Council regret to have to announce the death of one of the Honorary Members of the Society, Dr. Sprenger, of Heidelberg, of whose life and work an account appeared in the April number of our *Journal*. The Council recommend that the vacancy thus occasioned should be filled up by the election of Mons. James Darmesteter, the distinguished Professor of Persian at the Collège de France, and Secretary of the Société Asiatique. As the members of the Society will be aware, Mons. Darmesteter is the greatest living authority on Zoroastrian Literature, and is distinguished not only for his wide philological knowledge in that and other fields, but also for his thorough grasp

of historical criticism, and for his mastery of style and power of exposition. It will also be a peculiar pleasure to this Society to be able to confer an honour upon a scholar who adds to his other attainments a very deep and sympathetic acquaintance with English Literature.

The result of the year as regards the membership of the Society is that the total number amounted, on the 1st January, 1894, to 493.

As our last report contained an analysis and historical sketch of the membership of the Society since its commencement, we need now only give the total membership for the last six years, including the one under review, which is as follows :—

1889	..	432
1890	..	442
1891	..	451
1892	..	459
1893	..	476
1894	..	493

It will be seen that the slow but steady improvement the Council was able to announce in its last report has been maintained for another year.

With the increase in membership (and the care taken to retain no names on the list except those of really subscribing members) the receipts from subscriptions have also shown a slow but steady improvement. Thus the total receipts last year from this source were £506 2s. 0d., but this year they amount to £705 14s. 9d. The figures of the total income of the Society show a similar result. After starting at £1000 in 1831, and suffering many fluctuations in the course of time (falling once, in the year 1859, to £550), our total income has now not only gradually regained the original sum, but has risen in last year to £1225 and this year to £1351 14s. 10d.

On the expenditure side the only striking difference to which attention should be called is the item for expenditure on the Library, which has risen from £68 11s. 3d.

in 1892 and £30 13s. 7d. in 1891 to £190 11s. 11d. in 1893. Out of this sum £53 19s. 9d. has been spent in binding which was very much needed, and £123 14s. 6d. has been required for the new catalogue of the printed books, which is now at last completed, and is ready for issue to members. The Council take this opportunity of congratulating the Society on the completion of a work so urgently needed for many years, and they have passed a special vote of thanks to the Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, and to the Hon. Librarian, Dr. Oliver Codrington, to whom the Society are much indebted for their services in this behalf.

In other respects the work of the Society has gone steadily forward. It is, above all, the value of the articles in the Society's *Journal* on which its reputation and usefulness so very largely depend; and the Council trust that the members have noticed no falling-off in this important part of the Society's work.

In conclusion the Council would draw attention to the fact that Mr. Arbuthnot has, at his own expense, brought out, during the year 1893, two new volumes of Oriental translations, being two volumes of Mirkhond, and that further volumes (including one of Assyrian Texts by Mr. Boscawen, and one containing Prof. Cowell's version of the *Śri Harsba Caritā*) are in preparation.

The Council annex the usual abstract of accounts for the year, and recommend the following officers for election:—

1. By the Rules of the Society five gentlemen retire from the Council, that is to say:

By seniority—

Prof. Douglas and
Prof. Bendall.

By least attendance—

General Maclagan, R.E.
General Pearce, R.H.A., C.B., and
Dr. Duka.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1893.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers, January 1st, 1893	182 9 11	House—Rent	340 5 0
Subscriptions—		Insurance	4 0 0
79 Resident Members at £3 3s.	280 7 0	Water	9 10 0
3 " " (in advance)	3 3 0	Gas	12 6 2
3 " " (arrears)	3 3 0	Coals	4 18 0
1 paid by mistake	4 0 0	Income Tax	3 5 0
119 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.	178 14 3	Repairs	31 3 9
10 " " (arrears)	15 0 0	Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary	225 0 0
4 " " (in advance)	6 0 0	Journal—Printing	297 3 3
48 Members at £1 1s.	50 8 0	Illustrations	21 0 0
1 " " (in advance)	1 1 0	New Books	128 14 5
3 " " (arrears)	4 2 0	Binding	12 17 8
3 Compounders' extra subscription at £1 13s.	4 19 0	Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.	53 19 9
1 Compounder at	31 10 0	Stationery, etc.	60 0 0
1 " "	21 0 0	Miscellaneous	17 1 2
5 " "	15 15 0	Returned Subscriptions	10 8 10
1 " "	13 2 6	Postage, Messengers, etc.	6 11 0
1 " "	10 10 0	Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1893	66 1 6
Donation from the India Office	210 0 0	do. Petty Cash	186 6 8
Dividends on N. S. W. 4 per cent. Stock	35 2 8		2 18 3
Journal—			
Subscriptions	136 10 0		
Sale (back Nos. and parts)	54 0 0		
Sale of Index	1 2 6		
Sale of Pamphlets	4 2 6		
Advertisements	7 15 1		
Sale of Chinese Catalogue	0 5 0		
Sale of Library Catalogue	0 10 6		
Miscellaneous	48 8 1		
Rents—			
Hellenic Society	57 10 0		
Namiamtic Society	15 0 0		
Aristotelian Society	15 15 0		
Oriental Translation Fund	20 0 0		
Folk Lore Society	8 8 0		
Oriental Congress	10 0 0		
Small Meetings	2 2 8		
Mathematical	19 9 0		
Lost by Exchange	0 0 9		
	1481 4 9		
Balance Petty Cash, Jan. 1st, 1893	3 5 7		
Miscellaneous Petty Receipts passed into Petty Cash Account	0 14 2		
	1486 4 0		

£1486 4 0

Examined with the vouchers and found correct.
 { F. F. ARBUTHNOT.
 H. C. KAY.
 H. THOMSON LYON.

The Council recommend the election in their place of—

1. Prof. Douglas,
2. Prof. Bendall,
3. Mr. Rapson,
4. Mr. Strong, and
5. Col. Plunkett, R.E.

2. Under Rule 16 Sir Thomas Wade retires from the Vice-Presidency, and the Council recommend that

Sir Thomas F. Wade, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, past President of this Society, and

Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, past President of this Society,

should be elected Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I., LL.D. : My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to propose the adoption of this Report. I feel it is a duty which would, perhaps, have been better discharged by some more regular attendant of the meetings of this Society. I can only say that I am here as often as I can be, and I always regret when I am unable to come. I think the Report presents one or two very satisfactory features. In the first place we find that, although our Secretary speaks of modest progress, we are yet electing double the number of members that we lose. Last year our loss from all sources amounted to 21. Our new members numbered 42. I think you will also consider it a satisfactory feature that we are incorporating into this Society, in ever-increasing numbers, the young Indians, and the grown-up Indians too, who now come to England for study or to reside. I observe that of the 42 new members no fewer than 16 are Indian gentlemen. Several others belong to foreign nationalities, from China to France. The number of Indians and foreign members added last year was fully equal to one-half the total of 42 which represents the

general addition to our Society. It is satisfactory to find that the labours of the Society are being more and more widely recognised, not only in India itself, but also among foreign workers in Asiatic research. And I venture to think that this is in great degree due to the interest aroused by our *Journal* under the new arrangements. Before passing from the question of membership, I am sure you will all agree that the Council have wisely exercised their discretion in proposing to appoint Professor Darmesteter as an Honorary Member. They could not have found a man who would reflect greater honour on the Society, or who has done better work for Eastern research.

Our income may be summarized, from the historical point of view, as follows. After the Mutiny the Society had a bad time. In 1859 its income amounted to only £550. By good management not only has that loss been retrieved, but we have mounted up to £1351, which is a larger income than the Society had even in the days of the East India Company. As regards both our numbers and our resources, the Council and members may fairly hope that they will be able to hand over the Society to the 20th Century in a condition full of promise for the future.

But all this material success is as nothing unless our work is worthy of it. The past year seems to have been a peculiarly fruitful one. Apart from the large number of interesting papers which have been read and printed in the *Journal*, the Society appears to be striking out new lines of research at the interesting point where philology and scholarship touch the boundary of history. We have always been a learned Society; but last year, more than ever, the Society has been able to supply material for scientific history.

There are two points at which the work of the Society has come into contact with Indian History. At one it has furnished new connecting links this year, not between the older religions of India (not between the ancient Buddhism and the ancient Bráhmaism), but between what

I may call the mediæval religions of India and modern Hinduism. That is an area of knowledge which has been comparatively unexplored; and I feel sure that none who heard Dr. Waddell's papers, or who have read them, can help feeling that a new departure has been made, a departure based upon original research among the vestiges of the mediæval systems to the North of India. By bringing those mediæval relics into comparison with the systems which went before, and with the system which has come after and which we call Hinduism, Dr. Waddell has opened up a new field of research—a field rich in materials for the true history of India when it comes to be written. Dr. Waddell indicated how mediæval Buddhism merged into Hinduism. I should be loath to give offence to anyone present, but I do not believe in the miraculous aspect of theosophy myself, and it seems to me that Dr. Waddell's papers show how the miraculous element came into Buddhism, and, indeed, the route by which it travelled. From this point of view, also, Dr. Waddell's lectures have a peculiar value. Another line of research has been opened up. Take the last number, I think, of our *Journal*. There is a little paper in that number which seemed to me to be of great value. It is by Dr. Gaster upon, I will not say the identity, but upon the resemblance between the life of St. Placidus in Palestine and the Nigrodha Miga Jātaka. That story is a curious one, and it points to a new line of enquiry. As Dr. Waddell, and those who are working with him, show us the connection between mediæval Buddhism and Hinduism—so we are getting behind Christian Hagiology into a time when, as far as we can see, there was a distinct connection between the religious views and the religious legends of the East and the West. It would be wrong to generalize on slender data, but it almost seems as if we were entering on a new domain of not less interest than that which attaches to the migration of secular fables. I daresay many of us remember the interesting and scholarly remarks of Miss Foley on the subject of the Greek conception of the wheel of life—the wheel of existence, and

of the renewed state of existence. They were extremely instructive, and illustrated the possibilities which arise out of such contributions as Dr. Gaster's remarkable article. Not only, therefore, is our material condition good, but we have been doing good work and are opening out fresh fields of historical work.

I cannot pass from this aspect of the case without referring to the progress which a Member of our Council, Mr. Arbuthnot, is making in the publication of original texts. It is one of the heroic undertakings of modern scholarship. If you look at his prospectus you will see he asks for no donation or subscription. I think it is a unique position to take up, and I hope, as he only asks us to buy the volumes as they come out, that all who can do so will aid him in his self-imposed task.

I would now sit down, but I have just received a letter from the President asking me if I had any suggestion to make with a view to rendering this Society more popular. I do not know that I have, or, indeed, that I wish it to be more popular. Yet I may venture to submit one or two remarks. We have, in the first place, a magnificent library. Very few who have not used our library are acquainted with its resources. The rules of the library are extremely liberal, and I am glad to say that at last the Catalogue is ready for distribution to Members. It has been a long work, and a severe task, and I think that the Secretary and Dr. Codrington, and the ladies too who have given us their assistance, deserve our hearty thanks. The completion of this Catalogue will, I hope, render our Library, not only better known, but more available to students who cannot come here, and who wish to ascertain what materials for research are to be found on our shelves.

There is one suggestion that occurs to me, and which perhaps I might venture to submit to you. A number of gentlemen come over from India for very short periods. I would submit whether it would not be worth while for the Council to take power to add as temporary members to their Board the most eminent of the scholars who

thus come over for a short time from India. I should be very happy if Indian gentlemen of learning and distinction could thus be brought upon our Board. It is not always possible for them to go through the tardy process of election; but I think it is of importance that our Council should be in touch with the work that is going on in India. It might be worth while to consider whether men like Dr. Waddell, for example, or native scholars of high reputation, when they came over for a season, might not receive the honour—which I regard as a great honour—of being placed on the Council of this Society.

I wish to say a word about the excellent work that is being done by the Asiatic Society in Bengal. I do not know whether you have seen Sir Charles Elliott's address, as President of that Society. It is a careful summary of Oriental research during the last two years. Sir Charles Elliott is Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and he has found time, in addition to his great administrative task, to write a comprehensive and most valuable account of what has been done in recent Indian scholarship.

Several learned Societies make a distinction between the subscription of ladies and gentlemen; that is to say, an effort is being made by such Societies to interest and incorporate ladies more largely into their field of labour. We know what excellent work has been done for us in our *Journal* by ladies, and what useful work they have kindly done for us in our library and in the executive work of the Society under the Secretary's control and direction. I leave it just as a suggestion whether it would be possible, by more favourable terms, to induce ladies to join us in larger numbers than hitherto. Again, I do not know whether it would be possible, though I have often thought it might be possible, to have some more friendly method of incorporating foreign scholars than the necessarily restricted system of honorary membership. I would ask the President whether an intermediate position could not be found between honorary membership, which is a very great honour, and that of ordinary membership.

Referring to the work that is being done on the Continent, I should like to say a word about a new Dutch periodical, entitled the Netherlands' "Kolonial Centraal Blad." It is an admirable little paper, and unites a certain amount of commercial intelligence with real research. We may welcome it as a sign that the commercial public of Europe, as well as of this country, are interesting themselves not merely in the aspects of Eastern trade, but also in the higher and more enduring relations of the East and West.

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in proposing the adoption of this Report. (Cheers.)

Colonel Plunkett : I have been asked to second the adoption of the Report, and if I had known I was going to speak on the subject, and if I had prepared any remarks perhaps they would not have been much to the point, because I am sure that everything that can have been said has been said by Sir William Hunter, and I should, therefore, have found he had taken it out of my mouth.

There is one point that Sir William mentioned which is rather a novel one, namely, in regard to the increasing numbers in which Indian gentlemen are joining this Society. It seems to me a pleasing feature of the last Oriental Congress to see the numbers that came over and the pleasant way in which they associated with Englishmen in this country. It seems to me that this increasing number of educated Indians, who are joining us in literary and historic work on that very catholic basis, will not only have an excellent effect on the work of the Society, but promises to have a very general social and, I might almost say, political effect. This is very desirable, and I hope it will not be confined to India. It will be remembered that we have had a few from Persia, Egypt, and other countries. I hope the Society will continue to work on that very catholic basis, that it will not attempt to work on one line, but that there will be contributions from all Oriental countries and languages, and that it may lead, in future, to a desirable and satisfactory assimilation, and

that we may have the same experience with Egypt, Persia, and other Oriental countries, which this Society is evidently enjoying in the case of India.

I have only to congratulate the Council on the excellent work they have done for the Society and the way in which affairs have been carried on during the past year.

I have great pleasure in seconding the adoption of this Report.

The President (who was received with cheers on rising) said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have heard with the greatest interest the speech of Sir William Hunter. I shall not make many observations, for I know you are all very desirous of hearing the interesting paper that Mr. Rogers is going to give us. I cannot, however, allow the Resolution to be put without stating how deeply I feel the great loss which not only this Society has sustained, but which learning, and not only Oriental learning, but learning in general, has sustained, by the premature death of that remarkable Scotchman, Professor Robertson Smith. I am sure you will all feel that the loss of a man who had a reputation which has spread widely beyond our own frontiers may be called a national loss. A life full of promise has been cut short. The loss to the University of Cambridge, where we have so many distinguished members, is a loss which this Society shares. (Hear, hear.)

I wish, in the first place, to thank the persons who have been good enough to read interesting papers at our meetings and to contribute very valuable papers to the *Journal* of this Society. This Society is entirely dependent upon voluntary work, and the Council appreciates and is very grateful for the contributions they have received from so many quarters, as Sir William Hunter has pointed out, in an increasing measure. What I should like to dwell upon is that the Council of this Society have a peculiar responsibility. What is noticeable is the much greater importance attached elsewhere than in this country to Oriental learning—in other countries such as France,

Germany, and Austria,—which are certainly not more interested than we are in the development of Oriental learning, in the origin and history of Oriental languages, and in all that is connected with the great and ancient East.

The suggestions made by Sir William Hunter I need not say will have to be considered by the Council. Most of those suggestions, I think, are extremely valuable, especially what he said about strengthening our line of communications with foreign Orientalists. I think I am right in saying that in former years the Society had corresponding members, and that category of members might well be revived. I concur in what Sir William Hunter said, that this Society must proceed cautiously when it gets hints to make itself more popular. This Society is essentially one for the promotion of research and learning; and we ought not to run any risk, whilst maintaining that intellectual character, by yielding to democratic impulses. At the same time I may add that the Council are not oblivious of the fact that the interest which is being more and more widely taken in Indian subjects by a certain section of the public entails on the Society the responsibility to see that proper guidance should be forthcoming so that wisdom and enthusiasm may not be dissociated.

With regard to practical steps that have been taken by this Society I would remind you that at one of the meetings (I believe it was when Dr. Waddell read his paper) we were asked to call the special attention of Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to the excavations of the remains of Asoka's city at Patna. I may mention that Sir Charles Elliott, who is a very methodical correspondent, replied immediately. He said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to further the wishes of the Society, and that we might be sure of his hearty co-operation.

With regard to Mr. Arbuthnot's contribution we cannot forget that Lord Northbrook has given us a handsome contribution towards the cost of publishing Professor

Cowell's book. And, I may add, that a proposal from Mr. Sturdy to publish at his own expense a translation of the *Pañca-daṣī*—a work which will be extremely valuable to scholars—has just been accepted by the Council.

I admit that I was quite unaware of the Dutch publication to which Sir William Hunter has alluded, and I hope he will oblige me by sending me a copy of it, but it is undoubtedly fresh evidence of the fact that the East is getting every day nearer to the West.

I also heartily agree with Sir William Hunter that it is a most propitious sign of the times that we are able to number so many of our native scholars among our members, and I can assure him that anything we can do to make our library and the offices of the Society accessible to Indians who are staying here for the purpose of study or for other purposes, will give us the greatest pleasure.

Let me allude in conclusion to an important event. You are aware that a scheme is before the public to establish in London, on a better basis than the existing one, an Oriental School. The Council have to-day adopted a resolution that they consider it to be the duty of this Society to do all in its power to promote the establishment of such a School, and to remove the reproach from a country like ours that so little has been done hitherto as compared with what has been done in other countries. I trust that this step will meet with your approval, and that you will agree that this Society should heartily support the scheme.

It has been moved and seconded that this resolution be adopted. Those who are in favour of the resolution will please signify the same.

[The resolution was carried unanimously.]

Professor Rhys Davids: I have received a letter from Dr. Gaster, who is unfortunately unable to be present.

(The letter, suggesting an alteration in one of the rules regulating the use of the library, was then read.)

On that, my Lord, I ought to say that the only opportunity for changing a Rule, unless a special general

meeting be convened, is at the Annual Meeting. And I presume Dr. Gaster, as I received the letter only this morning, has written this letter to me with the view of its being laid before the Annual Meeting.

The President : You say there is no way of the Council altering the Rule?

Professor Rhys Davids : No, I have considered the matter.

Mr. Robert N. Cust : We must look it up before we alter a Rule in a hasty way, and without notice.

Professor Rhys Davids : The Rule says: "The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall ordinarily be held on the second Tuesday in May to receive and consider a Report of the Council on the state of the Society ; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts ; to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year ; to elect Honorary Members ; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society."

Mr. Robert N. Cust : I think the matter must be referred to the Council with a suggestion that it be submitted to the Society. It may be that we should extend the time, but we cannot do it in this way. It is impossible. (Hear, hear.)

The President : I agree with Mr. Cust that a matter of this kind must be referred to the Council and should come before a General Meeting with a report of the Council whether they are in favour of it or not. Therefore the matter had better be mentioned to them with that view.

Mr. Alexander Rogers, M.R.A.S., then read his paper on "A Notice of the Mantiq ut Tair (Language of the Birds), a Persian mystic poem."

After referring to M. Garcin de Tassy's work on the same subject the writer of the paper gave a short account of the author of the poem, Muhammad Ibrahim Farid ud Din Attar, who wrote about 1150, and was killed by the soldiers of Jenghis Khan. The paper then summarized the Sufi doctrines as found in the poem, and gave a detailed epitome of the whole work. The paper concludes—

In the short space of an article it would have been impossible to give more than a general sketch of the most salient points of the allegory, and the doctrines held up in it for belief and practical observance. In the original the arguments adduced by the Hoopoe in contravention of the objections raised by the birds, and the admonitions addressed by him to them, as well as the descriptions of the seven valleys on the road of Faith, are illustrated by copious anecdotes, only a few of which have been alluded to. A proper idea of them could only have been conveyed by a more or less full translation, very difficult to make in consequence of the obscurity of many of the mystic allusions with which they abound, and such a translation would have swelled this article to the size of a book. It will have been seen that the allegory traverses the whole range of ethics common to all religions that have advanced beyond the stage of mere fetishism, and although there is much in the ideas contained in it against which the common-sense, not to say the religious belief, of professors of Christianity must revolt, its morality, as a whole, is such as to meet with the entire concurrence of the pious and God-fearing of all creeds. Its mysticism, unsurpassed in the works of any of the Persian mystic writers, may be studied with curiosity at least, if not with sympathy or toleration.

June 12th, 1894.—E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq. (Treasurer), in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Robert C. Stevenson, Esq., I.C.S., and
Captain Philip Gurdon, Indian Staff Corps,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. H. Beveridge, M.R.A.S. (I.C.S. retired), read a paper on the *Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh* of Sujān Rai. The paper will appear in the October number of the *Journal*.

II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

1. *Professor William Robertson Smith.*—On March 31st last, at Christ's College, Cambridge, after a painful and protracted illness, supported with admirable fortitude, died Professor William Robertson Smith, in his forty-eighth year. By his premature death his country loses not merely one of her greatest scholars, but one of her most brilliant geniuses. So multifarious were his attainments, so many-sided his culture, so profound, and, at the same time, so encyclopædic his learning, that few among us are in a position to do more than dimly realize the magnitude of the loss which we have sustained; while fewer still are qualified to appraise the work of a life which, all too short as it was, was filled to overflowing with endeavour and achievement. It needs time, and the combined efforts of those best qualified to estimate the value of his labours in the many different fields of knowledge which he so strenuously and so fruitfully cultivated, ere a worthy record can be written of that rich and active existence; and in the meanwhile all that we, who knew him and loved him, can do, is to set forth, each according to his power, such aspect or aspects of his life and work as our narrower horizons permit us to behold.

It was at Keig, in Aberdeenshire, on Nov. 8th, 1846, that he whose death we lament was born; and there, on April 4th of this year, his mortal remains were laid to rest. His education, until he reached his fifteenth year, was entirely conducted by his father, the Rev. William Pirie Smith, a Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, equally remarkable for piety and learning. The respective merits of home and school training have been much discussed; but here, at least, the results of the former were most happy; for when, in 1861, Robertson Smith, accompanied by his brother George, entered the University of Aberdeen, he was already well versed in Classics, Mathematics, and English, besides having some knowledge of Modern Languages,

and, it is said, of Hebrew. Thus equipped, and urged on alike by the example of his associates, the stimulating influence of his teachers (especially Professors Geddes and Bain), and the restless activity of his own keen intellect, he attained marked distinction in almost every subject to which he turned his attention, and finally graduated in 1865, in which year also he obtained the Gold Medal at Aberdeen and the Ferguson Scholarship (open to all Scotland) in Mathematics.

Yet even with these early triumphs (for he was not yet twenty years of age) came the first warnings of that malady against which the last two years of his life were an almost continual struggle; and the warning was emphasized by the death, in 1866, of the brother who had hitherto been his constant companion and fellow-student. It was then that he determined to enter the ministry of the Free Church; in pursuance of which object he enrolled himself as a student in the New College, Edinburgh, in the autumn of that year. Here he continued until the spring of 1870, a period of three and a half years, during which his remarkable achievements in the fields of Mathematics, Physics, and even Metaphysics, did not divert him from pursuing with unremitting assiduity his studies in Divinity and the Semitic Languages. During the latter half of this period he acted as Assistant to Professor Tait, and published several remarkable papers on subjects connected with both Physical and Metaphysical enquiry; during it also he became acquainted, at the Edinburgh Evening Club, with John F. McLennan, the author of *Primitive Marriage*, by whom his attention seems first to have been directed towards those problems of social archæology to the elucidation of which he afterwards so largely contributed.¹

Edinburgh alone, however, with all the facilities which it afforded him for deepening and extending a knowledge already sufficiently remarkable both for depth and extent,

¹ Most notably in his *Marriage and Kinship amongst the early Arabians*, published in 1885; and his *Religion of the Semites* (Burnett Lectures, 1888-9), published in 1889.

did not suffice him. From Professor Davidson, indeed, he learned much Hebrew; but he wanted more, and so, partly to learn German (wherein he afterwards became very proficient, speaking and writing it not only with fluency and ease, but with elegance and accuracy), partly to increase his knowledge of the Semitic languages, and to acquaint himself with the views of the German divines and critical theologians, he spent a semester at Bonn in 1867. There he lodged in the house of Professor Schaarschmidt, attended the lectures of Kamphausen, and became acquainted with the teaching of Rothe, by which he was much influenced.

In the summer of 1869 he again went to Germany, this time to Göttingen, where he followed the lectures of Lotze and Bertheau, absorbed the ideas of Ritschl the theologian, and was associated with Klein as an active member of the *Mathematisches Verein*. Ewald, though suspended, and forbidden to lecture, on political grounds, was a felt influence.

In the spring of 1870 Robertson Smith was appointed Professor of Hebrew in the Aberdeen Free Church College, being then not twenty-four years of age; and at the beginning of the ensuing session he delivered his Inaugural Lecture on "*What History teaches us to seek in the Bible.*" His teaching included formal lectures, as well as the philological and grammatical instruction which constituted the necessary, if arduous, preparation for a full and intelligent comprehension of these; and, if the number of regular students who attended his classes was comparatively small, we may be sure, to judge by his Cambridge lectures on Arabic, that his every utterance was eagerly listened for, and greedily absorbed. Few lecturers, indeed, can succeed in imparting, even to the most attractive subject, that interest with which his extraordinary range of knowledge, breadth of view, and fertility of illustration, enabled him to invest passages, seemingly the most sterile and arid, of the texts which he chose to expound.

In the summer of 1872 he again returned to Göttingen

to pursue his Semitic studies under Lagarde; became acquainted with Wellhausen and Hoffmann; and, generally speaking, completed that knowledge of the personalities, the methods, and the achievements of Continental scholars, especially Orientalists, for which he, like the late Dr. William Wright, his illustrious predecessor in the Sir Thomas Adams Professorship (now, alas! once more left vacant), was so conspicuous. The importance of this it seems right to emphasize very strongly, because it is just here that English Orientalism is weakest and most in need of reform. Contracting our horizons to the limits of the British Empire, we are apt to ignore, or grievously underestimate, the work done by Continental Orientalists, and to imagine that we occupy a respectable, or even a distinguished, position in Oriental studies, whereas, in fact, we are, speaking generally, far surpassed in this field of knowledge by France, Germany, Holland, and Russia, if not by other European nations. From Professor Robertson Smith's sustained relations and correspondence with Continental scholars his friends and pupils derived the greatest advantage, and that in two ways: they were prevented from attacking problems long since solved, and wasting the seed of their endeavour upon an exhausted soil; and, when occasion offered, they were personally made known to the leading workers in this department of Science. The regular summaries of the more important theological and critical articles appearing in French, German, and Dutch periodicals which Professor Robertson Smith regularly contributed at this time to the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* would afford further evidence, if such were needed, of the value of these relations.

In 1874 the death of Professor Fairbairn, of Glasgow, left a vacancy on the Old Testament Revision Committee, and this Professor Robertson Smith was appointed to fill. Thus did he first become personally acquainted with Dr. William Wright, between whom and himself a warm friendship soon grew up. This may be said to mark the first beginning of his connection with Cambridge; which, however, might never

have produced any definite result had it not been for an event which had occurred shortly before, and paved the way for his entry into our midst. In 1873 or 1874 he accepted a proposal made to him by Professor Baynes, then sole editor of the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that he should contribute certain articles connected with Theology and Biblical Criticism ; of which those headed "Angel" and on "Bible," destined to arouse so great a storm, appeared in 1875.

This is not the place to revive a theological controversy now well-nigh twenty years old, even were the writer in any way competent to pronounce an opinion on the matter, One fact connected with it deserves, however, to be recorded. The first attack on the alleged dangerous tendencies of the articles in question did not come from within the Free Church, but from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, an organ hostile to that body, which, in violent and inflammatory language, denounced the views therein embodied. The Free Church College Committee, thus compelled, as it were, to take action, appointed a sub-Committee, on May 17th, 1876, to enquire into the matter. On October 17th of the same year this sub-Committee reported the results of its deliberations ; though absolving Professor Robertson Smith of heresy by a large majority, they "continued to regard his position with grave concern," nor did the explanations which he offered "relieve their apprehensions." The case trailed on ; and, pending its final settlement, Professor Robertson Smith was bidden to suspend his teaching, until, in May, 1881, he was finally deprived of his Chair, though even then his opinions were not formally condemned. In the spring of the same year, on "the invitation of some six hundred prominent Free Churchmen in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who deemed it better that the Scottish public should have an opportunity of understanding the position of the newer criticism than that they should condemn it unheard," he delivered his series of lectures on "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church"; and the University of Aberdeen marked its appreciation of his learning by conferring on

him the Doctorate of Law. In the following autumn, too, he became joint-editor, and in 1887, on the death of Professor Baynes, sole editor, of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a post for which his extraordinary range of knowledge peculiarly fitted him, and in which he compelled the admiration of all.

The period of his suspension had other consolations (and surely they were no less deserved than needed!) to compensate him for all that he suffered. With his intense desire to get at the root of every matter, and that keen interest in humanity and all things human for which he was no less remarkable than for his knowledge of books, his scholarship, and his critical acumen, it was but natural that he should desire to visit the East, and, by observing the actual state and characteristics of the Semitic peoples, especially the Arabs, to complete and perfect his views of their past history. The opportunity for the accomplishment of this desire had now presented itself, and he hastened to take advantage of it. One winter was passed in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine; a second partly in Arabia itself. During the former he assiduously prosecuted his Arabic studies at Cairo, where he became acquainted with Spitta Bey; during the latter, after again visiting Egypt, he proceeded to Jedda, whence he boldly pushed his explorations into the interior as far as Tâ'if and the precincts of the Holy City of Mecca. Some of the results of these journeys were embodied by him in a series of letters, filled with observations of the utmost value, which he contributed to the *Scotsman*. That these letters should be reprinted in a more accessible form is most earnestly to be desired, for they are, especially those relating to his Arabian journey, of a great and enduring value, which the most distinguished Semitic scholars in Europe were the first to recognise. The testimonials sent in by Professor Robertson Smith, when he offered himself as a candidate for the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge in 1882, lie before me (and seldom, I should think, have testimonials stronger or better attested been offered by any candidate for a similar

post), and in nearly all of them emphasis is laid on the importance of these journeys. Thus Baron von Kremer says, in a letter dated Dec. 5, 1882, "Ich könnte keinen englischen Gelehrten nennen den ich so gerne auf Palmers Stelle begrüßen würde als Sie. Durch Ihren Aufenthalt in Aegypten, Ihre Reise in Arabien haben sie den Orient und seine Bewohner aus eigener Anschauung kennen gelernt, und ausserdem der arabischen Sprache als einer lebenden sich bedienen gelernt, ein Vorthail den die meisten unserer Orientalisten nicht besitzen. Einige Ihrer mündlichen Mittheilungen über die Hudheil-Beduinen und ihren Dialekt benutze ich soeben bei einer Arbeit die ich unter der Feder habe." And Professor Nöldeke, after speaking of Robertson Smith's profound knowledge of Hebrew and of the Old Testament, continues, "Sollte aber dieser Umstand auch für die Qualification für eine 'arabische' Professur als unwesentlich erachtet werden, so ist es doch jedenfalls von grosser Bedeutung dass Robertson-Smith den Orient selbst kennt und sich namentlich auch in der Heimath der arabischen Sprache längere Zeit aufgehalten hat. Seine in einem schottischen Journal erschienenen, ganz anspruchlosen Reiseberichte aus dem Hijâz gehören unbedingt zu dem Instructivisten, was über Arabien geschrieben ist; es wäre sehr zu wünschen, dass dieselben in Buchform erschienen. So urtheilen, um das beläufig zu erwähnen, auch meine Freunde Professor Socin, der ja selbst lange im Orient gewesen ist, und Professor Thorbecke, einer der gründlichsten Kenner des Arabischen, die es giebt." Travel or residence in the East does not, indeed, make an Orientalist; but it must ever remain a most important adjunct to his education. Books are to be interpreted through men rather than men by books. No one recognised this more clearly than Robertson Smith; the fauna and flora, the physical geography, and the antiquities of the countries which he visited all interested him, but the people interested him most of all. "We cared for the modern Egyptians," he says, in a letter dated March 11th, 1879, and written on the Nile, near Siut, "quite as much as for

the ruins, and often found it pleasant to loiter for a day in some country place where tourists seldom land." He was quick to discern not only what was novel and interesting, but what was good in the people: he did not speak of "natives" as though they were an inferior order of beings; he dealt with them as fellow-men, thereby winning their confidence and affection, and gaining such insight into their minds and characters as the arrogant and domineering traveller can never attain.

In the summer of 1882 the Lord Almoner's Chair of Arabic at Cambridge was left vacant by the tragic and lamentable death of Professor Palmer. Robertson Smith offered himself as a candidate, and on New Year's Day of the year 1883 received from Lord Alwyne Compton the notification of his election. No choice could have been wiser, or better calculated to promote the best interests of Cambridge. Robertson Smith came into residence at once, and from the first threw himself heart and soul, not only into his own special work, but into the general life and work of the University. Till the year 1885, when he was elected fellow of Christ's, he was a member of Trinity College. On Mr. Bradshaw's death in 1886 he was appointed University Librarian, and in 1889 he succeeded Dr. Wright as Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic—a worthy successor to that incomparable man. The debt which Cambridge, and in particular her Oriental School, owes to these two great teachers it would be impossible to overstate.

In every office which he filled, in every function which he was called upon to discharge, Professor Robertson Smith displayed the same conscientious thoroughness, the same unremitting energy, the same clearness of vision and fixity of purpose. Whether in the Library and the Lecture-room, or on Board and Syndicate; whether working for his College, or his University, or in the high cause of Science, which is above and beyond these, and for which they exist, the same untiring activity characterized all that he did. He was as swift to discern the general principles

underlying particular forms as to devise the forms most appropriate to secure the success of general principles. That one alike so willing and so competent should be surcharged with work was but natural; that his constitution, never of the strongest, should suffer from the strain, was, alas! inevitable. Yet it was not till the autumn of 1892 that his failing health began to cause grave anxiety to his friends, while almost to the last his unflinching courage and sustained cheerfulness kept our hopes alive. Appointed President of the Semitic Section of the International Congress of Orientalists held in London early in the September of that year, he discharged the onerous duties of that position in the most masterly manner; and never did his spirits appear higher, never were his extraordinary intellectual activity and brilliancy of conversation more apparent, than while he was surrounded, during the last two days of the Congress week, by the little band of Continental scholars (including several of the most distinguished Arabists in Europe), whom it was the privilege of Cambridge to entertain as her guests. On the memory of those two days he continued till the end to dwell with the greatest pleasure; and by us also, who were privileged to bear a part in them, they will be ever remembered, not less than those later, sadder days, when, powerless to aid, and bowed down by the sense of impending calamity, we watched the daily wasting of that fragile frame, and realized that the brave bright spirit which animated it, for all its undimmed lustre, was not long for this world.

He is gone, our master and our friend, on whose strength, even when he was weakest, we were wont to lean; he who was so wise in counsel, so swift of help, leaving a void among us which none can fill. Often, as he lay stretched on his couch of suffering, did we bring to him our difficulties and our dilemmas, and seldom indeed did we come in vain! No matter how great his weariness or how severe his pain, he would make the effort rather than suffer us to go away disappointed. And what knowledge was his! Every one of the vast number of books which

composed his library he seemed to know from end to end. No matter what the question: "Fetch me such and such a book," he would say (when he no longer had strength to rise from his couch), "it stands on such and such a shelf, and is bound and lettered thus and thus." And when it was brought, with deft, eager hands he would turn over the leaves, until the desired passage was found, and the proffered problem solved.

We mourn his loss with deep and heartfelt sorrow, sorrow which words are powerless to express. But we have a higher duty than to give utterance to unavailing laments. He is taken from us, he whom we loved and honoured, but his influence abides in our midst. Let it be ours to show that we are not altogether unworthy of such a teacher, not altogether incapable of carrying on the work for which he lived and in which he died.¹

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

2. *General Robert Maclagan, R.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.*—General Robert Maclagan—a member of the Council of this Society—died on the 22nd April, to the deep regret of his colleagues and numerous friends in England and India. Up to the winter of 1892 he enjoyed excellent health, and was busily engaged in the work of the many Societies—literary, scientific, charitable, and religious—of which he was a most efficient and valued member. During the winter of 1892 he suffered from congestion of the lungs, and while staying near Loch Earne, last autumn, was attacked with internal hæmorrhage, which caused his friends grave anxiety; but he rallied from the attack and was removed to Edinburgh, and afterwards to his home in South Kensington, where he gained strength and spent the early part of the present

¹ For many of the facts embodied in this notice I desire to express my indebtedness to Mr. John Sutherland Black, and also to articles which appeared in No. 379 of the *Cambridge Review* (April 26), No. 32 of the *Bookman* (May), and No. 19 of Vol. xi. of *Alma Mater*, the Aberdeen University Magazine.

year at Torquay. After returning to his home he caught a chill; this was followed by a return of the hæmorrhage, from which he died.

General Maclagan was born at Edinburgh on December 14th, 1820, and was one of a distinguished family of seven-sons. His father, David Maclagan, M.D., served in the Peninsular War, and was afterwards President both of the Royal College of Physicians and Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh, and Physician to Her Majesty's Forces in Scotland. Of the General's six brothers one is the present Archbishop of York, one (the eldest) is Sir Douglas Maclagan, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Public Health in the University of Edinburgh; another, Philip Whiteside Maclagan, M.D., who died in 1892, was a distinguished botanist and devoted to religious and philanthropic work at Berwick-upon-Tweed.

The subject of this notice was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, and entered the Engineer Service of the East India Company in 1839, after a brilliant career at Addiscombe—at the close of which he was presented with the "sword of honour." In 1842 he joined the Bengal Corps of Sappers and Miners, and the following year was appointed Surveyor of Canals and Forests in Sind. When the first Sikh war broke out (December, 1845) he was moving towards Ferozepore, and afterwards joined the camp of Sir Charles Napier, whom he accompanied to Lahore. He was present at the grand review of the army held on March 5th, 1846 (after the victory of Sobraon), and was afterwards placed in charge of the defences of the city. In 1847 he was selected for the post of first Principal of the Government Civil Engineering College at Rûrki, an institution founded by Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, for affording scientific training to Europeans and natives of India, in view to their employment on Public Works, and organized a scheme of studies which has been maintained, it is believed, with little modification up to the present time. In 1852 he took his first furlough, and devoted part of it

to a tour through Palestine to Baalbec, Damascus, and Constantinople. On return from furlough he was re-appointed to his old post, which he continued to fill with conspicuous success until 1860; meanwhile, during the Mutiny of 1857, he took part in the suppression of disorder in and around Rúrki, and received the thanks of Government for his services. From 1860 until the date of his retirement in 1879, he held the appointment of Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Department of Public Works.

During his career in India no opportunity was afforded him of earning distinction in the Field, but his work was important and responsible, while his singularly noble character, combining, as it did, extensive knowledge, keen intelligence, scholarly culture, and well-balanced judgment with rare modesty, deep religious principle, wide sympathies, and a temper absolutely perfect, earned the hearty respect and affectionate regard of all who knew him. On the termination of his service in India, the native members of the Public Works' Department in the Punjab founded in his honour, at the University College of Lahore, an annual prize or scholarship for the native student who most distinguished himself in practical engineering.

After retirement he became an active member of various scientific, literary, and religious Societies. He was on the Council of the Royal Geographical and Royal Asiatic Societies; on the Committees of both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society, a member of the Indian Church Aid Association, and, since 1887, Honorary Secretary to the Board of Missions for the Province of Canterbury; he also took great interest in the Home for Asiatics at Limehouse.

He produced no large work, but was, at different times, a contributor to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Calcutta Review*, the *Journal of the British Association*, and the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, and was the author of several articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edition); and at the time of his death was engaged upon

a *Life of Akbar*, with special reference to his religious views and policy regarded from a Christian standpoint.

In 1890 he received the honorary degree of I.L.D. from the University of Edinburgh.

General Maclagan's work as Engineer and as Philanthropist has been or will be dealt with elsewhere. Here we desire to place on record his services in the cause of Oriental research, and in furtherance of the work of this Society.

The following is a list of his principal writings on subjects connected with the East:—

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.—*Fragments of the History of Mooltán, Derajet and Buhdwalpoor, from Persian MSS.* (1845); *Early Asiatic Fire Weapons* (1876).

Calcutta Review.—*Spelling of Indian Names* (1873).

Journal of British Association.—*The Rivers of India* (1885).

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.—*Memoir of the late Sir H. Yule* (1890).

National Review.—*India—The Empire and the Natives* (1884).

Encyclopædia Britannica (9th ed.).—Articles: *Káshi, Kashmir, Lahore, Mahmúd, Punjab.*

To this it should be added that the late Sir H. Yule, in the preface to his "Travels of Marco Polo" and "Glossary of Anglo-Indian Names," records his grateful acknowledgments to General Maclagan for the assistance rendered by him in the preparation of those works.

As Head of the Department of Public Works in the Punjab he co-operated heartily with the late General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his archæological survey of the province, and with the Curator of the Museum at Lahore in getting together and arranging the valuable collection of Indo-Bactrian Sculptures from *Yusufzai*, on the N.W. frontier; and in 1861 he took part in an attempt to establish at Lahore a branch of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The attempt failed, not in consequence of any want of zeal on the part of General Maclagan and those associated with him, but owing to the frequent change of officers and the

little leisure left to those engaged in administrative work for the preparation of scientific papers.

Without being an Orientalist, in the technical sense, General Maclagan was well versed in Persian, Urdú, and Sanskrit literature, and took a keen interest in Asiatic studies, and his wide range of knowledge and sound judgment were of the greatest value in our discussions. As a member of the Council of this Society he was exemplary in his attendance, and a most useful member of Committees; while to all his friends his loss will be severe indeed. "It is rarely," says a writer in the *Guardian*, "that such a combination of clear, accurate thought, balanced judgment, and large-hearted sympathy is found in one man; and modesty is hardly an adequate term for the profound Christian humility which characterized all he said or did."

General Maclagan married in 1855 Patricia, daughter of Patrick Gilmour, Esq., D.L., J.P., of Londonderry, who survives him with four sons and two daughters. Of the sons two are in India, one a Captain in the Royal Engineers and the other a rising member of the Indian Civil Service.

The General's remains were buried in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, where many members of his family are interred.

THOMAS HENRY THORNTON.

The following obituary is from the *Academy* of May the 19th:—

3. *The Rev. Dr. Richard Morris*.—The small band of scientific philologists in this country has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Dr. Richard Morris, distinguished alike for his work in Early English and Pali. For more than two years he had been prostrated by an incurable and distressing illness, which he bore with characteristic fortitude, nursed only by his devoted wife. He died on Saturday, May 12th, at the little railway-side hamlet of Harold Wood, in Essex. He was buried on Thursday at Hornchurch.

Though a Londoner all his life, Richard Morris was (we believe) of Welsh descent. He was born at Bermondsey in 1833, and educated at the Battersea Training College. Of his early years we know little more than can be gained from the titles and dates of his published works. But it is certain that he was, in the main, self-educated, being stimulated to work at MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere by the example of his life-long friend, Dr. F. J. Furnivall. In 1871 he took orders in the Church of England, his title being a curacy in Southwark. About the same time he became lecturer in English at King's College School. In 1875 he was appointed to the head-mastership of the Royal Masonic Institution for Boys, at Wood Green, in Middlesex, which post he held for about sixteen years. At no time did he receive the advantage of University education, or of University endowment. His degree of LL.D. came from Lambeth, having been given him by Archbishop Tait in 1870. Four years later Oxford honoured itself by conferring on him the honorary degree of M.A. When his health was already broken, Mr. Gladstone granted him a pension of £150 on the Civil List, which he enjoyed for little more than twelve months.

His very first publication shows the character of his early studies. It was a treatise on "The Etymology of Local Names" (1857). This was followed by a small volume of "Lectures on the Excellency of the Bible" (1858). Then, after an interval, began his long series of contributions to the Early English Text Society, which lasted through the sixties and the seventies. It is needless to enumerate the titles here. All alike are models of editorial conscientiousness, being marked by absolute fidelity in the transcription and collation of MSS., and by most illuminating introductions. The severity of his labours during this period was varied by one or two lighter tasks. In 1866 he edited Chaucer, in six volumes, for Bell's Aldine edition of British poets (second ed. 1891), which remained the standard text until the appearance this year of the Oxford Chaucer of his friend and fellow-

worker, Prof. Skeat. And in 1869 he edited Spenser for Macmillan's Globe edition, to which Prof. J. W. Hales contributed a memoir.

This connection with Messrs. Macmillan led Dr. Morris into a new department of literature, where he was destined to show that a philologist can make money—if he pleases. He began, indeed, his series of educational works with one that is by no means elementary, though it has been hardly less successful on that account. This was his "Historical Outlines of English Accidence" (1872), which was the first attempt in England to explain the development of the language on historical and scientific principles. It has been reprinted some twenty times, and is now (we understand) being thoroughly revised for a new edition by Dr. L. Kellner and Mr. Henry Bradley. Two years later (1874) he brought out "Elementary Lessons in Historical English Grammar," and in the same year a Primer of "English Grammar," from both of which—it is pleasant to know—tens of thousands of boys and girls have learnt their earliest knowledge of their own tongue, which they will never need to unlearn.

Scarcely had Dr. Morris struck out this remunerative line, when he deliberately turned aside to devote the remainder of his life to what is probably the least appreciated of all the branches of philology—the study of Pali, the sacred language of Buddhism. In this case, the stimulus came from his intimacy with Prof. Rhys Davids, the founder of the Pali Text Society. For that Society, Dr. Morris has edited portions of some four texts—more, indeed, than any other single contributor. But he did not confine himself to editing. His familiarity with Early English caused him to take a special interest in the language, as standing midway between the ancient Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars, and as branching out into various dialects, known as Prakrits. These relations of Pali he expounded in a series of letters in the *Academy*, which were invaluable not only for their lexicographical facts, but also as illustrating the historical growth of the

languages of India. The very last work he was able to complete was a paper on this subject, read before the International Congress of Orientalists in London in September, 1892.

Of Dr. Morris's private character, we can hardly trust ourselves to speak. Though eminently qualified to shine in social intercourse, he seemed rather to shun publicity. But to his intimate friends he unlocked his heart. To a sober countenance, not unlike that of his own Chaucer, he added a kindly eye and a hearty laugh. In the company of those he liked, he was the merriest of good fellows. To the last week of his life, when not racked by pain, he kept up his interest in the welfare of his studies and of his friends. All who knew him loved him; for he could never bring himself to speak an unkind word.

4. *Professor William Dwight Whitney.*—Sanskritists will have read with deep regret on June 8th of the death of a scholar who was in the front rank of Indianists and the head of the flourishing school of Vedic studies in the United States.

Prof. Whitney was born in February, 1827, at Northampton in Massachusetts. Having graduated in 1845 at Williams College in that State, he obtained a clerkship at a banking house in his native place. This appointment he held for three years, devoting all his leisure to the study of languages, especially Sanskrit. He then entered Yale, where he studied from 1849 to 1850 under Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, who held the chair of Arabic and Sanskrit at that University from 1841 to 1854. In order to prosecute his Sanskrit studies Whitney came over to Europe in 1850, attending for three years the lectures of Prof. Franz Bopp and of Albrecht Weber (then a *Privatdocent*) at Berlin, and afterwards those of Prof. R. Roth at Tübingen. In collaboration with the latter eminent scholar, he subsequently published the *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, being the only Anglo-Saxon who has had a hand in editing any one of the four Vedas. Having copied the text from the MSS. of the Royal

Library at Berlin, he proceeded to collate other MSS. at Paris, in the library of the East India House, and in the Bodleian at Oxford. Returning to America, he became Professor of Sanskrit at Yale in 1854 on the resignation of Prof. Salisbury. In 1870 he was also elected Professor of Comparative Philology, retaining the combined chair till his death. From 1855 to 1873 he was librarian, from 1857 to 1884 corresponding secretary, and since then president of the American Oriental Society. His contributions to the journal of that Society were very large in the earlier years of his professorial career. About half the contents of vols. vi. to xii. were from his pen, including his translation of a Hindu astronomical work, the *Sūrya-siddhānta* (1860). In 1862 he published the text with translation and notes of a work on Vedic phonetics, the *Atharva-Veda Prātiçākhyā*. This was followed in 1871 by a similar edition of a corresponding treatise attached to the *Yajurveda*, viz. the *Taittirīya Prātiçākhyā*, together with its native commentary. The latter work, as the most important Sanskrit publication of the three preceding years, gained him the Bopp prize from the Berlin Academy.

In 1864 Prof. Whitney delivered before the Smithsonian Institute a course of lectures, repeated in an extended form before the Lowell Institute at Boston, and subsequently published under the title of "Language and the Study of Language" (1867). This work has run through four editions. In 1873 he published "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," dealing with the Veda and the Avesta, followed in 1875 by a second series treating of religion, mythology, orthography, and Hindu astronomy. In the latter year also appeared his "Life and Growth of Language" in the *International Scientific Series*.

All this time (1852-75) he had been making to the great Sanskrit Dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth valuable contributions relating to the *Atharva-Veda*, the *Sūrya-siddhānta*, and other works.

During the seventies Whitney gave a good deal of his attention to the publication of linguistic works of au

educational character. Thus, in 1873, appeared his "Compendious German Grammar," and in the same year a "German Reader in Prose and Verse," in 1877 "Essentials of English Grammar for the use of schools," and in 1878 a "Compendious German-English Dictionary." This is probably the most accurate German-English dictionary in existence. Good books of this kind would not be so rare if men of first-rate ability, knowledge, and scientific training would oftener undertake the drudgery of compiling them.

Meanwhile Prof. Whitney had been elaborating a book on which his great reputation as a Sanskritist is largely based, and which is universally acknowledged as the standard work on the subject. His Sanskrit Grammar, published in 1879, may be said to have produced quite a revolution in the study of that language. Hitherto European Sanskritists had been almost entirely dominated by the native system of the Hindus, and had in their grammars dealt exclusively with the later and so-called classical period of the language, which is, linguistically, only of secondary importance. Prof. Whitney, on the one hand, emancipated Sanskrit grammar from subjection to the native method by treating linguistic phenomena solely on the evidence of actual literature, and not relying on the bare statements and artificial lucubrations of the Hindu grammarians. On the other hand, by introducing the Vedic element and treating grammatical facts largely from a statistical point of view, he, for the first time, placed the study of Sanskrit grammar on a historical basis. The advance since made in the historical knowledge of the ancient Aryan dialects of India has been mainly due to the stimulus imparted by this work to the studies of Whitney's pupils and of other scholars. A second revised and extended edition appeared in 1888. The first edition had been translated into German by Prof. H. Zimmer. In 1885 Prof. Whitney published a valuable supplement entitled the "Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language."

He had meanwhile brought out his *Index verborum* to the Atharva-Veda in 1881.

He varied his Sanskrit studies by publishing a French Grammar in 1886, and acting as editor-in-chief of the "Century Dictionary of the English Language," the six volumes of which came out in the remarkably short period of two years (1889 to 1891).

During the last three years of his life he devoted his literary activity to the writing of pamphlets or of reviews in the *American Journal of Philology* and elsewhere. He was a frequent contributor to the *American Review*, the *New Englander*, and other periodicals, to cyclopædias, and the transactions of learned societies. Among his articles may be noted "Contributions from the Atharva-Veda to the theory of the Sanskrit verbal accent" (1856), "On the views of Biot, Weber, and Max Müller on the Hindu and Chinese systems of Astronomy" (1864), "Material and Form in Language" (1872), "Darwinism and Language" (1874), "Logical consistency in views of Language" (1880), "Mixture in Language" (1881), "The Study of Hindu Grammar and the Study of Sanskrit" (1884).

Prof. Whitney received honorary degrees from Breslau (1861), Williams College (1868), St. Andrews (1874), Harvard (1876), and Columbia (1886). He became the first President of the American Philological Association in 1869, and was correspondent of the Academies of Berlin, Turin, Rome, St. Petersburg, and of the Institute of France (elected in 1877), as well as Foreign Knight of the Prussian order *Pour le mérite*.

A distinguishing feature of Whitney's linguistic works is the accuracy of his generalizations from grammatical facts. In regard to the science of language, he held the view that speech arose from the acceptance of conventional signs, and that its beginnings were imitative, combating the opinion that language was spontaneously generated as being co-existent with thought.

Prof. Whitney was a clear-headed man endowed with a faculty for sound and forcible criticism. Researches dealing with the development of Indian thought, mythology, science, or chronology are peculiarly liable to

suffer from the growth of wild or vague theories, owing to the absence of historical checks. Against such theories, as well as against loose scholarship, Prof. Whitney wielded an unsparing and trenchant pen. Those who were personally acquainted with him say that he was a man of amiable disposition. Judging, however, by his writings one would be inclined to suppose that his temperament was not altogether lacking in the perfervid element. He accordingly sometimes adopted, perhaps without being aware of it, a severer style of criticism than may have been necessary in the interests of truth. But it cannot be denied that even his most forcibly expressed reviews were calculated to advance the cause of scholarship. The native system of Sanskrit grammar was one of the subjects on which he delighted to pour out his scorn. His somewhat extreme views on this question will no doubt be duly counteracted by such articles as Prof. Bühler's recent papers on "The Roots of the Dhātupātha not found in Literature" in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*. Among searching reviews or criticisms from his pen during the last two years may be mentioned that on "Delbrück's Vedic Syntax" (1892), "Max Müller and the Science of Language" (1892), on "Recent Studies in Hindu Grammar" (1893), "The Native commentary to the Atharva-Veda" in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth* (1893), "The Veda in Pānini" in *The Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society* (1893), and articles in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for March, 1894, on Jacobi and Tilak's attempt to determine on astronomical evidence the date of the earliest Vedic period as 4000 B. C., on the third volume of Eggeling's translation of the *Çatapatha Brāhmana*, and on Hillebrandt's identification of Soma with the Moon in the *Rigveda*. It is sad that a scholar from whose mature judgment and great store of learning further valuable criticism, such as Sanskrit studies can ill spare, might have been expected for years to come, should have been cut off in the midst of his activity (*madhyá kārtoḥ*). It is to be hoped that the more important of his lesser writings may be published

in a collected form, as those of the late Theodor Benfey have been by Prof. Bezzenberger.

A. A. MACDONELL.

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

The Wilson Philological Lectures were delivered by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, M.R.A.S., in the Bombay University Library during the month of March. The following were the lectures :—

1. Progress and Development of Aryan Languages.
2. The Elements of Aryan Speech, or Śikshā.
3. The Elements of Aryan Speech (*continued*); or Śikshā, Chandas, and Nirukta.
4. The Evolution of Grammatical Forms, or Vyākaraṇa.
5. Inter-relation of Growths of Languages and Literatures.
6. The Typical N. India Vernacular, or Gujērāti Sāhitya.

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, M.R.A.S., author of the "History of Civilization in Ancient India," has just been appointed Commissioner of a Division in Bengal, being the first native of India to reach that rank in the Revenue branch of the Civil Service.

Dr. M. Gaster, Member of Council of the R.A.S., has been appointed for the second time to give a course of lectures on the Ilchester Foundation at Oxford. The lectures, four in number, were delivered during May. The subject chosen is "The Sources of Popular Imagery in Russia, Religious and Secular."

Mr. S. Arthur Strong, M.R.A.S., will publish immediately the first part of an edition of an Arabic MS. in the British Museum containing an account of the Muslim conquest of Abyssinia in the sixteenth century. Mr. Strong is also engaged upon another MS. in the same collection, namely, Alkindi's "History of Egypt."

Nizām's "Laili and Majnūn."—The Rev. J. A. Atkinson, Vicar of Bolton, has republished in a very dainty volume

the translation of this poem, which, written by his father, James Atkinson, in 1836, was published originally by the Oriental Translation Fund. The new edition is beautifully printed by Constables, and published by David Nutt in the Strand.

Al-Masūdi.—Prof. de Goeje, in Leyden, has edited the *Kitāb At-Tanbīh Wa'l-ichrāf*, of Mas'ūdī, to form the eighth volume of his "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum."

Buddhaghosa's Manoratha Pūraṇi.—Ratmalāne Unnāṇse (the same scholar who restored the Jānakī Haraṇa from the old Sanna) is now bringing out an edition of this important work, the standard Commentary on the Anguttara. The first part, containing five sheets, has already appeared. It contains the introduction and the commentary on the early Suttas as edited by Dr. Morris for the Pāli Text Society.

The Jātaka Book.—There is being brought out in Colombo an edition, in Sinhalese characters, of the Pāli Text of the Jātaka Commentary, which will be very useful for comparison with Fausböll's edition. The price is a rupee per part of eighty pages. We gather this from the Ceylon Government return of books printed in the Island. The book is there entered under the heading "A Buddhist Reading Book."

Koptic.—Mr. Claudius John Libib, a Professor in the Koptic Clerical College at Cairo, has just published the first part of a Koptic Grammar, written in Arabic—a sign that the Kopts have at length taken steps to help their children to learn their mother tongue.

The Weddas of Ceylon.—There has appeared at Kandy, in Ceylon, a small book entitled "Vædi-bhāshāwa," containing a vocabulary of words used by the Weddas and explained in Sinhalese. The author's name is A. T. W. Mārambē. It would be desirable that a translation of this little work should appear in the Journal of our Ceylon Branch. There is no copy in our Library here.

The Weber MSS.—Several interesting points in the domain of Indian archæology are suggested by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle's preliminary study of the Weber MSS., in the Bengal

Asiatic Society's Journal. The MSS. in question are a bundle of fragments, brought to light by the Rev. F. Weber, a missionary in Ladak, and found at Kugiar in Chinese Turkestan. The first point of interest is the material, viz. paper. Till quite recently the earliest known paper MS. connected with Indian civilization was a thirteenth century MS. in the Wright collection from Nepal, now at Cambridge. It is curious to note that the paper of the present find is stated to be Nepalese. The palæographical features of the documents are traced in detail by Dr. Hoernle, and classified in relation to the "Central Asian Nagari" already established from the Kashgar MSS. at St. Petersburg, and the Bower MSS. recently published by the present editor in a sumptuous form under the auspices of the Government of India. Some of the fragments also belong to the "North-Western Gupta" form, elsewhere investigated by Dr. Hoernle. As to the subject-matter, it may suffice at present to note that of the eleven sets of fragments two at least are of literary importance. For one belongs to the astronomical literature of the later Vedic period, and is shown to have been composed between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D.; and a second is of lexicographical value.

Burmese.—Mr. Robert C. Stevenson, M.R.A.S., Assistant Commissioner in the Burmese Civil Service, has brought out a new edition of Judson's Dictionary, which was much needed.

Sāṅkhya Philosophy.—Professor Garbe, of Heidelberg, in his newly published "Sāṅkhya Philosophy," endeavours to do for that school of thought what Prof. Deussen has so excellently done for the Vedānta. Both these works ought to be translated into English—giving as they do, in the manageable compass of a single octavo volume, a summary by the most competent hands of two out of the three principal schools of thought in India.

Buddhist Philosophy.—A gentleman interested in the subject (but who does not desire his name to be known) has most generously started a scheme, and provided the necessary

funds, for the publication of complete editions and translations of the seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka so far as they have not been already published by the Pāli Text Society. Arrangements are in progress by which the scheme will go regularly on, without stopping, until the whole work will be accomplished.

Professor Robertson Smith.—According to the *Athenæum*, the will of Professor Robertson Smith has just been proved. By it he leaves his Arabic and Syriac manuscript books, together with twenty early-printed or scarce books to be selected by the Librarian, to the University Library, Cambridge. With this exception, the whole of his working library, which is very valuable, is left to Christ's College. A preliminary meeting has been held, at which it was agreed that there should be a memorial at Cambridge of the late Professor; and it was suggested that this might be done by raising a fund for the maintenance and extension of his library at Christ's College for the benefit of all Oriental students—an object which he was known to have much at heart—and for the purchase of further manuscripts for the University Library. It being now too late to take further steps this term, a meeting will be held at Cambridge early in October.

Columbia College, New York.—A volume entitled "Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drissler" has just been issued by the Columbia University Press, consisting of twenty-one historical papers. Of these three are Oriental, namely, (1) "References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature," by R. J. H. Gottheil; (2) "Against Henotheism in the Rig Veda," by E. W. Hopkins; and (3) "Ancient Persian Armour," by A. Y. Williams Jackson.

The Mahā Bodhi Temple.—A regrettable religious dispute has occurred at the Mahā Bodhi Temple, Gayā. A high priest of Japan, now on a visit to Buddhist shrines in India, had with him a valuable historical statue of Buddha, of great antiquity, an offering of the Buddhists of Japan to India for the Mahā Bodhi Temple. The Collector of Gayā obtained permission of the Mahant in charge of the

temple, and the statue was to be offered with great ceremonial. At the last moment the Mahant changed his mind, and collected a thousand budmashes to oppose the placing of the statue in the temple. The conduct of the Mahant is inexplicable, as images of Buddha sent by Burmese Buddhists had, on several occasions, been similarly received without objection. The Mahā Bodhi Society, being peaceable people, withdrew, but a wanton insult has thus been offered to Japan and to all Buddhists. The Hindoos of Bengal are highly indignant at the conduct of the Mahant, who is in fact a usurper at the temple. A high priest of Japan had lately been received with great honour by the Hindoos of Calcutta at a large meeting presided over by Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore.

The Jindlaykāra.—A complete edition, with English translation and notes, of this poem (which has not been published hitherto, though Burnouf made so much use of his MS. copy of it), will be shortly published by Professor James Gray, of the Rangoon College, the editor of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* and other works.

IV. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LÉGENDES ET CONTES MERVEILLEUX DE LA GRANDE KABYLIE,
recueillis par A. MOULIÉRAS. Texte kabyle, 1^{er} fascicule.
8vo. pp. 107. Paris: E. Leroux, 1894.

This is the first part of a work which will include a voluminous collection of Kabayl legends and tales, with French translation and vocabulary, and which will not be completed till some years have elapsed. It will form a splendid monument of this popular Berber literature, which, no doubt, Masinissa, Jugurtha, and many others have enjoyed long ago, though in a purer form and without any interference with Arabic legends and words. More will have to be said about this publication.

T. G. DE G.

MANUEL DE LA LANGUE TIGRAY, parlée au centre et dans le nord de l'Abyssinie, par J. SCHREIBER. I. (Grammaire), pp. vii. and 93. II. (Chrestomathie et Vocabulaire), 8vo. pp. iv. and 134. Vienna: Hölder, 1887-1893.

This most interesting work has been completed lately by its author, a Roman Catholic Missionary, and, in its present form, we have a complete Handbook of the Tigray language, sometimes improperly called Tigriña, which is an Amharic adjective. The Tigray language belongs to the Ethiopic family; but it appears to be a somewhat mixed offspring of the ancient Geez, of which the Tigre language is a nearer relative. As there is no Tigray literature, the Chrestomathy consists of some biblical stories, dialogues, letters, fables, and proverbs, the whole collection proving very useful, though the exclusive use of the Ethiopic characters, without any transliteration, will doubtless prevent many persons, who are not familiar with this complicated alphabet, from becoming acquainted with the language.

T. G. DE G.

NOTES POUR L'HISTOIRE D'ETHIOPIE, par J. PERRUCHON. Paris, 1893-1894.

Under this title, the author publishes in the *Revue sémitique* a series of historical documents in the Ethiopic or Arabic text, with translation and copious explanations: for those who are or may become interested with the history of Ethiopia, these documents will prove of the greatest value, as they illustrate the reign of several Ethiopian sovereigns as well as their intercourse with the Sultans of Egypt. And I will show by an instance of what importance it is that these documents are published in the original text, without any alteration: an Arabic writer speaks of a queen who reigned over a tribe which he calls *Beni-el-Amuta* or *Amuya*. Now, some scholars have been dissatisfied with this name, simply because they were not acquainted

with it; one of them has corrected it into *Yahudya* (Jews), and another into *Haghuya* (Agaws): what right have they to do so? That we do not know the *Beni-el-Amuta* or *Amuya* does not prove anything. There are yet many things we do not know; but is that a sufficient ground for forging names? It is in that fashion that history is too often falsified, and we are indebted to the author for the publication of these unsophisticated texts.

T. G. DE G.

LES APOCRYPHES ÉTHIOPIENS, traduits en français par RENÉ BASSET. I. (Le livre de Baruch et la légende de Jérémie). II. (Mas'h'afa T'omar, ou le livre de l'épître). III. (L'ascension d'Isaïe). 8vo. pp. 39, 20, and 55. Paris, 1893-94.

The indefatigable Prof. René Basset has undertaken to publish the Ethiopian apocryphs, which are interesting from more than one point of view. We may rely upon him for an accurate translation.

T. G. DE G.

DIE BEDAWYE SPRACHE IN NORDOST-AFRICA, von LEO REINISCH. II. and III. (Grammatik). 8vo. pp. 204. Wien: F. Tempsky, 1893-94.

Prof. Leo Reinisch has now completed his Grammar of the Bedawye language, sometimes called Bishari or even Hadendoa, and a dialect of which has been illustrated by Almquist, without any texts, though with more scientific display than was perhaps necessary. Prof. L. Reinisch takes care to explain that it is the old Nubian language, and not at all the Bishari language, which is represented in the so-called Meroitic inscriptions; as the Bishari is an unwritten language, the author has very wisely refrained from using the Arabic or Ethiopic characters, the Arabic characters being used only by the Mahomedan Bisharis in order to write Arabic, but never their own language. The transliteration in Roman letters is both scientific and

practical; we find, curiously enough, that the Bisharis, like the Ethiopians, have, in common with the Kushitic languages, the sound of the rounded letters Ḥ and Ṭ (*qwa* and *gwa*). The phonetic part of Prof. L. Reinisch's Grammar is very extensive; but, instead of falling into needless and tedious minutiae, like his predecessor Almqvist, the author has contrived to make the matter very attractive by largely comparing the Bishari forms with those of the surrounding languages. I cannot here enter into the particulars of this rather remarkable language, which possesses a definite article, two genders, and an extensive system of inflexion for both nouns and verbs; these parts have been masterly dealt with by the author, and his work will be a safe guide for all those who will attempt to become acquainted with the language. I entertain no doubt that the Vocabularies will prove as highly interesting as the Grammar.

T. G. DE G.

DR. S. GELBHAUS, DAS TARGUM II. ZUM BUCHE ESTHER.
Francfort-on-the-Main: Kauffmann.

Dr. Gelbhaus opens a series of researches on the literature of the Targums with this treatise. According to his view the Targum II. is composed of fragments of a more comprehensive work which was called *Targum Rabbāh*, the original form of which has, however, been lost. Dr. Gelbhaus does not adduce any strong proofs in support of his theory, nor are they sufficient to make us alter the date Zunz has fixed for the writing of the T. II., towards the end of the seventh century—with the exception of the Book of Proverbs—for the fourth as suggested by Dr. Gelbhaus. Of great interest is the list of parallels between this Targum and the *Pšittā*, which reveals the close lingual and probably also literary connection between both. In another list he shows the differences between the T. II. and the ordinary Targum to the book. He could have added that the Aramaic translation of biblical quotations in the T. II.

also differs from the T. I. It is questionable whether the legend of the Queen of Sheba, reproduced in the Qorān, is borrowed from the T. II. In the Moslim tradition this legend developed in a special course of its own (see *Weil, Bibl. Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 247 sqq.). To judge from this first instalment we may expect important results from Dr. Gelbhaus's further researches on the questions of the composition and language of the Targums.

H. H.

THE JĀNAKĪ HARAṆA. By KUMĀRA DĀSA. Edited by the late Paṇḍit HARIDĀSA ŚĀSTRĪ, Director of Public Education, Jaipur. (Calcutta: 24, Girisa Vidyaratna Lane, 1893; price R. 5.)

We have already called attention to the edition of this poem as restored into Sanskrit verse from the recently discovered Sinhalese commentary by K. Dharmārāma, and published in Ceylon in 1891. The present work is an independent restoration of the poem made from a copy of the commentary sent from Ceylon to the very able young native scholar Haridāsa Śāstrī. It is now published, after the much regretted premature death of the young author, by Kālipāda Bandyopadhyāya, Principal of the Sanskrit College at Jaipur. As the commentary (which is printed in full in the Ceylon edition) contains (with a few unimportant exceptions) each word of the poem, but in no particular order, the puzzle which had to be solved was to rearrange those words in metrical order. The Indian editor differs pretty frequently in this rearrangement from the Ceylon editor, and points out in short Sanskrit notes the passages where he thinks the commentary itself must contain a wrong reading. As the date of the Ceylon king who wrote the poem is, within a few years, quite certain (he reigned 517-526 A.D.) it will have an historical importance quite apart from its literary value, and scholars will be very glad to have an edition in the Nāgari character, and one prepared by so

good a native scholar as the present editor. Their best thanks are therefore due to the learned Principal of the Jaipur Sanskrit College for rescuing from destruction the very interesting work of Paṇḍit Haridāsa Śāstrī.

JUDSON'S BURMESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Revised and enlarged by R. C. STEVENSON, Burma Commission. Rangoon, printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma.

It is difficult to write anything but praise of this very excellent compilation, which at once places students of Burmese in a position equal to, if not better than, that enjoyed by their fellow-workers in any of the other vernaculars of the Indian Empire. The author has, it is true, modestly described his work as merely an enlargement and revision of that of Dr. Judson, but so numerous and important are the alterations, (the size has been practically *doubled*), that it would be as just to style a modern English dictionary a revision of Dr. Johnson's. In the making of such books of reference it is, of course, undoubtedly the case that "c'est le premier pas qui coute," and that where the first work is a really good one of its kind, as is the case with Dr. Judson's, all subsequent ones must, to a great extent, incorporate the material, *ipse verba*, of the original pioneer. At the same time the line must be drawn somewhere, and, where the alterations have been so great and manifest as here, it seems a misnomer to call a subsequent work by the name of the first dictionary-maker; indeed it would not be rash prophecy to declare that the present book will, in spite of its title, become known as "Stevenson's," and not as "Dr. Judson's Dictionary."

The great delay in its publication, concerning which various reports have been current in Burma, was, it now appears, mainly due to the default of the American Baptist Mission Press, in Rangoon, in providing the necessary type for the printing, the work having eventually

to be printed at the Government Press. As is usual in publications from that department, the type, paper, etc., leave nothing to be desired; but why was a dictionary issued with a paper cover? It is surely of all works the one most entitled to a substantial binding, always supposing that the trammels of red-tapeism allow such.

The author claims with justice the following "special features" for his work :—

- "(1) It has a considerable number of new words not contained in former ones.
- "(2) Most of the words have examples showing their use. (He might also have added the fulness and exactitude of the definitions of the different words.)
- "(3) Both the written and colloquial styles are exemplified.
- "(4) It contains many excerpts from the best authorities regarding Buddhist religious and metaphysical terms.
- "(5) The *exact* pronunciation of many words is given.
- "(6) It contains many proverbs, aphorisms, old and quaint sayings, which have not been published;" . . .

The latter are found partly in a short collection at the end, but principally scattered as examples throughout the book. The care and intelligence displayed in their selection and translation are highly creditable to the author, who, it is understood, has been at considerable pains in the matter.

Little has been done to settle the derivation of any of the words. Perhaps, however, it was as well in the present state of Burmese philology to leave alone this portion of the subject, which, to use a common expression, "teems with pitfalls for the unwary," *teste* the note given in the preface on Dr. Forchhammer's derivation of "Bassein." There was, however, no necessity to have followed Dr. Judson in wrongly deriving certain words from Pali instead of from Sanskrit. As regards the spelling, Mr. Stevenson has followed that generally obtaining in Burma, inserting in brackets only the new spelling directed by the late Committee in Rangoon. In many cases the latter

spelling is doubtless the better; in others the alteration is more questionable, and under the circumstances, (see *ante* p. 412, J.R.A.S.), Mr. Stevenson would seem to have acted wisely in the course he has taken in this not unimportant matter.

The explanations given under the different terms relating to the Buddhist religion and philosophy certainly do not err on the side of brevity, copious extracts being given from the different authorities on the subject. It might perhaps have been better to have given more quotations from Burmese books on the subject, since what the reader of a work like this would want to ascertain is the precise Burmese views in the matter, however erroneous these may be in certain details. The teachings of the Ceylon school of Buddhism agree, of course, in the main with that prevailing in Burma; and, therefore, quotations from authors who have principally studied that school are likely to be applicable enough to the faith of the more northern country. At the same time one cannot but think the definitions and explanations might with advantage have all been taken from Burmese works of authority on Buddhism.

As regards the dictionary generally the more it is studied the more comprehensive will appear the matter incorporated in it, the author appearing equally at home with the terse and idiomatic vernacular as with the more refined and sometimes obscure language of the poets. In addition to the numerous proverbs, the number of idiomatic and quasi-proverbial sayings given is very large, and it will be found that these are no mean help to the ascertainment of the exact signification of the word under which they are found. Further, those expressions or words which obtain chiefly in only one of the Provinces, Upper or Lower Burma, have this fact duly noted. In short it may be said that the future student of Burmese will have no excuse for ignorance so far as this can be dispelled by a work of reference. As since the annexation of Upper Burma the number of learners of the language has increased yearly

by leaps and bounds, it is to be hoped that Mr. Stevenson may reap an adequate reward for the extraordinary learning and pains he has expended on this dictionary, which must for very long, if not always, remain the standard work on the subject.

B. H.

DER ALTINDISCHE GOTT VARUNA NACH DEN LIEDERN DES
RGVEDA. Von KARL BOHNENBERGER. Pp. 127.
Tübingen, 1893.

This treatise claims to be a special investigation in the field of the history of religion. The introduction (pp. 1-21) deals generally with the religious conceptions and the exegesis of the Rigveda. About two-thirds of the main body of the work consist of a statement of the various aspects in which the god Varuna is presented by that Veda. These aspects have already been fully and well treated by Hillebrandt in his monograph on Varuna and Mitra, and less exhaustively also by Muir in the fifth volume of his Sanskrit Texts, and by Bergaigne in the third volume of *La Religion Védique*. The writer would have been better justified in going over ground already traversed, had he subjected previous views to a searching criticism and made the results thus obtained the basis of further investigations. This he has failed to do, merely stating vaguely in the introduction (p. 19) that he has in many cases been led to conclusions differing from those of Hillebrandt, and has attached either greater or less weight to various points than that scholar does. If he had followed the course indicated, it would have been easier to see whether he has added anything of importance to our knowledge of the subject.

The second part of the book (pp. 91-127) is concerned, under the same heads as those of the first part, with speculations as to the motives producing those characteristics of Varuna which we find developed in the Rigveda. Here, too, it is not easy to point out any new results of importance. The writer's lengthy contention (pp. 122-25)

that the conception of Varuṇa had a purely naturalistic, and not an animistic or a fetishistic, origin seems superfluous. The bare statement of the negative proposition that there is no trace of animism or fetishism in the history of this god, would have sufficed.

The phonetic equations, *Zeús* = *Dyāús* (Indo-European *djēus*) and *οὐρανός* = *Váruṇas* (i.e. *vorvṇnos*, see Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii. 154) have long been established. How the inverted use of these two names among the Greeks and Indians is to be accounted for, is no doubt correctly stated by Bohnenberger. Both words designated the vault of heaven in the Indo-European period, *djēus* as the "shiner" ($\sqrt{\text{diu}}$), *vorvṇnos* as the "encompasser" ($\sqrt{\text{ver}}$). When it became necessary to distinguish between the personification and its natural basis, the Greeks and the Indians went different ways. The former came to restrict the meaning of *οὐρανός* to "sky," and *Zeús* to "god of the sky," while with the Indians *dyāús* remained the sky, and *Varuṇa* became the god. It may be added that though the *Rigveda* retains the incipient personification which dates from the Indo-European period, *Dyāús* being frequently spoken of as a father (*Dyaùs pítar* = *Zeù páter*, *Jūpiter*), this personification was not further developed (as in the case of *οὐρανός*), for the word never designates a god at all in post-Vedic times. Such being the relation of *Varuṇa* to *Dyāús*, the former may be called the oldest of the Vedic gods.

In the development of the conception of *Varuṇa*, Bohnenberger distinguishes four obvious stages. From the primitive meaning of "encompassing sky," the first step is an incipient zoomorphic or anthropomorphic personification. The personification next grows complete, and, becoming separated from its natural substrate, assumes the character of an independent deity. These two stages lie far behind the earliest *Rigvedic* period. *Varuṇa* then attains to the position of the supreme god and moral ruler of the Universe, which is quite a natural development of the notion of the all-embracing sky. It is at the end of this stage in his

evolution that we find him in the oldest period of the Rigveda. There is here no longer any living tradition of his connection with the vault of heaven, though some remnants of such connection may be traced in his personality. The last stage of Varuṇa in the Rigveda is that of his decadence. With regard to this stage, Bohnenberger remarks that it is impossible to say how quickly the old Varuṇa worship decayed, but it seems certain that the practical religious importance of this god at the end of the Rigvedic period had become very small.

We may add that the final position attained by Varuṇa in post-Vedic mythology was that of the Indian Neptune. From being, among his other functions, ruler of the celestial waters, he became the regent of the terrestrial ocean.

In order to arrive at anything like definite conclusions in dealing with mythological evolution, it is obviously of primary importance to distinguish the relative age of different parts of the Rigveda. As, however, only results of the most general kind have hitherto been attained, Bohnenberger has had little help to count on in this direction. He, no doubt rightly, considers even the older Rigvedic period to be exclusively Indian, though he regards it as much further removed from later conceptions than Pischel would admit.

Bohnenberger can hardly be said to be very successful in establishing his opinion concerning a point on which he expressly states his disagreement with the ordinarily received view. This point is the relation of Mitra to Varuṇa. Varuṇa originally represented the sky, while Mitra was probably the diurnal luminary whose light pervades the sky, the two, owing to their close connection, coming to be treated as almost identical. Bohnenberger, however, thinks that the practical identity in character of Mitra and Varuṇa points to the division of a single god into two, the attribute "friend" (mitra) having developed into an independent deity. He has consequently to assume not only that the Avestan Mithra (=Mitra) cannot be identified with the sun, but that the name of the original deity

Varena (=Varuṇa), by which Mithra must have been accompanied, came to be invariably dropped as superfluous. He also thinks that all attempts to connect the attribute of friendliness in the Vedic Mitra with the sun as a natural basis have failed. But, at any rate, no god evolved from a phenomenon of nature could more obviously be regarded as the friend of man than the sun. The beneficence of the other solar deities of the Rigveda (Sūrya, Savitr, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu) is often emphasized, and the sun is said to be the soul of living beings, to preserve the world, and to bestow blessings from heaven and earth. Again, the god of Fire, Agni, of whom the sun is regarded as a form, is more than once in the Rigveda called "the friend" (mitra).

The book cannot be said to have been carefully revised for press. There are many misprints in transliterated words, sometimes two or three on the same page (e.g. p. 67). This is especially the case in regard to the quantity of vowels. There are also other errors, such as *ṣaradham* for *ṣaradam* (p. 42), and *dṛṣh* for *dhṛṣh* (p. 39). On the whole, it seems a pity that the author did not rather devote himself to an investigation affording more new ground for research than that which he has here treated.

A. A. MACDONELL.

EPOCHS OF INDIAN HISTORY: THE MUHAMMADANS, 1001–1761 A.D. By J. D. REES, C.I.E., I.C.S. With three maps. Longmans, 1894.

According to Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, an indisputably excellent authority on such matters, the personally-derived title of the small volume under notice, as applied to the creed of Islam or the professor thereof, would have been regarded by the Prophet himself as "nothing short of blasphemy."¹ Among English-speaking people, however, and throughout Western Europe, it has become sanctioned by use, and, like many other questionable conventional

¹ "The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammad"; by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 190. Macmillan, 1882.

terms, will continue to be accepted under warrant of custom. In any case, the summary of Indian history put before us by Mr. Rees will not suffer from the application of a misnomer; nor will its value be impaired by the designation "Muhammadans" instead of "Muslims."

The method and arrangement of this review of a period of six hundred and sixty years could scarcely have been exercised without a considerable amount of preliminary reading and study; and fortunate is it for the Civil Service of India that there are still to be found in it men of intellectual as well as physical energy, who have the sound sense to inaugurate their careers by laying a foundation on which, if life be spared, they may eventually raise structures of monumental usefulness. Mr. Rees, we have reason to know—quite independently of fulfilling his professional requirements—has been indefatigable as a traveller, a student of life and character, an observer, and a narrator. He had the happy thought of describing the official tours of his immediate Chief, the Governor of Madras, in a popular form which would make the record pleasant and instructive reading. Several separately published pamphlets might be produced in evidence of the skill with which the notion was carried into effect; and an account of Trichinopoly, written in October, 1890, may at once be recalled as a good specimen of this kind of journalizing.¹ As regards his work now under notice he explains that he has "tried above all things to be brief and comparative"; also that he has "endeavoured to mention such names and events as cannot well be omitted, and, as all knowledge is comparative, to focus them by occasional references to contemporary occurrences outside India." Those for whom he has catered may, we think, be congratulated, as well as the author himself, on this outcome of his latest labours. It is not an easy matter to condense and expound Indian history so as to make the main facts and issues intelligible, and an attempt

¹ "Twelfth Tour of H.E. the Governor"; with map photo-zincographed at Central Survey Office, Madras.

to bring it home to the apprehension of English readers, by reference to contemporary and better known annals, is by no means safe to succeed with the mass of students.

In a prefatory note to his chapters on "the Muhammadans," Mr. Rees tells us that "the spelling of proper names is according to the system authorized by the Government of India, except in the case of a few well-known words, as Punjab, Poona, where a change from the customary form would be pedantic." But we find in the first thirty pages such inconsistencies as *Bussora* (page 1) and *Básra* (page 2); *Moslems* and *Muslims* (page 3); *Rashid* (page 27) and *Yameen* (page 28); and surely our old friend of the "Arabian Nights" would be more correctly designated *Khalif* than *Caliph*. There is no need to go further; but it may be understood that orthographical revision is needed, if only for consistency's sake—let alone the "Indian Government system," which, if applied generally to the men, places, and things of Islam, would not be free from many and serious objections.

THE MEGHA DŪTA BY KĀLIDĀSA WITH A SINHALESE PARAPHRASE. Edited by the Hon. T. B. PĀNABOKKE, M.R.A.S., C.B. (Colombo, 1894, pp. xvi. and 86.)

Mr. William Gunatilaka, of Kandy, discovered there, shortly before his death, at the Oriental Library, the unique MS. of this interesting work. It is an ancient Sanna, or word-for-word commentary on the famous work of Kālidāsa, and is of some importance, firstly by reason of the curious readings it sometimes gives in difficult passages of the poem, and secondly by the evidence which it affords of the kind of knowledge of Sanskrit possessed by Ceylon paṇḍits. On the first point a full selection is here given of the various readings—W standing for the reading of Wilson's well-known Calcutta edition of the poem (1813), and P for the readings given from the unique Ceylon MS. by the present editor. On the second point it is noteworthy that the grammatical

notes depend, not on Pāṇini, but on some other grammar or grammars. The editor states, in a private note, that he hopes to treat fully of the conclusions that may be drawn from this fact after he has been able to ascertain with greater exactitude what are actually the sources from which these rules, not found in Pāṇini, are actually quoted.

It is of especial interest to find one of the most distinguished descendants of the ancient chieftains of the beautiful island so long renowned for its scholarship both able and willing to devote his time to so careful an edition of a difficult Sanskrit text, and of the no less difficult ancient Sinhalese commentary upon it. And we trust that his further consideration of the historical results to be drawn from the commentary will not be too long delayed.

RR. D.

VARIOUS READINGS.

W. (Wilson).	P. (Pāṇabokke).
3 Kautukādhāna hetoh	Ketakādhāna hetoh.
4 Jivitalambanārthi	Jivitalambanārtham.
5 Prakṛtikṛpanāh	Pranayakṛpanah.
8 Aham	Ayam.
10 Prāyaso	Prāṇanam.
12 Bhavato	Bhavatā.
13 Srotrapeyam	Sravyabaddham.
14 Pariharan	Parihara.
18 Snigdhaveṇi	Sarpaveṇi.
19	Whole stanza wanting.
26 Yuktam	Yat tat.
„ Calormi	Calormyāh.
32 Anusara	Upasara.
33 Pratyusheshu	Pratyusherddha.
34 Tyaktvā	Nitvā.
35 Kriḍāvirata	Kriḍābhirata.
36 Abhyeti	Apyeti.
40 Tānkasyāñcid	Tasyāh kiñcid.

W. (Wilson).	P. (Pāṇabokke).
46 Pushpāsāraih	Pushpaih sādhu.
49 Vilasat	Vikasat.
56	The whole stanza (55 in P) differs.
57 Dryadi	Dr̥shadi.
„ Upacita	Upabhr̥ta.
„ Kalpante'sya	Kalpishyante.
64	Lines 3 and 4 differ in P (verse 63).
68	Adds two stanzas numbered II. 3 and II. 4 between Wilson's 67 and 68.
69	The whole stanza differs.
70 Preraṇā	II. 7 Preritā.
71 Bhūmir	8 Bhūmer.
„ Sajalakaṇikā	Salilakaṇikā.
73	Before 73 P has two additional stanzas numbered II. 10, 11.
74 Atra	Tatra.
75 Haimaischannā snigdha	15 Haimaih sthītā dirgha.
76 Yasyāstīre racita	16 Tasyāstīre vihita.
„ Veshṭana	Veshṭita.
77 Kānsyatyan̄no	17 Vāñchatyann̄yo.
80 Arhasyantarbhavana	20 Arhasyenambhavana.
83 Priyāyā	23 Bahūnam.
„ Tvdanusaraṇa	Tvadupagamanāt.
84 Ālokete nipatati pure	24 Sanlakshya te gṛhapati ghare.
86 Gamanadivasam	26 Virahadivase.
„ Saṃyogaṃ vā	Matsamyogaṃ.
87 Pīdayenmadviyogah	27 Pīdayedviproyogah.
89 Viṣvā	29 Nihṣvā.
„ Kṣhaṇam api bhavet	„ Katham upanamet.
90 Sikhādāma	30 Śirodama.
91 Gatamabhimukhaṃ	31 Gatamapasukhaṃ.
„ Cakshukhedat	Khedācchakshuh.

W. (Wilson).	P. (Pāṇabokke).
91 Chādayantīm	31 Chādayitvā.
92 Komalan	32 Pelavaṃ.
93 Yat	33 Tat.
95 Hastasamvāhanānām	35 Hastasambāhanābhir.
97 Stanitavacanair	37 Stanitavacano.
98 Proshṭānām	38 Prekshitānām.
99 Caivam	39 Caiva.
„ Kāntodantah	Kāntopāntāt.
101 Drūta	40 Drava.
102 Brūvilāsān	43 Brūpatākām.
105	The whole stanza wanting in P.
110 Māsān etān	49 Śeshān māsān.
111 Satvaram	50 Śaṣvaram.
112 Vyāpadaste	51 Bhraṃsinaste.
114	53 Is inserted by P before 115.
115 Priyasamucitam prār- thañ cetaso me	54 Priyam anucitaprārthana- vārtmano me.

THE COINS OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS OF INDIA. Collected by CHAS. J. RODGERS, and purchased by the Panjab Government. Calcutta, 1894.

This is a catalogue of a collection made with great diligence and pains—and one must have tried it to know what a trial of temper and patience it is—in the bazaars of the Panjab during some 25 years, by Mr. Rodgers, to whom we owe so much information about the coins of the Sūrī kings and the Mogul emperors of Dehli.

Mr. Rodgers was the first to describe, in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* in 1880, the copper coinage of Akbar; and this catalogue is the first in which the copper coinage of the Dehli emperors is described to any extent, for, as was remarked in our *Journal* last year, when noticing the British Museum Catalogue of this series, the national collection was very poor in that kind of coin, containing only forty

specimens in all—thirty-nine of Akbar and one of Jahāngīr. This collection supplies this deficiency of knowledge about them, and corrects the impression given by Mr. S. Lane-Poole that the Mogul copper coinage was a scanty one.

The whole collection comprises 1816 coins (53 gold, 1046 silver, and 717 copper), of which 1559 are Mogul coins and 257 Sūrī, and includes many novelties in all metals. The coins of Bābar and Humāyūn are numerous and interesting; of Akbar there is a large assortment and an especially remarkable copper series. The author has devoted much attention to the coinage of Jahāngīr, and gives a long list of couplets he has found on his coins; he describes, too, twenty-two copper coins of this emperor, on some of which are new designations of coins replacing those of his father Akbar. The copper coins of Shāh Jahān Aurangzīb, Muḥammad Shāh, 'Alamgīr II., Shah 'Alam II., and Akbar II. are also worthy of notice. The square *dirham sh'ryi* of Aurangzīb and Farrukh Siyar, similar in weight to the old Khalīf coins, are new. The list of mints contains several new names and some fresh readings, with some interesting honorific titles of mints, such as *akhtarnagar* Oudh, *dar al-jahād* Haidarabad, *bandar i mubāarak* Surat, and *Muḥammabād 'urf Ūdaipūr maftūha*.

It is a pity that the large collection made by Mr. Rodgers during the time he was Archæological Surveyor could not have been included in this list; he then collected for Government and not for himself; he appended lists to his reports, but they were not published, and the coins were distributed by the Government to various museums. It is to be regretted, too, that there are no plates illustrating some of the coins described in this catalogue; it is difficult for those not very familiar with the lettering and arrangement of the parts of words, especially on the copper coins, to make out the legends without a specimen illustration, and in case of a doubtful or disputed reading it is of course all-important, as, for instance, in the reading, on the coin of A.H. 1135, *Akhtarnagar* Oudh, not *Akbarnagar*, as is given in the British Museum Catalogue.

We are glad to hear that Mr. Rodgers has other catalogues of Indian coins in hand, *viz.* a second part of the one now under notice, one of the collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and one of that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On the publication of these we shall have made much progress in our knowledge of the Indian series of coins, which now much needs to be brought together and concisely arranged.

O. C.

VEDANTA UND BUDDHISMUS, als Fermente für eine künftige
Regeneration des religiösen Bewusstseins innerhalb
des europäischen Kulturkreises. Von TH. SCHULTZE.
(Leipzig: W. Friedrich. No date. Pp. 78 and 143.)

Interesting and worthy of attention as a specific attempt at the comparison of religious principles, and a contribution to progress in the same, this essay is of significance in so far as it purports to indicate the drift of modern religious thought. The author holds that the time has come for the culture of the Western world to shake off the decadent, discrepant heritage of Hebraic tradition, and to combine its genuine but independent sources—*viz.* the Helleno-Roman treasures of the genius of communication and self-expression, the modern methods of empirical science and the old Indo-Aryan psychological insight, contemplative power, and ethical self-mastery—into a basis for truly catholic progress.

Part I. of the work (pp. 1-78) is a criticism of Christianity in its principles and results, with a destructive purport. Part II. analyses the leading concepts of the religion of the Veda, the philosophy of the Vedanta, and the doctrines of Buddhism, together with "some aphoristic contributions" towards a reply to the inquiry, how far it were possible for these to take root in the soil of modern European thought, were Christianity banished. The author weighs the claims of Christianity to be called, and to continue to be, a base of European culture, and finds them wanting. Religion will survive it. Religion, which the autonomy of practical

morality cannot replace (since man is not only social, but has his inner life, his *Für-sich-leben* increasing in depth and pervasiveness the higher his culture and ideals)—religion, as a series of dogmatic traditions, must die before religion, as a self-conscious, self-chosen “ethico-metaphysical view of life and the universe,” yielding guidance of conduct, can develop.

In the greater offspring of the pure nature-worship of the Veda, in the Vedantist doctrine of universal self, as well as in the serene mastery over, not mortification of, emotion and susceptibility to external influences, inculcated by Buddhism, the writer finds a depth of psychological insight and moral wisdom unequalled elsewhere. Berkeley and Fichte he instances as having made some approach to it. The latter’s doctrine of future existence would amount to Karma, could he have shaken off the Western standpoint of beginning with the present life. Locke, again, in his doctrine of uneasiness (Essay II. xxi.) gives practically a Buddhist exposition of *tanhā*.

Had the author succeeded in developing his brief constructive contribution with the force and lucidity of his critical expositions, the value of the work would have been indefinitely increased. As it is, it can hardly fail to prove eminently fruitful and suggestive in the way in which it brings Western speculation into comparison with Eastern thought. The author’s acquaintance with the best sources of information, available in European languages, on the philosophy of India and on the ethics of Buddhism is wide and accurate. And he has also the insight which comes of sympathy.

MOSEK, HENRI. L’IRRIGATION EN ASIE CENTRALE, ÉTUDE GÉOGRAPHIQUE ET ÉCONOMIQUE. With a map. Paris, 1894.

M. Henri Moser, the author of “A travers l’Asie Centrale,” began his travels in Central Asia as a young man, and has made a good use of his rare opportunities

for studying the resources of the Russian possessions in that part of the world. Associated in the vast projects and works of such eminent administrators as Kaufmann, Chernaief, and Anneukof, he brings the fruits of a long experience to bear on the interesting questions discussed in the present work. In Chapter I. he examines the conditions of climate and soil, the gradual desiccation of the Aralo-Caspian basin, its geology, surface deposits (such as loess, sand-drift, etc.), the temperature, atmospheric deposits, and direction and force of wind. He gives a sketch of the orography and hydrography, the main arteries of irrigation, agricultural products, and useful plants. Finally he reviews briefly the population, sedentary and nomadic. In Chapter II. he treats of the history of irrigation and its great importance in moulding the destinies of the people of Asia, while he touches on the traces of irrigation works in such centres as Merv, Khiva, Ferghanah, the Ili and Zarafshan valleys. Chapter III. is of more present interest, for here the author explains the actual methods of cultivation as now practised. These are divisible under two heads: (1) where the rainfall is sufficient to raise crops, and (2) where artificial irrigation is necessary. It is on this last that the inhabitant of Central Asia is mainly dependent for his subsistence. The all-important water supply governs the whole administration of the country, and is at the root of the unwritten customary law handed down from generation to generation. It serves also as a basis of Imperial taxation. Having examined in detail the systems of irrigation pursued in the provinces of Zarafshan (Chapter IV.) and Bokhara (Chapter V.), M. Moser summarizes, in conclusion, the future prospects of irrigation and the schemes devised for the development of the country. If it be admitted, he remarks, that under former conquerors instability and uncertainty for the morrow weighed heavily on public enterprise and prevented the development of resources, it is incumbent on Russia to create a new system of irrigation based on the conquests of modern science and

the experience gained by the natives . . . The ancient and legendary prosperity of Central Asia will not only come to life again, but it may and ought to be surpassed. With the wish and conviction that it may and will do so, M. Moser concludes his book.

E. D. M.

THE TÁRIKH-I-JADÍD, OR NEW HISTORY OF MÍRZÁ 'ALÍ MUHAMMAD THE BÂB. BY MÍRZÁ HUSEYN OF HAMADÁN. Translated from the Persian by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Cambridge, 1893.

Had Mr. Browne done no more, to make known the story of the Bábis and the character of their literature, than publish the remarkable papers bearing upon this persecuted sect which appeared in the July and October numbers of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* five years ago (1889), he would have deserved the warm acknowledgment of Orientalists and students of Oriental history. But he has rendered further service of similar kind and in the same cause, both by medium of the Society's *Journal* and by separate publication. In April, 1892, he enriched our pages with his valuable remarks on the texts edited by Baron Victor Rosen in the *Collections Scientifiques* of the St. Petersburg Oriental Institute, and to these, in the following July and October, he added his elaborate analysis of certain manuscripts which he had before omitted to notice, but the contents of which, he was of opinion, should, for many reasons, be "clearly and succinctly stated." Towards the end of 1891 he edited, for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, the "Traveller's Narrative," illustrating the Episode of the Báb, set forth in the original Persian text as well as an English translation of his own with explanatory notes. We now propose to say a few words on a publication of the Cambridge Press later in date than any of those to which reference has here been made. It is called the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* or "New History."

For the particulars of the feud which, in recent years, has divided the Bábí camp, and weakened the outside *prestige* of the sect, owing to the partial supersession of its old leader, Şubh-i-Ezel, by the more active and energetic Behá'u'lláh, the reader is referred to the introduction of the present volume, together with its author's previous writings, which are full of information and instruction on the subject. The death of Behá'u'lláh, pending the controversy, does not seem to have materially changed the character of the situation or contributed to restore authority to his opponent. As to the ascertained outcome of the conflict in these days, Mr. Browne writes:—

“While the Behá'ís have been ever waxing in power and influence, so that their numbers now probably reach, or even exceed, half a million souls, the Ezelis have been ever waning, until at the present time it is doubtful whether in all they amount to a few hundreds. It is even doubtful whether the recent death of Behá will contribute in any sensible measure to the restoration of their former fortunes, though Ezel still lives and numbers amongst his supporters, at least, one or two men of energy and ability.”

The appearance of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* among the more notable specimens of Bábí literature, is thus accounted for in Professor Browne's Introduction. One Hájí Mírzá Jání, a merchant of Káshán, an early disciple of the Báb, Mírzá Muhammad 'Ali, “was remarkable for his enthusiastic devotion to the new religion.” After giving many proofs of sincere attachment to his master and that master's memory, in the course of a brief but busy career (during which he became acquainted with almost all the prominent Bábís), “he suffered martyrdom for the faith at Teherán on September 15th, 1852.” During the two years that intervened between his Chief's death and his own, he composed a voluminous work under the strange title of “The Point of Káf,” on the “doctrines and history of the religion” which he professed. The manuscript of this composition is forthcoming, in its entirety, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, and is of high value as a contemporary record of the

early days of Bábí-ism; but political questions will arise even amidst religious environment, and as Mírzá Jání was the determined upholder of the Báb's immediate successor, Şubh-i-Ezel, the claim to headship of the community, set up by the more influential Behá'u'llah, would have run the risk of harm, had this document been made public as it stood. It was "practically dangerous to the plans and pretensions" of the latter; and it became necessary, in the eyes of a powerful majority, that Mírzá Jání's old history of the Báb and his apostles "should be superseded by a revised, expurgated, and amended 'New History' (Tárikh-i-Jadid), which, while carefully omitting every fact, doctrine, and expression calculated to injure the policy of Behá, or to give offence to his followers, should preserve, and even supplement with new material derived from fresh sources, the substance of the earlier chronicle."

According to information obtained for Mr. Browne, in reply to questions categorically put by himself, Mírzá Huseyn of Hamadán, whose name is openly connected with, and appears on the title-page of, the book under notice, was a young Persian in the suite of Násiru'd-dín Shah on the occasion of his Majesty's first visit to Europe. After his return to Teherán he fell upon evil days, for he was imprisoned in that city. When released he found employment in the office of one Manakji Limji, the Parsi Agent at the capital, a worldly, busy, and withal a plodding literary man, by whom he was eventually commissioned to write a history of the Bábís. This was the particular work intended to supplant the more genuine but less politic memoir. In carrying it into execution the reputed author appears to have had ready access to Mírzá Jání's manuscript history, but in selecting and putting together his facts and materials he must have been somewhat hampered by the supervision of his Zoroastrian master. Another and apparently abler assistant in the composition was a certain Mírzá Abu'l Fazl, of whose intelligence Mr. Browne expresses a high opinion.

Independently of the question of time and space, an

analysis of events recorded would hardly be an appropriate course to pursue in disposing of the narrative before us, which consists, in some instances, of fragments pieced together, in others of repetitions or variations of a foregoing text. But a perusal of the whole volume may be recommended, and would assuredly repay the interested student of religions and schisms in the East. However faulty its literary method may appear, judged by a European standard, there are, scattered throughout its pages, vivid descriptions, touching reflections, eloquent appeals, and curious if not always credible episodes. The massacre of the garrison of Sheikh Tabarsi supplies material for a horrible tale of Persian treachery. But this is one only of many like illustrations, in which we would fain hope that, in spite of authenticated precedents, the picture is over-coloured. A short descriptive paragraph may be quoted *in extenso*. It refers to the close of the sad story, when the Bábí chief, in acceptance of a deceitful invitation, passed over, with a few followers, to the quarters of the Shah's Commander:—

“After the interchange of the usual compliments, the Prince requested *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* to order his followers to lay down their arms, because these were a menace and a cause of fear to the troops. This request he urged so persistently that *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* finally sent orders to his men to lay aside their weapons, which orders were cheerfully and willingly obeyed. Then the soldiers gathered up the arms and weapons and bore them away. Before this was done the Prince had ordered breakfast to be brought for the Bábís. But when these sat down unarmed to eat, the soldiers surrounded them and fired a volley upon them, and then rushed in amongst the survivors, giving for refreshment the draught of martyrdom. Then they seized *Jenáb-i-Kuddús* and those who were with him. A strange hospitality and welcome did they show to these poor people! After they had for three months suffered such hunger that they would willingly eat grass, and even that failed them, they were bidden on the Word of God to a feast, yet ere they

had tasted a single morsel their hunger was appeased with bullets! And so much of their blood was collected in a hollow of the ground, that the truth of a tradition which affirms that in that land shall be such bloodshed that a horse shall wade knee-deep in gore, was made manifest" (pp. 86-7).

Some pages further on we read of the death, at Niríz, of a distinguished Bábí, named Seyyid Yahyá, of whose person the soldiers of Prince Firuz Mírzá had become possessed by a process of treachery much resembling the last narrated. The executioner having refused to fulfil his task, it was necessary to find a substitute. What followed is thus described:—

"One who had lost two brothers in the earlier part of the war, and therefore cherished a deep resentment, said, 'I will kill him.' And he loosed the shawl wherewith Seyyid Yahyá was girt, cast it round his neck, and drew it tight. And others beat his holy body with sticks and stones, dragging it hither and thither over the plain, till his soul soared falcon-like to the branches of Paradise. Then they severed his head from the body, skinned it, stuffed it with straw, and sent it, with other heads, along with the captives to Shíráz. And they sent an announcement of their victory and triumph to Prince Nuṣratu'd-Dawla, and fixed a day for their entry into Shíráz. And when on the appointed day they drew near, the city was decorated, and the people were busy enjoying themselves and making merry, most of them having come out from the town to meet the victorious troops and gaze on the captives" (pp. 123-4).

One more extract of a passage relating to the second Niríz war is taken from the MS. of the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* obtained by Mr. Sidney Churchill, and deposited in the Library of the British Museum. It is given at foot of pages 128-31:—

"The Bábís fought most gallantly and were always victorious, until at length, after a desperate resistance, they were overcome and suffered martyrdom. Their persecutors,

having captured and killed the men, seized and slew forty women and children in the following manner: They placed them in the midst of a cave, heaped up in the cave a vast quantity of firewood, poured naphtha over the faggots strewed around, and set fire to it. One of those who took part in this deed related as follows: 'After two or three days I ascended that mountain and removed the door from the cave. I saw that the fire had sunk down to the ashes; but all those women with their children were seated, each in some corner, clasping their little ones to their bosoms, and sitting round in a circle, just as they were when we left them. Some, as though in despair or in mourning, had suffered their heads to sink down on their knees in grief, and all retained the postures they had assumed. I was filled with amazement, thinking that the fire had not burned them. Full of apprehension and awe I entered. Then I saw that all were burned and charred to a cinder, yet had they never made a movement which would cause the crumbling away of the bodies. As soon as I touched them with my hand, however, they crumbled away to ashes. And all of us, when we had seen this, repented what we had done. But of what avail was this?'

Four Appendices to the narrative are interesting and important. While the first relates to passages in it which Mr. Browne has not thought necessary to translate, the second treats of Hájí Mírzá Jání's History, with especial reference to those passages which the "New History" has suppressed or modified. The third Appendix is Mr. Browne's translation of a "Succinct Account of the Bâbí Movement," written expressly for him by Şubh-i-Ezel. Our author rightly says: "On the importance of such an account coming from such a source it is unnecessary to dwell; it is almost as though we had a narrative of the first beginnings of Islám told by 'Ali Ibn Abí Ṭalib. That so valuable a document deserved publication will, I should think, be questioned by no one." The original Persian MS. of the writer, which is bound up with the remaining contents of the volume, after the Index, is also published separately.

Appendix IV. is a collection of original documents and fac-similes: one being a letter from the Bâb himself; one the nomination of Subh-i-Ezel to succeed the Bâb; one a letter from the Bâb's amanuensis; and one a letter from the renowned Kurratu'l'-Ayn, a very Joan of Arc in the estimation of her co-religionists.

We have already alluded to and quoted the lucid introduction to the "New History." One more section remains: The Preface, which is part of the translated book itself, is perplexing in its incidental references to the writer's identity, and in a certain *souçon* of European thought which involuntarily finds way amid the lines. It might almost be utilized as a tract for distribution among educated Persians—to be by them re-distributed and interpreted among their less civilized brethren. More dignified in character than the satirical drama of Mîrzâ Fath 'Ali Derbendi, ably rendered into the language of the Shah's subjects, by Mîrzâ Jî'afir Adarbaijânî—it might haply combine with this last to open the eyes of young Persia to the foibles of their countrymen; in which case no small step would have been taken in the direction of a healthy reform.

F. J. G.

The following appeared in the *Academy* of May 12th, 1894:—

SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN INDIA.

Students of Vedânta will be glad to hear that the fine edition of Sureśvara's large *vârtika* on the *Bṛihadâranyaka-bhâshya*, which has been issuing from the Anandâsrama Press at Poona, is now complete. It consists of 2075 pages of text and commentary, with 144 pages of index to first lines. The preparation of the index was a herculean labour indeed, and I am not aware of the existence of another of equal magnitude. It was undertaken at my suggestion, and will prove of great value to

students, and especially to quotation-hunters. The publication of the work itself has long been a desideratum, since every writer of the *advaitavādin* school has drawn from it freely; and, moreover, it contains important allusions to Dharmakīrti, as my friend Mr. K. B. Pāthak knows. Dr. Burnell made a great mistake, therefore, when (in his Tanjore Catalogue) he wrote regarding it: "This work is of very little interest, as it simply consists of Śankara's arguments put into rather doggerel verse."

The Anandāśrama Press has already given us Sureśvara's *vārtika* on the *Taittirīya-bhāṣya*, and his *Naishkarmya-siddhi* was edited by myself for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, so that the *Mānasollāsa* and *Panoḥkarana-vārtika* are now the only writings of his that remain unpublished. Perhaps Mr. Apte will give us these. Another important treatise recently sent forth from the same press is the *Sūtasamhitā*, consisting of 1061 pages of text and comment, with 86 of index to first lines. The compiler of the latter, however, would seem to have been a novice at that kind of thing, as is evidenced, for instance, by his method of dealing with the words *Yatsvarūpam avijnāya*, which occur ten times on p. 646. But these are trifles, and merely show that learned Pandits have not yet attained to all the editorial niceties to which we are accustomed here.

It would, perhaps, be heresy to assert that our friends in Calcutta still need extraneous aid or supervision in such trifling matters as politics, for instance, or in the somewhat more weighty concerns of local government; but that they urgently require it in the all-important art of book-making is a self-evident proposition. We should not then have had 1300 pages of demy-octavo put into one unwieldy volume, as in the case of the recently completed *Varāha Purāna*; or the still greater enormity of 1700 pages of the same size thrust into a single volume of the *Chaturvarga - chintāmani*. Nor would the highly-esteemed Pandit who edited the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* and *Bhāṣya* have been allowed to send forth the second volume of the

work without a title-page, if an English scholar had been at the helm. I wrote and suggested that that important prefix should be provided, and in due course one arrived; but it was for the whole work, comprising 780 plus 822 pages of text, and 123 of indexes! But the crowning feat of all was the publication of Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati's grand Sanskrit Lexicon of 5442 pages of royal-quarto, without a single break for division into volumes!

A conspicuous example, however, of successful workmanship without foreign guidance is to be found in the publications of the Nirnayāsāgara Press of Bombay, which, in spite of the lamented death of its energetic founder and of the splendid Pandit who was the chief editor, continues to issue, in capital style, most valuable specimens of the literary treasures of India. It is to this press that we are indebted for really trustworthy editions of the best works on *Alankāra* and of the minor poems from which their authors drew so many of their illustrations—such, for example, as *Haravijaya*, *Kuttantmata*, *Bhallataśataka*, *Devīśataka*, *Gāthāsaptasati*, and others which were never available before. The latest works on Poetics are Ruyyaka's *Alankārasarvasva* and Appadikshita's *Chitramimāmsā*. Prior to these, we had from the same source Vāmana's *Alankārasūtras* with *vṛitti*, Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* with Abhinavagupta's Commentary, Rudratas *Kāvyaḍlankāra* with the comment of Namisādhu, Jagannātha's *Rasagangādhara*, and Govind's *Kāvya-praśānta*, with copious extracts from the *Uddharana-chandrikā*. To complete the set I would strongly urge the publication of Udbhata's work, discovered by Mr. Bühler in Jesalmir, and deposited in the collection at Poona, and also of Anandavardhana's *Prākṛit* poem, *Panchabānātīlā*, if it can be found. With the aid of such standard works as these, we are able to correct several of Vallabhadeva's mistakes as to the authorship of the passages contained in his *Subhāshitāvalī*; and this has already been partly done by the late Pandit Durgā Prasād. The other day, however, I met with another statement of Vallabhadeva's which

needs investigation. He ascribes his verse 43 to a poet named Amritadatta, who is supposed to have flourished at the court of Shâhbuddin of Kashmir, whose date is given by Cunningham as 1352 A.D. This same verse, however, is quoted by Ruyyaka in his *Alankârasarvasva* (p. 159), which Dr. Bühler assigns to the beginning of the twelfth century. Will some friend kindly crack this chronological nut for us?

The Bombay Sanskrit Series maintains its high character, and would hold its own anywhere. Among its recent issues is a second edition of Bhimâchârya's *Nyâyakośa*, a splendid volume of 1036 pages. As the former edition contained only 267 pages, this is practically a new work altogether. The preparation of such a book could not have been in better hands, the learned compiler having, as he tells us, made a life-long study of the works of the Nyâya and Vaiśeshika schools of philosophy. I never had the pleasure of meeting Bhimâchârya, but I knew his brother Janârdanâchârya, who was a learned Vedântist. Another important work just out is vol. i., in two parts, of *Parâśara Smṛiti* with Śâyana's commentary, edited by Pandit Vâman Śâstrî Islâmpurkar. References are given to as many of the well-nigh innumerable quotations as could be traced, and a list of authors and works quoted from is appended to each volume, and an index to the quotations. I have said "an index," but that is a misnomer; for, instead of an alphabetical list of all the quotations in each volume, we have the citations from each author arranged in separate lists. Consequently, part one has 136, and part two 154, distinct lists of quotations. This strange method makes them practically valueless, for, unless one knew the author from which a quotation is made, one might have to examine hundreds of lists. A little European experience here would undoubtedly have been of value.

Let us now turn to Benares, with its three streams of Sanskrit literature. The last number of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* contained the following disquieting

statement in reference to the Benares Sanskrit Series, which is under the superintendence of Profs. Griffith and Thibaut: "D'après une information qui me vient de l'Inde, mais qui, je l'espère encore, ne se confirmera pas, cette excellente publication serait maintenant arrêtée." I fear that this information was correct, and that the streams have been, or will be, reduced to two. It is a thousand pities that one volume at least of Kumârila's *Tantravârtika* should not have been completed before the series collapsed; as it is, we have ten fasciculi, comprising 960 pages, the last of which breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and no title-page; and so it must remain, unbound, in our bookcases, a melancholy monument to the instability of literary ventures in Benares! The Vizi-anagram Sanskrit Series, which opened briskly in 1890, under the guidance of Prof. Venis, has, owing to his absence in Europe, experienced a temporary check. Let us hope that it may long hold its ground. The last volumes issued were Vidyâranya's *Vivaranaprameya-sangraha* and Śivâditya's *Saptapadârthi* with a commentary. Our very old friend, *The Pandit*, has got into a decided muddle. It used to give us every month portions of four or five works with continuous paging, and a general index for the annual volume. Now, however, each separate portion has separate paging, as is the case with the *Kâvyamâlâ* of Bombay, and any ordinary mind would suppose that this was with a view to separate binding, each having its own title-page and index. Nothing of the kind, however, was contemplated; and we have this fearful conglomeration of separately-paged pieces, each breaking off in the middle of a sentence, yet stuck together with a general index as before. What can have happened to the presiding genius of this aged periodical?

G. A. JACOB, Colonel.

NOTES ON AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

North Africa.

I. Professor Leo Reinisch, of Vienna, has published in the German language at Vienna three parts of a most valuable book, 204 pages.

"Die Bedauye-Sprache in Nord-Ost Africa." In 1881 Professor Hermann Almkvist published at Upsala in Sweden his well-known volume.

"Die Bischâri-Sprache Tú-Bedâuie." This new volume of Professor Reinisch is a valuable addition to our knowledge, consisting of Texts and Grammatical Notes, and including Dialects. The language belongs to the Hamitic Family, and is spoken in the regions betwixt the Upper Nile Basin and the Red Sea.

II. Tigré is the chief language spoken in the Italian colony "Eritrea" on the African bank of the Red Sea. It is, with the exception of Arabic, the most extensively spoken language of Semitic origin. Its field is between the 16 and 18 degrees of N. latitude. It has no written literature, and it is only in recent years that it has been made the subject of philological research, while its southern sister language Tigrîna was brought more than twenty years ago within the pale of linguistical analysis. Captain M. Camperio's "Manuale Tigrè-Italiano," comprising an outline Grammar, Dialogues and two Vocabularies, is intended to serve practical purposes only by facilitating intercourse between his countrymen and the Abyssinians. The Lazarist Father J. Schreiber's "Manuel de la langue Tigrâi," the second part of which has recently been published at Vienna six years after the first, is a work of more ambitious aims. It deals, like the work of Professor Prætorius, with the Tigrîna dialect, but differs from that work by deriving its materials from the living language exclusively both as it is spoken and used in correspondence. The Character used is the Amharic, which has also been employed in the present work. The second part contains Tigrîna letters with a French translation, notes, and a vocabulary. The

typographical execution, done at the celebrated printing office of Ad. Holzhausen at Vienna, leaves nothing to be desired.

East Africa.

III. In this Region the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a great many small books in the different languages for the use of Missionary Societies. The point of view, from which I regard them on this occasion, is purely philological, and they do certainly represent an advanced, and advancing, knowledge of Vernaculars, of which the names even were unknown a quarter of a century ago. There is no use in setting out the names of these works, as the Student will find them in the Catalogues of the Society under their respective languages: these are of the Bantu Family the Megi, the Yao, the Nganga, the Swahili, the Gogo, and the Ganda; this region includes Victoria Nyanza and Lake Nyasa and the country between. The books are real, prepared by men in the Field, not by Scholars in their European studies.

South Africa.

IV. I have on my table a revised edition of the Grammar, by the Rev. Lewis Grout, American Missionary, of the Zulu language; the language is the chief amidst the many noble Bantu forms of speech in South Africa, and this book leaves nothing to be desired.

V. To Mr. M. E. Weale, late D Troop B.S.A. Company's Police, we are indebted for a small Vocabulary, published at Cape Town, of the Tabéle and Kaláka languages spoken in Ma-Shóna-land and Ma-Tabéle-land. The book consists of thirty-two pages, and is intended for the use of Prospectors and Farmers in the Ma-Shóna-land. There are manifest Zulu affinities in these languages; it is a first effort, and no doubt will be followed by more serious productions.

VI. The Rev. A. M. Hartman has published outlines of a Grammar of another Dialect spoken in Ma-Shóna-land. This is but another drop of a coming shower.

West Africa.

VII. In the Quarterly Bulletin of the American Geographical Society it is proposed to publish a series of Notes of Bantu languages from the pen of the accomplished Scholar M. Helé Chatelain: his experiences lie in the Portuguese Colony of Angóla on the West Coast south of the Equator. No. 3 of the series reached me a few days ago: "The Ma-Yaka and their Language." This is the first appearance of a new language; the geographical position of the tribe who speak it is indicated, and a Vocabulary and brief Grammatical Notes are appended.

VIII. The late Colonel Ellis, of the First Battalion of the West India Regiment, stationed in West Africa, north of the Equator, in the British Colonies, has contributed an important volume on the "Yáriba-speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast of West Africa." The chapters on Language, Proverbs, and Folklore tales are most valuable. It is published by Chapman and Hall, London, and should find a place in all Libraries.

IX. The various useful publications, by the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, on the Congo Group of the Bantu Family of languages, have recently received a valuable accession in a "Guide to the Lu-Nkundu Language" by J. and F. T. McKittrick. This language is spoken along with the Ki-Lolu by the Ba-Nkundu in the Ba-Lolo country in the great bend of the Congo where it crosses the Equator northwards. The two differ dialectically only. The Manual comprises, in addition to a short Grammar, with Texts, conversations, reading-lessons, and two Vocabularies, and is intended to be a companion volume to J. B. Eddie's Lolo Vocabulary.

X. "Die Töne der Neger-Sprachen, und ihre Bezeichnung: erortert von J. G. Christaller, Basle, Switzerland."

This is a short Pamphlet of nineteen pages on an important and intricate subject by a singularly well-qualified Scholar, whose experience is in the Field.

General Subject.

XI. The same Scholar has contributed to the general subject of the languages of Africa an interesting and valuable Pamphlet of fifty-nine pages under the title "Die Sprachen Afrikas: von J. G. Christaller, Stuttgart." It is, in fact, a separate copy of a contribution to the Ninth and Tenth Annual Report of the Wurtemberg Society of Commercial Geography.

XII. The Rev. Lewis Grout contributed a valuable Essay on African Languages to the Chicago Congress of 1893.

XIII. In conclusion I may perhaps be permitted briefly to allude to my own contribution to the Chicago Congress. In 1881 I published, with the help of friends in every part of Europe, North America, and Africa, my two volumes of the "Modern Languages of Africa": with carefully prepared Appendices of Languages, Dialects, and Authorities. They were favourably received, and have been quoted by numerous writers. Twelve years had passed away, and a great number of additional books had been published, and the authors invariably honoured me with a copy. It was too soon for a second edition of my book before the lapse of a quarter of a century, so it occurred to me to publish in the English and French languages an Essay on the "Progress of African Philology from 1881 to 1893," forty-eight pages, with Appendices naming all the additional books published in that interval of time; it has been appreciated, and will greatly help the person to whom it falls in the next century to publish a revised edition of my Book.

ROBERT N. CUST,
Hon. Secretary.

May 7th, 1894.

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

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JOURNAL

OR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIX.—*On Certain Features of Social Differentiation in India.* By J. A. BAINES.

THE question of caste, with a branch of which I am to deal, is, I need hardly observe, the most important of all social subjects connected with India. As the most prominent feature in the organization of the community, it enters into every ramification of the administration, and these, as we all know, are many. As admittedly the mainstay of the religious belief of the majority of the population, it has received a place in the sacred lore of the priesthood such has been given to no similar institution in any other known system; and on this consideration, therefore, it has been discussed for the last century and more with all the scholarship and power of laborious investigation that are associated with the great names that adorn the roll of the Asiatic Society.

So we have the authority of two classes to appeal to on this question. First, of those who take their stand on the past, and from the ancient writings which they have taken such pains to elucidate for the benefit of lay inquirers, deduce the situation at the time—whenever it may have been—to which the work refers, and reason down from it to what is, or ought to be, the orthodox position in the present day. On the other hand we have the men of the time; those whose acquaintance with caste

is that of every-day contact in the office or court, in the Darbar of the Chief, the hut of the forest tribe, the municipal hall, round the camp fire, or under the pipal tree, where village affairs are discussed from a caste standpoint, and caste-rules are pleaded as over-riding all our modern codes.

It is no wonder that the two schools differ occasionally in their conclusions. The one treats of caste *de jure*, as it ought to be; the other, *de facto*, as he finds it. The scholar lays down the orthodox notions which he finds in the most ancient, the most pure, or, as is sometimes equally suggestive, the most corrupt, Sanskrit he can reach. The administrator observes that in these degenerate days caste-distinctions are honoured or recognized which are not justified by holy writ, that the social order is anything but that prescribed by the authorities quoted in support of it, and that even the highest classes are guilty of practices which, by the consensus of opinion amongst the learned of ancient days, are wholly abominable. As to this discrepancy, I need only say that, taking the ancient literature *at its proper value in regard to every-day life*, its authority is of wide scope and pretty general application. On the other hand, the later development of the social system in India has been remarkable for its diversity or want of uniformity, so that personal observation is apt to err in adapting the particular to the general, the concrete evidence of a special tract to the course of evolution throughout the country. Thus the remark is justified of that charming American philosopher, the autocrat of the breakfast-table, that "experience is a solemn fowl, that cackles more than she lays eggs." I have not the slightest doubt that before I had the opportunity opened to me by the Census of going over the whole country, interviewing district officers at every turn, that solemn fowl was the petted darling of my own poultry-yard.

The task I am now attempting is to link the past to the present, using impartially the materials from both sources. The two paths, it seems to me, however far apart

at the outset, tend to converge, after they have been respectively followed to a sufficient distance, because the course of evolution of society in India is restricted within comparatively narrow limits, and has been subjected to rare and relatively slight disturbances. We may liken the two roads, therefore, to the shrouds of a vessel which both support the same mast and both give access to a standpoint from which the community below can be surveyed on either side or as a whole.

Now, in India, we find an epitome of ancient civilization in full operation before our eyes—a civilization highly organized, but stunted in its growth, like those Japanese plants which are in appearance and structure complete trees, but in dimensions never exceed what can be adequately put into a small flower-pot. If we examine it more closely, it will be found like an astronomical system, where numbers of agglomerated masses are found in continuous motion, each on its own axis, throwing off or attracting other particles, and the whole kept in position by the central force of custom or tradition. What we have to inquire into, then, is the process of formation of these small aggregates from the archaic nebula, and then, why the internal conflict of forces, that in other cases where the early conditions were much the same resulted in rapid and continuous progress, in India subsided almost at its outset.

First, then, as to the historical materials for this inquiry. These are almost exclusively of the nature of indirect evidence. They afford, that is, proof, not of what is stated, but of some collateral fact which can be assumed from them. We may regard them, in fact, as the basis of what is known in other branches of investigation as a "working hypothesis." For example, from its prayers and invocations we gather what was the material condition of the community, what difficulties and what hostility it had to encounter, and not merely what were its gods and what was its religious system. In later times, again, the long list of prohibitions affords evidence of the sins to which the community was most inclined; its pet vices, and the ideal of conduct

set before it. What is of more importance to the present subject is the deductions we can draw as to not what was the social position of certain sections of the community in the general estimate, but what were the directions from which attacks were being made to disturb that estimate.

Take, in the first place, the Vedic literature. Here we find that out of the four principal works, three are obviously based on the fourth. It is with this last alone, then, that we need deal. But here, again, internal evidence indicates that generations must have elapsed between the composition of the earlier portions and that of the later. The diction and grammar on the one hand, and the conceptions on the other, enter into this part of the subject, on which, however, it would be a waste of time to comment now. The Sukta, or invocations, of which it is the collection, range between the simple bargains of patriarchal rule with personified elemental powers, and the elaborate addresses of a professional priesthood, trained to a sacrificial ritual which is efficacious in their hands alone, and which has reached the stage of incantation, or power to compel compliance on the part of the objects of the address.

It is clear that the two periods must be distinguished from each other, and we must not assume that the earlier, or patriarchal, ritual prevailed in the same conditions as the later, or sacerdotal. The question is, how and where the divergence began? In connection with this point, I may as well touch briefly upon the salient features of the information we possess as to the early movements of the population of whom the more archaic invocations of the Rig collection are the religious expression. We will give them the title of Arya, since that is the term they themselves employed in these outpourings. We gather that the Arya were a northern people. They reckoned their time by winters; they spoke familiarly of snow and cold; the cradle of their race they placed in the north, and, as usual in cases of emigration to a distance, they constituted that the sacred and propitious point of the compass, and attributed to the south the opposite influences.

Probably, in fact, they obeyed the almost universal impulse of the inhabitants of the southern slope of the great central watershed of the northern hemisphere, and sought the sea, that is, the south. The Vedic literature does not, I think, afford information as to whether the disruption between the Arya contingent that went southwards in the direction of India and that which afterwards developed the Mazdaic form of religion and was found to the south-westwards of their cradle-land, took place before or after the movements commenced. It is certain, however, that before the close of the age of invocation, or of original composition, as we may call it, the religions had separated, and, as usual, the gods of the one had taken up their position as the devils of the other faith. The only connection of this point with my present subject is with regard to the extent to which the Indic branch of the Arya kept in touch with its kindred beyond the snows. This point is certainly one of greater importance than at first sight it appears to be. The mention of the Seven Rivers in the first Fargard of the Vendidad proves nothing. It is not improbable that the enumeration there is merely that of the dominion of the first Darius, who levied tribute from the Panjab and Kabul. By that date the differentiation of the two Arya communities was complete, and in the intercourse between the two there is no hint of blood-kinship. There is no evidence of the two communities dwelling side by side, as has been sometimes asserted, on the banks of the Seven Rivers. Now assuming this to be the case, we find herein, I think, the primary factor in the peculiar development of the social system of the Indic Arya. After crossing the Hindu-Kush, or turning the western extension of that range, for the actual route is unknown, the Arya lost sight and touch of their transmontane home, or else received recruits from it, if at all, only in the same insignificant detachments as make use of these routes in the present day. It may be remembered, too, that the other Aryas moved off in the opposite direction, and came under the influence of the Chaldeans or other members of the

Mesopotamian civilization. Thus isolated, the immigrants gradually relaxed their hold of tradition, and drifted into fresh paths suggested by their novel circumstances. There were, no doubt, inroads of some of the tribes known by the collective title of Skythian, at various times, but the colonies of those races were mostly confined to the Panjab, or if beyond it to the western part of Central India. The impact of the Greeks was short and sharp, with nothing in it of the nature of a permanent settlement, so that, until the Musalman invasions of the 10th century and later, the population of Upper India received no fresh infusion of the hardy blood of the north, and by the time the Musalmans, or even the Greeks, arrived, the social system of the Arya had been so consolidated that it could resist without difficulty any attacks made upon it by the foreigner. For generation, therefore, after generation, the Aryas were left, to make use of a modern but forcible expression, to stew in their own juice, and this is, probably, the explanation of the facility with which the caste-system expanded in India, and of the firm hold it has obtained on the popular sentiment. At the time the earliest invocations were composed there was no trace of caste, but we find the Arya a homogeneous community, under its tribal chiefs or patriarchs, each of whom offered sacrifice on behalf of himself and his belongings. The ceremony was on a strictly reciprocal and utilitarian basis, and the consideration on which the offerings were made is definitely set forth in the invocation. It also appears that each family considered itself entitled to separate attention from the power invoked, for it was the rule to set up the altar out of sight and earshot of that of another household. The community is shown by the invocations to have been composed largely of fighting men, and its wealth consisted mainly of cattle (*dhanu* or *pecunia*).¹ The glorification of the elemental personification selected as the tutelary deity and the substantial offerings made to it had as their object the increase of the family wealth, and success

¹ In the North Deccan the cattle are still called collectively, *Lakshmi*.

in defending or increasing it. The chiefs were known as Rájanya. The term Kshatria seems to have been applied to any one who had "power," including the gods. The commonalty were called Visha, or adjectively Vaishya, the colonists or the people generally. Here, again, it is not certain whether this term were used before the Arya had settled on the plains in India.

What is more to the purpose is that the sacrifice assumed a more ritualistic and formal shape. The chief was accompanied by an acolyte, who soon developed into the Parohita, or family priest, and, as the secular functions of the patriarch grew in importance and complexity, the business connected with the ceremonies of religion became more and more specialised. The Brahman, instead of meaning simply the person who gave utterance to the Brahma, which has been rendered prayer or invocation, got to be restricted to the professional who officiated in that capacity, and the participation of the patriarch, Rájanya, in the performance of the rite was gradually diminished, until it passed out of existence, and the chief lapsed entirely into the character of a layman.

Thus, so far as the internal structure of the Arya community is in question, we find the first subdivisions to have been both ordinal, or involving rank, and functional, arising out of occupation. In neither case is there any trace of the caste, as afterwards constituted. In one sense we have the Rájanya and Visha, that is, the chief and the subordinate members of the community; in the other, the Brahman, a purely functional appellation. The third name, Kshatria, is vaguely applied to members of the ruling class, amongst whom the tutelary gods were reckoned.

But we have now to regard the Arya immigrant in his external relations. Whatever may have happened to him on his voyage across the mountains, amongst the demons, dragons, and fire-spitting serpents, of whom the Chinese pilgrim speaks, it is certain that he did not find India unoccupied, and he had, accordingly, to fight for his foothold there. I cannot find time for the discussion of the question

of what part of Upper India was first occupied, or who were the yellow serpent worshippers against whom the Arya fulminated in their invocations. In later times, no doubt, there were the Párwátu and Tureshkrawa, who dwelt to the west of the land of the sacred singers, but I wish now to deal only with the foreigners (from the Arya point of view) of darker hue. The existence of this race, or these races, as the case may be, is the second great factor in the differentiation of the population. As soon as the Arya found themselves pitted against a foe of different race to themselves, their prayers began to be for the protection of the Arya colour (*warna*), a term subsequently applied to caste. The immigrant was comparatively tall and fair, the occupant of the soil was squat and swarthy, with habits that filled the former with disgust. Whether we regard the term *anásu* as noseless, out of deference to Mr. Risley and other rhinologists, or whether we take it as the equivalent of the Greek *barbaros*, speaking an unintelligible tongue, the fact is patent that in the eye of the Arya the other was an unclean and generally inferior member of the human race, with whom all intimacy was to be avoided. The name applied to the dark race by the Arya was collectively Dásyu, a term which has been variously connected with the Dahya and Daquaitu of the Bihistun tablets, with the Dacians of European history, and finally with the Dacoit or Dáku of India and Burma. Thus one touch of robbery with violence makes the Ister join hands with the Irawadi.

Now, a community with the large proportion of fighting men that seems to have characterized the Arya, even though the progress of its settlement may have not been attended with regular warfare, usually makes slaves of those whom it dispossesses, and India seems to have been no exception to the rule. Everywhere in that country we find a sharp and well-defined boundary between the general community and a class of helots, living beyond the village site in hamlets of their own. The touch of this class is polluting to the rest; they are foul-feeders, and relegated to occupations abhorrent to the rest of the community. At the same

time, they are not altogether despicable. More often than not they are known by some general epithet which denotes a special connection with the lands of the village, and they are presumed to be the most favoured intermediaries between man and the deities that preside over the epidemic diseases of cholera and small-pox. There are certain ceremonies, again, even amongst the upper classes, that can only be duly performed by men of the above tribes. The occupant of the most ancient and honoured throne in Rájputána, for instance, does not consider his coronation complete until the caste-mark has been applied to his forehead by a member of the dominant forest tribe of the hills in his territory. All this seems to indicate a familiarity on the part of the depressed class with the local supernatural agencies which could only have been recognized by the rest on the strong grounds of previous and traditional acquaintance.

But it by no means appears that the entire population known as Dásyu was obliterated or enslaved by the newcomers. It is true that the pitched battles fought by the latter were apparently few and far between, and that most of the warlike operations mentioned in the later invocations consisted of the successful defence of the family or village cattle-pens or the equally victorious expedition against a neighbouring Dásyu tribe. But some of the latter were found in a strong position, entrenched behind walls, and armed with efficient weapons, much as we find their descendants in the hill tracts of India in the present day. These must have been in part left to exist side by side of the Arya settlements, though, owing to the strong race-feeling, based on the difference of colour above mentioned, it must have taken generations before intermixture took place. Probably, in the whole of the Vedic period the two communities remained strictly apart, or the half-breeds were confined to the illicit unions of masters and slaves. Later on, indeed, religion, customs, physiology, and language all testify to the fusion that must have supervened on the expansion of the Arya community away from centres of their original settlements.

But the part played by the presence of the despised Dásyu in or near the Arya pale in the crystallization of the community into caste-groups must have been of supreme importance, as it brought into prominence the element of blood relationship without, as well as within, the race. The main object in the beginning of the colonization was to preserve the Arya colour. As tradition grew fainter, and the language of the Visha more corrupt, the power of the priesthood naturally increased, as they alone maintained and transmitted the sacred formulæ by means of which the gods were kept on the side of the white man. The germs of the hereditary transmission of function combined with the prohibition of the violation of the hereditary rules as to occupation and marriage, are no doubt to be found in the anxiety of the hieratic body to maintain, in the first place, their own unique position, and in the second, the purity of foreign race, from admixture with Dásyu blood. We find the former trait amongst the priesthood in communities far distant from India, such as the Druids, according to Cæsar, and the Egyptians, in both of whose cases, however, foreign influences prevented it from becoming a stereotyped and permanent feature in the society, as it did in India. The steps by which the social power of the Brahman was consolidated and aided by the prevention of the encroachment of class upon class are not just now in question. The important point is the separation of the masses of the Arya into these hereditary groups, a separation that must have taken place soon after the specialization of the priestly functions and the establishment of hereditary chieftainship and a military body. It probably followed closely upon the settlement of the population into villages or fixed abodes, a stage which connotes the existence of a class of handicraftsmen for the provision of the simple implements required in the daily life of an agricultural community. In the later literature of the period immediately following the Vedic, or that of occupation of Upper India, the social position assigned to the bulk of the artisan community is decidedly low as

compared with that enjoyed by the Military, the Priesthood, and the cultivator or landowner. It is so low, in fact, that it seems clear that this class was a later excrescence from the early constitution of the settlement, which contained no place for it. Throughout the whole of the hieratic literature, in fact, we find the industrial community relegated to the bottom of the list, and even in the present day in a small tract of India where the traditions of early date are better preserved than elsewhere, that is, the hill tracts of the Panjab, in the outer and central Himalaya, the only degraded castes are those of the carpenter, blacksmith, and so on. But there were exceptions. For instance, the carpenter is still invested in some parts of India with the sacred thread by a Brahman, and in the sacrificial portions of Vedic writing he is assigned a special place and function at the rites under the title of chariot-maker. In the earliest record of Indian society which may be called impartial and historical, the notes of Megasthenes, we find the armourer exempted from the burdens of the rest of the base mechanics, and it is probable that the position of non-agricultural industry at large was all the more noticed by the ambassador because in this respect it corresponds so closely with the popular sentiment of his own country. But in the later law books the artisan, especially in wood, if not in metal also, was the subject for particular regulation, from which we may assume, on grounds that I have no time to detail, that he had acquired a comparatively elevated position amongst handicraftsmen, and had to be repressed, lest his intentions should, to use the phrase of the codes, "offend the twice-born." But, in the gross, the industrial world, as well as such offshoots of a leisured community as musicians, dancers, and acrobats, were relegated to social inferiority, and this seems to have been the case even from their first appearance on the scene.

Now, hitherto, our course has been scarcely more than a quiet canter over what is, ethnologically speaking, a fair hunting country; but we now come to what is, I think, one of the tight places in the Arya career. This is the

interval to be bridged between the Dásyu, or pre-Aryan occupant of the country, and the Shudra, or the servile class, evolved out of the Arya community itself. The former was, as we have seen, the only low class mentioned in the early invocations, and there, not as a caste, but as a separate race. The word Shudra occurs, I believe, but once or twice, and always in the sense of labourer. The distinction of castes, in which the Shudra finds a place, is confined, as is well known, to a single Sukta, which is now universally agreed amongst scholars to be the interpolation of a far later date, and the work of some Brahman Chatterton, otherwise unknown to fame. But in the literature of a later age, when the Brahmanic system had fully developed, we hear nothing of the Dásyu, but a great deal of the Shudra. Indeed, a very considerable portion of the law treatises is obviously directed to the suppression, as I mentioned just now, of what I may call the *outréuidance* of the class which most benefits by the prosperity of the rest of the community. On the other hand, in the most modern of these treatises, that known by the name of Manu, there is a passage, I find, in which the Dásyu is resuscitated in, apparently, very nearly his pristine character. "All those tribes in this world which are excluded from the community of those born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma, are called Dásyu, whether they speak the language of the Mleccha or that of the Arya." The difference lies in the concluding phrase, which raises the question of either the existence of semi-Aryanized Dásyu, or the confusion of that term with Shudra, who are, in other parts of the treatise, occasionally contrasted with the Arya. It seems certain that in practice a very clear distinction was drawn between the two lower grades, for the presence of the Dásyu inside the house was in itself polluting, and his functions were agrestic, whereas the duty of the Shudra was to serve the upper classes both as artisan and in a domestic capacity, though his actual touch was not to be suffered. As to the wild Dásyu, I mean those who fled to or remained in the forest and hill tracts whilst

the fertile plains were taken up by the expanding Arya, it does not appear to have been anticipated by the authors of the law treatises that any proscription would be necessary in the case of a population so widely differing from their own, so the absence of mention is used later as justifying the incorporation of these tribes in the orthodox fold, as necessity or convenience dictated. It seems, therefore, that the Shudra, if such a collective term ever had any practical signification, remained to all intents and purposes inside the Arya pale, but that the Dásyu, once they had accepted the position of village serf or helot, were never admitted. I have already had occasion to mention the probable attempts on the part of the more prospering Shudra to obtain recognition of their claim to higher social privileges, and in illustration of this I may cite the case of the curious local division of the middle and lower classes of the Tamil population, excluding shepherds, into the castes of the right and those of the left hand. If we set on one side the remarkable fact that in the case of two of the lowest items included the sexes take different sides, the explanation of the phenomenon appears to be connected with the position of the leaders of the artisan community, namely the five who are known as the Panch-kalsi, or some similar title, who enlisted the sympathies and aid of the aspirants of lower castes in the attempt to redistribute the social order in such a way as would give them predominance. The silk-weavers, to take another instance, have parted company from their humble brethren who work in cotton, and claim the right to the ministrations of priests of their own, rejecting the offices of the Brahman. It is the same with the goldsmiths of two or three towns of the western presidency. The leading members of the caste waxed fat and kicked in the direction of reviving the tradition of origin from Viswakarma, the Hephaestus of the Puranic pantheon, and calling themselves Devadgna Brahmans. In spite, however, of these isolated cases of revolt, and several others of the same character which I could mention, the strict Brahmanic doctrine is, in theory at least, imperatively binding on the whole com-

munity, and caste limits, accordingly, must be held to be irrevocably fixed.

This brings me to the next part of my subject, the question of the mixture of caste. The main point of the early Brahmanic prescription was that for the Arya there were no more than the four authorized castes, and that *mésalliance*, or deviation from the marriage of persons of equal rank, was derogatory to caste-position, and to the rank of the offspring of such irregular unions. But it is not clear that even at the best this was not much more than a "counsel of perfection." In early times, the family welfare depended upon the due performance of the funeral rites and commemorative ceremonies of one's father and ancestors respectively. If, then, there were no son by the first, or socially equal, wife, the necessities of the case demanded that a son by some other marriage should succeed to the position of heir, and keep the ancestral ghosts in good humour. Even in the earliest of the Dharma-sutras, or law treatises, this is recognized. But in the later writings of this class, specially in the metrical productions, the importance of caste had risen to a far higher position in the Brahmanic estimation, and the succession of the offspring of mixed marriages was discouraged as much as possible. The difference in this respect between the Baud-dháyana, for instance, and the *Ápastamba*, and still more the *Manu* code, is very striking. Nevertheless, it is clear enough that by the time the first-named was composed, the mischief had been done, and custom was too strong for law. We have only to look at the long list of the relative ranks to be allotted to the various mixed marriages to see the almost universal habit of contracting the latter. It is true that in all probability no practical importance was ever attached to such prescriptions of rank. The whole of the prose and the metrical treatises, in fact, may be considered as no better than the academic productions of teachers, designed for the instruction of the youthful Brahman in what should be held to constitute the ideal social state. The masses knew little and cared less about

Ambastha, Anuloma, Pratiloma, and all the rest of the cross-breeds. But the important bearing of these indications on the subject in hand lies in the latitude given in the books to the extension of caste amongst the upper classes. After a few generations of marriage within prescribed limits, the child of a Brahman by a Shudra wife becomes a pure Brahman, and, in fact, so long as the husband is the higher of the two in social rank it does not seem to matter much who the wife was, though it is recommended that the first experiment should be limited to the caste. As to the case where the wife was of a higher caste than the husband, the offspring was doomed to perpetual degradation, in order that at least the paternal strain might be kept decently pure, an object which does not, however, seem to have been fulfilled.

The Buddhistic influence on caste is a highly interesting subject, which has not, I believe, been fully explored. It is not, however, one which I can touch upon here. In the foregoing remarks I have dealt with the change of caste, or social position, by heredity alone. I have now to treat briefly of the formation of new social orders in other ways. The fiction that in India social position is irrevocably fixed once for all and can only be attained by birth, so that the system is altogether unsusceptible of extension, was blown up sky-high twenty years ago by Sir Alfred Lyall. In point of fact, we see the formation of fresh castes, or the incorporation of the lower tribes into Brahmanism, in full swing in all directions. It is not, perhaps, correct to call Brahmanism a missionary religion, since the latter term implies an active propaganda, for which, at all events in the present day, there is no necessity. Between Brahmanism and the forest tribes, from which it is now-a-days almost exclusively recruited, the relations are much the same as they are said to be in an *affaire de cœur*. There is one who loves, and another *qui se laisse aimer*. The latter is obviously found to be in the long run the predominant member in the partnership. Brahmanism, in the form most accessible to

the tribe in question, presents an ideal which is not hard to compass, and makes small demands upon morals and less on the intellect. A Brahman is summoned to domestic rites instead of the tribal medicine man, and certain choice articles of the daily diet, such as pig, cow, lizards, grubs, and so on, are abandoned. The converted tribe, after a few generations, loses touch of its old proclivities, and takes rank as a regular caste, possibly affiliated to one of the historical and ancient subdivisions; for the principle of the Herald's College extends beyond Queen Victoria Street. The tribe is thus a distinct gainer, whilst the Brahman has been called upon to do nothing but accept the conformity which the other was eager to offer.

This, perhaps, is the only recruitment to Brahmanism and the caste-system from without, but within the fold the leaven is in constant operation. Apart from sectarian splits, which tend to the formation of new castes only, as a rule, where the nonconformist conscience belongs to a lowly station in life, there are two methods worth mentioning of establishing a social distinction. For instance, the tradition that the worthy or wealthy member of a lower caste cannot possibly be admitted into a higher, is strictly observed; but the end of the aspirant can be attained by the erection of an intermediate grade, to which time will give dignity in the future, whilst the power of lavish expenditure will provide recruits for the present, and ensure recognition by the priesthood enlisted into the service of the family after the lapse of a decent interval. Allied to this method is the more minute specialization of occupation within the caste itself, a process by no means rare. The fruit-growing market-gardener, in time, refuses to give his daughter to the colleague who devotes his labour to vegetables. The carpenter who builds houses and carts drops the other who has anything to do with the vehicles of a municipality, for reasons sufficiently obvious, but which were ignored until the former acquired the wealth that made his alliance worth having, or gave hopes of establishing an inner ring round himself as centre. Again, in Assam and

Eastern Bengal, the youth of comparatively low caste who gets enough education to allow of his taking to some clerical pursuit for a living, enrolls himself as a member of the Kayath, or hereditary writing, caste of those parts; whilst in some of the Panjab Hill States, where archaic tradition is still alive, a man's caste, in some cases, changes with the royal favour. The Kanet who has done good service is elevated to a Kshatria, and so on. Lastly, we have the new castes formed by the refuse of the old—that is, the community, sometimes large, more often small, which has been expelled from its original society for some breach of caste-rule. The pride of caste, however, remains, and the degraded families seldom coalesce with those permanently inferior to their former state. If large, they form a body by themselves, and if small, migrate to a distance, and ignore, in their new surroundings, the slight accident that impelled them to take this course.

This is about as far as I propose to carry the subject on the present occasion. The title I have given to the subject of this address is, no doubt, a cumbersome one, but it was not selected without a reason. I intended to indicate by the use of the term differentiation, with the mathematical application of which I need not trouble you, that I was not dealing with the Indian social system at any one period, or with its origin, but with the tendencies which have been manifested in its course, and the varying strength with which they have severally influenced it. From the sketch I have been able to give, it is clear, I hope, that the caste-system as it is set forth in the works on which it is said to be based, if it ever prevailed at all, must have done so for a very short time and amongst a very limited class. Nevertheless the caste-spirit engendered by such an ideal is deep-rooted amongst the people at large, and, in spite of all the violations in practice that I have mentioned above, seems to me to be as strong in the present day as when it was first fostered in the "land of the sweet singers," or, later, in the Madhyadesha. The individualizing tendency of our British system of adminis-

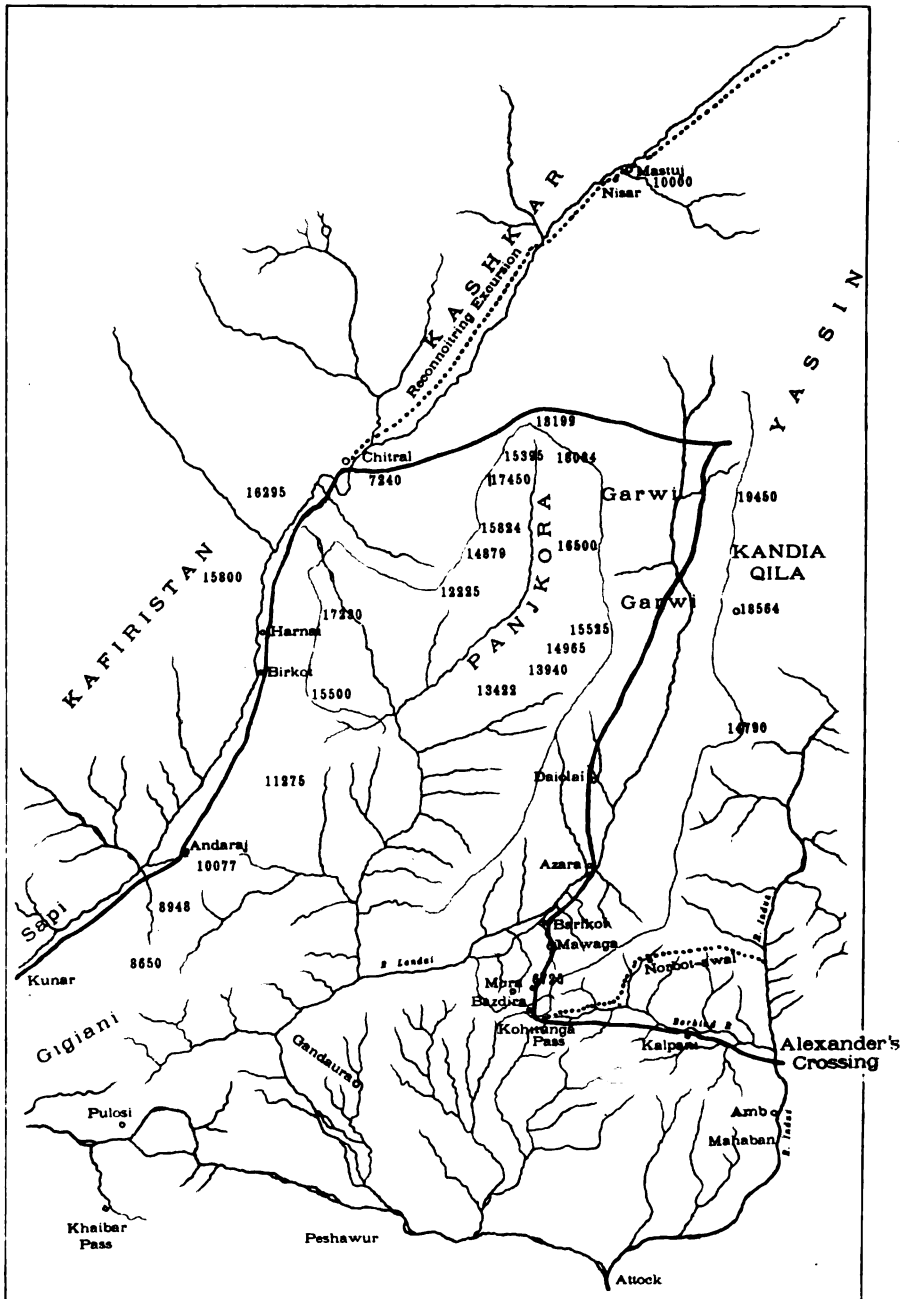
tration has, no doubt, had its indirect effect upon caste. At both extremes the severance of heredity from function has been rapidly increasing. The Brahman engages oftener in occupations other than strictly legitimate, and the deviation is approved, even though the move may be theoretically downward. On the other side of the social hedge, the menial castes are nearly everywhere rising, owing chiefly to the extension of railways and steamers, which enables them to bring their labour to the most profitable market. Their minds are thus opened, and on their return home their ancestral bondage is regarded in by no means the same light as before their excursions abroad. In the middle classes the changes are less distinctly marked. The centrifugal tendency I have mentioned, of the well-to-do families to withdraw into a separate orbit of their own, apart from their poorer caste-fellows, is one that in course of time would obviously correct itself, by ending or mending the whole system of social relations, but the sentiment that at present animates the whole Brahmanic community, regarding marriage and social intercourse of a formal nature, shows not the least sign of modification, so far as the masses are concerned; nor, I regret to say, as regards the education of the degraded or impure castes. In these respects, from an administrative point of view, the current system might admittedly be altered with advantage; but as for the rest of the system, which pivots round caste as a centre, I confess I should be sorry to see signs of too rapid relaxation of the old bonds. Remember that it is owing to caste that we have in India no Poor Law. Cramping to the sympathies as the system may be where the outside and larger world is concerned, there is no lack of charity within, and there is no caste so low that does not provide for its own paupers and infirm. Then, again, look at the all-powerful influence of caste in maintaining the conventional standard of morality. It may not be our standard, but it will be conceded, I hope, that a lower standard adequately observed is not far below a

higher one honoured in the breach. At all events, the system of which I have been treating this afternoon has stood the test of time, and is still in the plenitude of its strength, so, before attempting to weaken its authority, we must see not only what is proposed as a substitute, but whether it is as likely to take root as its predecessor. The fate of exotics in tropical countries has not hitherto been altogether encouraging to experiment, nor is a social system to be revolutionized or transformed, as some appear to think, by legislation or precept.

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ROUTE OF ALEXANDER'S ARMY THROUGH KAFIRISTAN, CHITRAL, AND SWAT.

The course as

mountain ranges are indicated by figures.

ART. XX.—*The Route by which Alexander entered India.*
By FRÉDÉRIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.

THE interesting and scholarly volume of Mr. McCrindle, recently published by A. Constable and Co., invites an attempt to settle more precisely the line on which Alexander reached the bank of the Indus. Mr. McCrindle loses the clue when Alexander reaches Nikaia. This place he is inclined to fix somewhere near Bagrâm, and he thinks that a part of Alexander's troops then passed through the Khaibar to the district called Peukelaôtis, somewhere near Hashtnagar on the river Landai. The formation of the country makes such a course improbable; but Mr. McCrindle admits that the geography of Kâfiristân, Chitrâl, and Swât is too little known to enable him to trace the course of the Macedonian army at this point. I will here try to supply that information.

Alexander is known to have moved from Balkh, and to have proceeded through Kâfiristân, Chitrâl, and Swât, and thence to have got to the Indus somehow. From Balkh he would naturally traverse the Salalang Pass, and there he would find two courses open to him; for he could either cross the Chârikâr Pass and advance on Kâbul, or he could descend the valley of the Kâbul river. Alexander seems to have often selected river-valleys, both on account of the water and on account of the generally easier character of the ground. In the case in point, there was in one direction a lofty pass before him at Chârikâr, leading southerly to unknown regions; and in the other direction a descending river-valley, leading easterly in the direction in which he wished to go. There can be little doubt as to which route he would prefer. By descending the banks of the Kophên

or Kâbul river, he would pass through Kâfiristân, in agreement with the course generally accepted, and at the same time he would quite avoid the city of Kâbul; and this explains the otherwise curious fact that that important city is not named in the narrative.

Alexander is then described as proceeding along the Kophên as far as Nikaia; and he there made a stand and sacrificed to the goddess Athêna, and summoned to submission "Taxiles and the chiefs on this side of the river Indus." It is evident that Nikaia was some strategical position on the course of the Kâbul river; and no place could better demand the actions ascribed to Alexander than Jalâlâbâd. Gen. Abbott considers that Nangnihar, five miles from Jalâlâbâd, marks the site of Nikaia. At Jalâlâbâd the Chitrâl and Kâbul rivers join, presenting two valleys, one easterly direct to the Indus, the other north-easterly up the Chitrâl river. Now we know that Alexander wished to cross the Indus at the highest practicable point, because he thought such a passage would be more easily effected than one across a wider part of the river. Such an intention would lead him to prefer the valley of the Chitrâl, the very path he is believed to have taken; but in conformity with his principle of not leaving an unsubdued enemy in his rear, he would seek to secure the Kâbul valley before moving northward from Jalâlâbâd. This caused him to summon "Taxiles and the chiefs on this side of the Indus"; and, having secured their obedience, he divided his force, sending part of it through the lands of these chieftains to Peukelaôtis, directing his generals, "when they reached the Indus," to make the necessary preparations for crossing. It is evident from this that Taxila and Peukelaôtis comprised land on the *western* side of the Indus; probably including the district between the Kâbul and Barhind rivers. The Barhind joins the Indus a few miles above Amb, and the Kâbul river joins forty or fifty miles below that place. This agrees with the opinion of General Cunningham that Peukelaôtis represents the capital of Gandhâra, which he places to the east of the

river Landai. There is, indeed, a village still called Gandaura in the bend of the Landai, about fifteen miles from that river's bank. There is also a village called Pulosi, about twenty-five miles west of the Landai, in the direct line of advance from Jalálábád. This *Pulosi* may be the *Peukelabtis*; but, whether this be so or not, the course of the narrative clearly indicates that the advanced division of Alexander's army moved in the direction of the Kábul valley, and reached the Indus either through the Khaibar to Attock or by the Kábul river-passes to the neighbourhood of Amb, occupying the country to the north and south of that place.

We are then told that Alexander took personal command of the other divisions of his army, and, taking with him some Agrarian auxiliaries, advanced into the country of the Aspasians, the Gouraians, and the Assakenians. We may be sure that Alexander considered that the detachment which he personally commanded was the more adventurous and important of the two. It was, probably, an attempt to find a higher point at which to cross the Indus, and therefore demanded the intelligence and responsibility of the leading mind.

Alexander is then said to have pursued a hilly and rugged route along the course of the Khoês, which he had difficulty in crossing. The river Khoês is what is now called the Kunâr or Chitrâl river; and on the Jalálábád side the valley is narrow (from one to three miles wide), irregular, and intersected by mountain streams. On the eastern side of the river the valley-bed is five or six miles wide, tolerably smooth, and free from the interruption of streams. Having crossed the stream he rode on in advance with a small detachment, and hastily attacked "the first city" that came in his way. This city I take to be Kunâr, from its important position at the bend of the river; and it is on the side of the stream on which Alexander then was. After capturing this place he advanced to Andaka. About thirty miles higher up the valley beyond Kunâr, and on the same bank of the river, there is a village still

known as Andaraj. It is, at least, curious that just where we should expect to find Anda-ka we really meet with Anda-raj. But it is still more remarkable to note that Andaraj is close to the spot where the Chitrâl river bifurcates, one branch trending to the north-west, the other to the north-east. We are told that at Andaka Alexander divided his force, leaving part under Krateros to subdue the chiefs in that neighbourhood, while he pushed on himself up the "river Euaspla, where the chiefs of the Aspasians were." As the main object of Alexander was to cross the Indus we may be sure that he moved up the north-eastern branch, and this is the branch which leads up to the town of Chitrâl. It may have been the opinion of the Greeks that the Khoês swept round to the north-west into the heart of Kâfiristân, and that the north-eastern stream was a tributary, the name of which they give as Euaspla.

We next read that "after a long march he reached, on the second day, the city of the Aspasian chief." The name of the city is not given; but it is related that a severe struggle took place in its vicinity. It happens that thirty-five miles above the bifurcation of the Khoês stands the present village of Birkot, or the "fort of heroes," which is strongly suggestive that, at one time, it was an important position, and possibly the scene of some famous exploit. A distance of thirty-five miles would also represent "a long march" to a place reached "on the second day."

Alexander then moved on to a place called Arigaion, which means "the snake-town." Ten miles beyond Birkot there is a village called *Har-nai*, which certainly looks like the modern form of *Ari-gaion*; for both names mean "the snake-town."¹ Alexander thought this place "an advantageous site," and had it fortified and garrisoned. About twelve miles above Harnai the Chitrâl valley narrows to about fifteen miles in width, with mountains on the right hand 17,230 feet high, and on the left hand 16,295

¹ The termination *nai*, *nih*, or *ni*, is a Tâzîk term, equivalent to the Sanskrit *gâon*.

feet. It may thus be supposed that Alexander considered Harnai a fitting station for the command of this narrow passage between the hills. A nearer position than Harnai is not likely to have been selected; for we are told that the barbarians had fled to the mountains, and, therefore, to place the garrison within the gorge itself would expose it to constant attacks. Alexander then marched to the place where his enemy had taken refuge, "and on reaching a certain mountain encamped at its base." This agrees with my deduction that he advanced twelve miles beyond Harnai, and pitched a temporary encampment among the high mountains to his right and left.

From this encampment Ptolemy was sent "a considerable distance in advance to reconnoitre," and he came back with the report that the camp-fires of the enemy outnumbered those of Alexander. It is evident from this that the Macedonians then had before them the main body of the Aspasians; and it is curiously confirmatory of this to find that thirty miles beyond Harnai, or eighteen miles from where I suppose Alexander's temporary encampment to have been, there stands the town of Chitrâl itself, which, no doubt then as now, was the principal station in the whole valley. We are told that the struggle here was particularly severe, for the people were "by far the stoutest warriors in that neighbourhood." The name of the place confirms this statement, for Chitrâl is not improbably a corruption of *Kshatriya-âlaya* or *Kshatrâlaya*, "the abode of soldiers."

"He then marched to invade the country of the Assakenians," is the next statement. Mr. McCrindle is of opinion that the Assakenians are represented by the *Asptn* of Chitrâl and the *Yashkun* of Gilgit, not far from the positions I am here assigning to them. Attention is particularly called by the Greeks to the numerous cavalry of the Assakenians; and it is certain that *Assa-* stands for the Pali *assa* (Sanskrit *âśva*) "a horse." In confirmation of this it may be pointed out that the valley beyond Chitrâl widens out to between forty and fifty miles of

valley-bed, and such a width of ground is sufficient for cavalry movements.

It is here that Curtius introduces the wonderful episode of Nysa. Arrian seems to have regarded the affair as somewhat apocryphal, and records it separately in a subsequent chapter. But if we look at the configuration of the ground here, we shall see that the valley had risen to a height of 7240 feet at Chitrâl, and Alexander could see that it continued to rise to much higher elevations in front of him. He must surely here have realized the impracticability of the route he was pursuing, and this would cause him to push on with a small following to Nysa (precisely as described) really to reconnoitre the ground, and satisfy himself on the point. About 45 miles beyond the encampment at Chitrâl, there stands a village now called Nisâr, close to the larger station of Mastaj. The ground here is about 10,000 feet high, and from here the vast eminences of the Great Pamir would stand in all their stupendous magnificence before Alexander; and he would see the valley where he stood still rising to the Baraghil Pass, at 12,000 feet of elevation. Here he could not fail to perceive the utter hopelessness of his task; but with politic generalship he may have connected the name Nysa with Dio-nys-os, and arranged a festivity for his troops to create the impression that he had accomplished the object of his expedition. He is then said to have personally visited the mountain which the Indians call Meros; and this can be no other than the famous Mount Meru of Sanskrit and Pali literature, which is allocated somewhere in the Great Pamir range. This was a good idea to circulate in order to account for a further inspection of the valley, as high as he thought it useful to go towards the Baraghil Pass. It is certain that, after this episode, no further progress was made in a north-easterly direction; and Alexander must then have wished to strike eastwards from the latitude his troops had then attained. Such a wish would have led him to approach the Yassîn country, in precise accord with what

Arrian tells us he actually did. His first act was to pass through "the country of Gouraians," and to cross the river of that country. Now in moving almost due east from the town of Chitrál, where Alexander's encampment was stationed, and passing round the bases of the Panjkora mountains, it is absolutely necessary to pass through a district still called Garwí, and to cross the river running down its centre, in order to reach Yassin. It may thus be taken as certain that Garwí is the ancient Gouraian area, and that the river mentioned is the upper course of the Landai, an opinion which Mr. McCrindle himself holds.

We now read, in Arrian's narrative, that "Alexander marched first to Massaga, which was the greatest city in those parts." This sentence obviously implies a break in the operations. Action against Yassin was stayed, until Alexander had "first" subdued Massaga. The position of this place must, therefore, be somewhere off the line of advance which we have been tracing. As the northerly route had been abandoned, we must look for Massaga in the Shína country, to the south-east of Garwí, in the direction of the Indus. Alexander's object was to reach the Indus, and his progress up the Chitrál valley had convinced him that the road he sought could not be found that way. The stream of the Landai, however, would appear to lead to the Indus at the highest practicable point, and it would conduct him in a south-easterly direction to the Shína country. Here we find a tract still known as Kandia Qila, "the fort of Kandia," which may be a relic of the name of Alexander, and may indicate the locality where the siege and storming of Massaga took place. This would be territory occupied by the Assakenians, and would thus agree with the Greek narrative. I am, however, inclined to think that Kandia Qila merely represents a defensive work to protect the head of the Garwí valley, and that Alexander marched down the valley to crush an enemy which he now found on his right flank. By entering the Garwí or Landai

valley he had got to the eastern side of the Panjkora ranges, which cut him off from his line of advance, and from his supports, by a mountain barrier varying from 13,000 to 16,000 feet high. The people who occupied the lower portion of this valley (which is really the district of Swât) were to Alexander a fresh body of foes, who had hitherto been screened from his attack by the chain of mountains which he had just turned. It was, therefore, impossible for him to move into Yassin, even had he been inclined to do so, until he had subdued the foes he then found on his right flank. This I take to have been the necessity which induced him "first to attack Massaga, which was the greatest city in those parts"—the parts alluded to being the district of Garwî.

Curtius relates, at this point, that Alexander marched to Daedala, and then on to Acadira, that he then crossed the Choaspes, left one of his generals to subdue Beira, and advanced himself upon Mazaga. Now by descending the Landai valley from the Garwî district, at a distance of 20 miles, we meet with a village still called Daiolai (=Daedala), and 15 miles further on is the town of Azara (=Acadira). These two places are on a tributary of the Landai which joins the main stream near Azara. Here Alexander, and any other general, would naturally cross the river, as related, in order to go south-east; for the main stream at this point trends away rapidly to the west. On crossing the river he would find in his path, at a distance of ten miles, a place still called Bari-kot, or "the fort of Bari," which, in all probability, is the Beira mentioned by Curtius. Five miles still further south brings us to a spot called Mawaga; and although I do not pretend that Mawaga is the exact locality of Massaga, still what follows will show that it could not have been very far from the spot.

Immediately Massaga was captured Koinos was despatched to Bazira, because Alexander was "convinced that the inhabitants would capitulate on learning that Massaga was captured." Bazira, therefore, cannot be very far

away. It happens that just ten miles south of Mawaga there is a place still called Bazdira, and it is a position which commands the pass of Koh-i-tanga, leading into India. The advantage of seizing a place which commanded the pass into India is obvious; and that Bazira was just such a place as Bazdira now is, is evident from the description, that "it stood on a very lofty eminence . . . and the people trusted to the strength of their position, and made no proposals about surrendering."

Still more remarkable is the statement that three Greek officers were sent "to another city, Ora" (called Nora by Curtius), which was to be blockaded until Alexander could arrive. Now five miles to the west of Bazdira there is a village called Mora, which is almost certainly the Ora or Nora of the Greeks.

Ora and Bazira were speedily subdued; but the inhabitants fled to the rock Aornos for safety, and to make there their last stand. It is evident that Aornos must be in the near vicinity of Massaga, Ora, and Bazira; for we are told that Alexander fortified these three places in order to command the district while he captured the rock Aornos free from interruption. These circumstances make the identification of Aornos with Mahâban impossible, for the latter place is forty miles distant from the scene of operations. It is not reasonable that the fugitives should have retired to such a distance for the purpose of defending their country; nor could it have mattered to Alexander what they did so far away on the further side of the mountain pass. Mahâban is, also, only two-thirds of the height recorded of Aornos. The locality of Aornos, however, remains to be settled; for it was an important place, and evidently the key of the whole district. We are told that Alexander fortified and garrisoned Massaga, Ora, and Bazira, for the purpose of covering his operations against the rock of Aornos; therefore the rock must be some eminence having three such places in its neighbourhood. Now if the places I indicate, viz. Mawaga, Mora, and Bazdira, be referred to in the map, we shall find that

they occupy the three corners of an isosceles triangle; Mora and Bazdira being about five miles apart at the base, and Mawaga ten miles from each of them at the apex. In the centre of these three places, at about four miles in a northerly direction from both Mora and Bazdira, and about six miles south from Mawaga, there is a remarkable eminence 6725 feet high, almost exactly corresponding with the height of Aornos as given by Arrian, that is, eleven *stadia* or 6674 feet 3 inches English measure. It is almost inconceivable that a rock of exactly the right height should exist, with three places around it so well situated for the purpose to which Alexander put them, and bearing names greatly resembling those mentioned by the Greeks, and that it should be all mere fortuitous chance. When all the places I have indicated are traced upon the map it will be seen that they succeed each other in geographical order, and do not compel Alexander's troops to fly over mountains, or to be in two districts a hundred miles apart at the same time. His route passed up the rising valley of the Chitrál until its impracticability as a means of reaching the Indus became evident; and then it turned round the bases of the northern end of the Panjkora mountains, down the valley of the Landai into Swát, ultimately reaching Bazdira at the northern side of the Koh-i-tanga Pass. It deserves remark that the positions I assign to Massaga and Arigaion agree exactly with those assigned to them in the new *Atlas Antiquus*, by Justus Perthes of Gotha.

The only statement against this conclusion is that made by Curtius, viz. that the rock of Aornos was washed by the waters of the Indus. Curtius, it is generally admitted, was not very accurate as to details; and as Arrian, the most careful of these chroniclers, omits all mention of the Indus in connection with this rock, we may conclude that there is no foundation for this improbable statement. Diodorus, it is true, says, with apparent precision, that Aornos was washed "on its southern side" by the Indus; but he also, in the next chapter, states that, after the siege, Alexander

marched away from the rock, performed some military feats, and "then came to the river Indus." The course of the narrative shows that it is simply impossible for Aornos to have been washed by the waters of the Indus; for as soon as Alexander had blockaded Aornos, he sent a division of his troops to the Indus, which, on its way, captured and garrisoned a place called Orobatis. It is perfectly clear from this that Aornos was not on the bank of the Indus, or troops would not have been sent from that place in order to reach the Indus. There must, also, have been sufficient interval to allow of marching some miles, and the garrisoning of a town as a link of communication. Modern Bazdira is at the pass of Koh-i-tanga, and as Alexander therefore held possession of that pass, what could be more natural for him to do than to use it, and thereby reach the river-valley of the Barhind, the banks of which would lead his troops to the Indus in thirty-five miles. Curtius distinctly says that Alexander cleared the defile of enemies for the passage of his troops, thereby showing that some mountain pass was actually availed of at this juncture.

Along this route, and at about twenty miles from Bazdira, there is a place called *Narbat-awal*, and this might represent the *Orobat-is* of the ancients. The detachment of troops marched on beyond this place Orobatis towards the Indus, and they probably effected a junction with the detachment previously sent down the Kâbul river, and began to prepare a bridge for crossing the Indus. Alexander then gave over command of the district "on this side of the Indus" (including the rock Aornos) to Nikanor, and marched himself towards the Indus. This is again conclusive evidence that Aornos was not on the banks of that river. Furthermore, in the course of this march, Alexander received the submission of the city of Peukelaôtis, "which lay not far from the Indus." Then comes the statement, "He was accompanied on this occasion by Kôphaies and Assagêtes, the local chiefs. On reaching Embolima, a city close adjoining the rock of Aornos, he there left Krateros, with a part of the army, to gather into the city as much

corn as possible," etc. It is perfectly clear that Aornos could not have been on the bank of the Indus. There must have been sufficient space between the rock and the Indus for the operations of an army in the district of Peukelaótis. It does not seem to have attracted notice that the expression, "he was accompanied on this occasion," almost implies that Alexander paid a flying visit to the Indus to see how his detachments were progressing with the bridge; and he might also have wished to clear the country around them. This would also account for the blockade of Aornos. It was his ambition to capture the place himself; he therefore simply shut it in, leaving the command of the district to Nikanor, while he proceeded to traverse the ground between Bazdira and the Indus. When he had completed his tour, Arrian recorded the fact that "he was accompanied on this occasion" by the local chiefs; thereby apparently closing the episode. The phrase "on reaching Embolima" would, therefore, mean that Alexander had returned to the siege of Aornos, which he had temporarily abandoned. Krateros is then posted where he could collect stores, and the siege of Aornos began in real earnest. Embolima may possibly be some place on the Landai river not far from Mora, in what is now called the Mûsâ-khail district. It deserves notice, however, that Curtius makes the advance upon Embolima *follow* the capture of the rock Aornos. As soon as the rock was secured the bulk of Alexander's troops passed over into the valley of the Barhind, and reached the Indus not far from Amb. Arrian says that after the capture of the rock Alexander himself marched towards the Indus, "and the army, going on before, made a road for him, without which there would have been no means of passing through that part of the country." On this General Abbott remarks: "This road was probably the path leading among the precipices above and along the torrent of the Burindu" —in exact conformity with my deduction.

The foregoing route agrees in every detail with the careful statements of Arrian, and traces the course of

Alexander step by step, along a natural and practicable path, finding places along the route which punctually correspond with the Greek narrative in distance, position, geographical character, and name. Furthermore the track is in no place disconnected, nor does it cross impossible ground; but it leads up and down traversable valleys, and round the bases of mountains, and across well-known passes. It shows that Alexander entered India about eighty miles above the Khaibar Pass, and crossed the Indus somewhere near Amb, and not at Attock.

ART. XXI.—*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van. Part V.*
By Prof. A. H. SAYCE.

SINCE the publication of my last paper on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van (J.R.A.S. Jan. 1893) a discovery of considerable importance has taken place. In 1890 Mr. de Morgan, now Director of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt, succeeded, at the risk of his life, in taking a squeeze of the inscription on the pillar of Keli-shin Ushnei, which I have described in the first part of this Memoir (J.R.A.S. XIV. p. 66, No. LVI.). He found that there was engraved upon the stele, not only the Vannic text which I have published, but also an Assyrian text which had never been noticed before.

Mr. de Morgan's squeezes will consequently form an epoch in the history of Vannic decipherment. They have been carefully copied and published by the Rev. V. Fr. Scheil in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xiv. 3, 4 (1893), pp. 154–160. Dr. Scheil has compared the new Vannic text with that published by myself, with the result that they agree very closely together. He has, however, made the curious mistake of supposing, in spite of Mr. de Morgan's description, that the squeeze taken by the latter represents, not the inscription of Keli-shin Ushnei, but that of Keli-shin Sidek, of which Sir H. Rawlinson had heard a report.¹

Along with the Vannic text the squeezes furnish us with a second text, which, as I have said, is in Assyrian. Owing to the mutilated condition of both the Assyrian and the Vannic version, Dr. Scheil did not perceive that

¹ See Dr. Lehmann in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, October, 1893.

they correspond line for line with one another. Such, however, is the case. A brief examination of them sufficed to show me that the inscription is bilingual.

At last, therefore, the long-desired bilingual Vannic and Assyrian inscription has been found. I need not describe the anxiety with which I examined it, and the satisfaction I felt in finding that in all essential points it verified my decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions. Even my interpretation of the words *inanis* "a city" and *alusi* "inhabiting," which had been so vigorously disputed, was proved to be right. My chief error turns out to be the false explanation I have given of the suffix *-kas*.

The Vannic and Assyrian texts are as follows, with such restorations as I have been able to make without having seen the original squeezes.

- (1) VAN. ku-ka-i . . .

 ASS. [A-na] →Y Khal-di-e ina¹ >=Y Mu-za-[zir u]
 To Khaldis in the city of Muzazir &
- (2) VAN. [→Y Khal-di-ni] mu-u-mu-ni-ni
 to the Khaldises the givers of the tribute (?)
 Me-nu-a-[ni]
 belonging to Menuas
 ASS. [ilâni sa Me-nu-a]
 the gods of Menuas
- (3) VAN. [Y Sar]-du-ra-za-u-ni << Bi-a-i-[na-i]
 the grandson of Sar-duris king of Biainas
 ASS. (2) [apil Is-pu-]i-ni apil Y →Y RI-dur << rab-u
 son of Ispuinis son of Sar-duris, the great king,
 << [dan-nu]
 the powerful king,
- (4) VAN. [a-lu-sî] >=Y Dhu-us-pa-a >=Y Y Me-[nu-a-ni]
 inhabiting the city of Dhuspas belonging to Menuas

¹ Or perhaps *sa* "of."

- ASS. (3) [⟨⟨ Na-]i-ri sa al Dhu-us-pa-an alu
king of Nairi, of the city of Dhuspan the city
[sa ʾ¹ Me-]nu-a
of Menuas
- (5) VAN. [Is-pu-]u-i-ni-khe ya-ra-[a]-ni 𐎠𐎢𐎡 i-[ni]²
the son of Ispuinis who has erected this stone,
ASS. apil Is-pu-u-i-ni [⟨⟨]rabu 𐎠 [dannu
son of Ispuinis, the great king, the powerful king,
𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡]Dhu-us-pa[ana] 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Khal-di-e
the king of Dhuspas, to Khaldis
ma-ka-nu . . .
a column . . .
- (6) VAN. . . . e-ya-ni 𐎠 I-nu-u-a-si te-ru-[ni]
a column (?) from the land of Inuas has set up ;
ASS. (6) [istu 𐎠] I-nu ISTAK-an dup-pu
from the land of Inu has set up ; the tablet
- (7) VAN. . . . lu-a-i ʾ Is-pu-u-i-ni-e
(in the sight) of Ispuinis
ASS. ina tabra-[ti sa ʾ Is⁴] pu-u-i-ni
in the sight of Ispuinis
- (8) VAN. [ʾ] Sar-dur-[khe] pu-ur-ni u-ri-li
the son of Sar-duris the tablet (?)
ASS. apil ʾ Sar-[dur] . . . be-li⁵
the son of Sar-duris
- (9) VAN. [ga-šu-]li ni-ri-bi ga-šu-li na(?)-ri(?) . . .
beautiful, beautiful
ASS. damquti bi-bu damqu[ti] . . .
beautiful, . . . beautiful . . .
- (10) VAN. . . . ʾ<<< ERU . . .⁶ sa-ni BAB na-khu-ni-[e]
[vessels] of bronze, the . . . of the gate he removes

¹ Line 4 of the Assyrian version.² Supplied from my cast.³ Line 5 of the Assyrian version.⁴ Line 7 of the Assyrian version.⁵ Line 8 of the Assyrian version.⁶ For this Dr. Belck reads DUB-TE-ni, as I have already done.

- (16) VAN. . . GAL-MES ka-ni i-u >Y Al-di-ka-a-[i]
 . . great . . . when before Khaldis
 ASS. (14) . . GAL-MES e-qu-ti ki-i ina pan
 . . great . . . when before
 >Y Khal-di-[e]
 Khaldis
- (17) VAN. [>Y] Ar-di-ni-di nu-na-bi Y Is-pu-u-i-[ka-i]
 in the city of Ardinis I came before Ispuinis
 ASS. (15) [ina >Y] Mu-za-zir illak-an-ni
 in the city of Muzazir there came to me
 Is-pu-u-i-ni
 Ispuinis
- (18) VAN. [Y >Y RI]-dur-e-khe << dan-nu
 the son of Sar-duris the powerful king,
 << ^ Na-ra-a-[u-e]
 king of the land of Nahri
 ASS. apil Y >Y RI-[dur] . . ^ << dan-nu
 the son of Sar-duris . . the powerful king,
 << kissat << ^ Na-i-ri
 king of multitudes, king of Nahri
- (19) VAN. [khu-te-]e-i ^ Su-ra-e a-lu-ši
 the king of the world inhabiting
 >Y Dhu-us-pa-a [>Y]
 the city of Dhuspas.
 ASS. sa >Y Dhu-us-pa-[an]
 of the city of Dhuspan.
- (20) VAN. [>Y Al-]di-ni-ni ni-ri-bi-i [i]-ni
 Of the Khaldis-gods the . . . of this
 bur-ga-na-[a-ni]
 sanctuary
 ASS. (17) [bi-bu] pa-ni-pa-ni >Y Khal-di-e
 the . . . of the sanctuary of the Khaldis-gods
 an-ni-u . . .
 here . . .

¹ Doubtless we have to supply *sarru rabu* "the great king" at the beginning of this (16th) line.

- (21) VAN. . . ni i-ni la-a-ni 𐎠𐎵 U-si-ni . . .
 . . . these . . . of the city of Usis . . .
 ASS. (18) . . . an-na-te na-ka-MES ina eli bur (?) . . .
 . . . these . . . upon the
- (22) VAN. . . khi (?) ip . . . 𐎠𐎵 Al-di-is BAB
 the god Khaldis the gate
 te-ra-i-ni [a-lu-s]
 has set up. Whoever . . .
- ASS. (19) [ina pa-]an babi sa 𐎠𐎵 Khal-di-e
 before the gates which Khaldis
 [ISTAK-an] . . .
 has set up . . .
- (23) VAN. [pa-ri-]i 𐎠𐎵 Ar-di-ni
 out of the city of Ardinis
 𐎠𐎵 Khal-di-e-ni-[ni BAB-MES]
 (&) the gates of the Khaldis-gods
- ASS. (20) [sa an-]na-te ina 𐎠𐎵 Mu-za-zir istu lib-bi
 Whoever these in the city of Muzazir from
 bab[ani]
 the gates
- (24) VAN. . . gu-ru-khu kha-i-ni kha-u-[li]
 . . . of a . . . with the destruction shall destroy
- ASS. (21) [sa] 𐎠𐎵 Khal-di-e bi-bu ki-i pa-as-ri
 of the Khaldis-gods the . . . like a . . .
 ILLA
 shall destroy,
- (25) VAN. [𐎵 Me-nu-a-s a-]li i-u i-u 𐎠𐎵 Khal-di-ka-[a-i]
 Menuas says that when before Khaldis
- ASS. (22) [sarri?] i-du-nu KA-MES ki-i pa-an
 the kings(?) have declared: when before
 𐎠𐎵 Khal-di-[e]
 Khaldis
- (26) VAN. [𐎠𐎵 Ar-]di-ni-di nu-na-a-li 𐎵 Is-pu-u-i-[ni-e]
 in the city of Ardinis I had gone for Ispuinis
- ASS. (23) [ina 𐎠𐎵] Mu-za-zir al-lik-u-ni . . .
 in the city of Muzazir I had gone [on account]

- (27) VAN. [Y → Y RI]-dur-e-khe Y Me-nu-a Y Is-pu-u-i-ni-khe
the son of Sar-duris (&) Menuas the son of Ispuinis
ASS. (24) [sa Y] Is-pu-i-ni apil Y → Y RI-[dur u¹ Y]
of Ispuinis the son of Sar-duris &
Me-nu-a apil Y Is-pu-u-[i-ni].
Menuas the son of Ispuinis
- (28) VAN. . . . di-tu → Y Khal-di-e ni-ri-bi-e i-u
. of Khaldis the . . . (saying) thus:
ASS. (26) e-qu-te yu-ša-li-ku bi-bu sa → Y [Khal-di-e
. . . . they have of Khaldis;
u² i-kab-]bi um-ma-a
& he says thus:
- (29) VAN. [a-lu-s] → Y Khal-di-na-ni BAB
whoever from the gate of the god Khaldis
kha-u-li-i-e [ni-ri-bi]
shall take away the . . .
ASS. sa bi-bu istu lib-bi babi
whoever the . . . from the midst of the gate
[sa]³ → Y Khal-di-e ILLA
of the god Khaldis shall remove,
- (30) VAN. . . . li-ni a-lu-s a-i-ni-e i-[ni-]li [du-li-e]
. . . . whoever to the earth them shall give;
ASS. u-[la] [ana⁴ tsu ?-]li-li
or to darkness (?)
- (31) VAN. [a-lu-s e-]ši-ya-me du-li-i-e . . .
whoever its injunctions shall give . . .
ASS. tai-h-su iddinu sum me-ni
its injunctions shall give; the name of another
ASS. (30-32) [ina] GIS-ME ki-i ILLA
with a graving-tool (?) when he has removed
[sumi-ya] . . . yu-pa-tsa-ar ina abni
my name . . . shall engrave on the stone
[u zikri-ya (?) i-ša-pa-nu
& my memorial (?) shall sweep away;

¹ Line 25 of the Assyrian version.² Line 27 of the Assyrian version.³ Line 28 of the Assyrian version.⁴ Line 29 of the Assyrian version.

- ASS. [ina] lib-bi bar (?)-ka bi-bi (?) an-ni . . .
in a pool (?) . . . these . . .
- (39) VAN. [du-li-e] al-li-i-e pi u-li-i-e
shall give; the memorial (&) name of another
u-[li-i-s]
another
- ASS. [i-khab-] bu-u-ni sa pi me-ni
shall conceal; whoever the memorial of another
me-ni i-[gab-bi]
another shall pretend (it to be)
- (40) VAN. [ti-u-li-i] >>Y Khal-di-is
shall pretend (it to be); may Khaldis
>>Y Teisba-s >>Y Ardini-s [>>Y Y<<<-s]
Teisbas (&) Ardinis, the gods,
- ASS. [lus ?-]tas-kin >>Y Khal-di-e [>>Y IM
may effect Khaldis Rimmon
u >>Y UT] ila-ni sa >>Y Mu-za-[zir]
& Samas, the gods of Muzazir,
- (41) VAN. [ma-a-]ni [ar-mu-zi] >>Y Bi-ku-ra-e-di
him with a curse (?) in the city of Bikuras
ku-[lu-di] . . .
.
- ASS. . . ka-ki (?)-ri-is [istu] lib-[bi
. . . utterly from
>>Y Bi-ku-ra]
the city of Bikuras . . .

The correspondence of the two versions is very remarkable for an ancient text; indeed, it will appear quite marvellous to those who are accustomed to the bilingual Greek and demotic texts of Egypt. The chief difference between the two versions is in the formula of execration, where the Assyrian inserts three lines which have no equivalent in the Vannic version. But for the most part the differences are due to the preservation of the idioms peculiar to the two languages. The Vannic text has not been Assyrianised,

nor is the Assyrian text a slavishly-literal rendering of the Vannic original.

It is unfortunate that the meaning of so many of the Assyrian words found in the inscription is doubtful or unknown. We have to be content with the fact that the Vannic *niribi* is the Assyrian *bibu*, and that the Vannic *uri-li*, *kani*, *lani*, and *gurukhu* have their equivalents in the Assyrian *beli* (or *tilli*), *equiti*, *naka*-MES, and *pasri*.

- (1) It will be noticed that the name of the city of Muzazir in the Assyrian text is replaced by that of Ardinis in the Vannic text. It has long ago been suggested that the name Muzazir was of Assyrian origin. It is, in fact, the Assyrian Mutsa-tsir ("the place whence the serpent issues"), and its last king, Urzana, plays upon this meaning of the name in the inscription on his seal which I have published in the first part of this Memoir (No. lvii.). Ardinis, on the other hand, is a Vannic name, probably signifying "the city of the Sun-god," and I much doubt whether it was any more the native name of the city than was Muzazir. Perhaps we are to look for the native name in Bikuras (ll. 36, 41).¹
- (3) [*Sar*]-*dura-sau-ni* presents us with a new grammatical form. That we have to supply *Sar* is evident (1) from the fact that the characters representing the syllable just fit the vacant space, (2) that the name ends in *dur(a)*, and (3) that the Assyrian text gives *Sar-duris*. The suffix *sa(u)* will signify "descendant of." Since *saris* means "a gate" it is possible that the root *sa* signifies "to open," "come out of," "issue from."

¹ According to Mr. de Morgan the column on which the inscriptions are engraved is of diorite, a stone which must have been transported from a distant locality, as not the least trace of diorite is visible in any of the mountain chains which surround the pass of Keli-shin. As the inscriptions do not suit the desolate spot in which they are found, I am tempted to believe that the stone was brought by Menus from some other place, where he had already set it up in honour of his conquests. In this case "gate" would have its natural signification of "gate" of a city or a temple, and we need not imagine it to have been used in the sense of a "pass."

- (4) It will be noticed that the Assyrian text verifies the translation I have proposed for *alubis*.
- (5) The Assyrian *makanu* is the Hebrew מַכָּנָה and here must denote the column on which the inscription is engraved.
- (6) The adjectival suffix in *Inu-a-si* is already known. "The god of the land of Inuas" is mentioned by Ispuinis and Menuas in v. 23.
- (8) *Pur-ni* is a new word, which perhaps is connected with *Puru-nurda-di* (lxviii. 11) and *bura-s* "governor." At any rate it seems to correspond to the Assyrian *duppu* "a tablet"; with the form, cf. *kur-ni*. *Uri-li* is new. Elsewhere we have the Assyrian *be-li* used ideographically (lviii. 5), the signification of which is unfortunately unknown. We can hardly read *til-li* "steps." In a contract-tablet of the 38th year of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmaier: *Babylonische Texte*, vi. 2, No. 332) the word *be-li* or *til-li* is supposed to signify "spear," but that can hardly be its meaning here or in No. lviii. 5. But see Knudtzon: *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, 109, 12.
- (9) The Assyrian determines the meaning of *gasu-li*. Unfortunately the Assyrian *bibu* throws no light on *niribi*, as it is a word which I have not met with before.¹
- (10) Dr. Belck agrees with me in reading DUB-TE-*ni* here in place of Dr. Scheil's ERU. Unfortunately the cast is far from clear, and a re-examination of it has convinced me that Dr. Scheil is right. The Assyrian *nasu* means both "to lift up" and "to remove" like the English "lift," and the Vannic *nakhu* is probably also used in both senses, since in the historical inscriptions it signifies "to remove" (see the Vocabulary to my Memoir, p. 710), while

¹ The word *biba* certainly occurs in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Winckler and Abel*, 89, 18), but here it seems to be a mistake for *babi* "gate." In W.A.I. ii. 17, 57, *bibdi* is the translation of the Sumerian *GIS-gengina*.

here we seem rather to require the idea of "lifting up."

- (12) I pointed out in the first part of my Memoir that Aldis is a variant spelling of Khaldis; this is now verified by the bilingual.
- (13) If Dr. Scheil's reading be right, we have the Assyrian *sernati* (Heb. שרני) corresponding to the Vannic *ulgusiyani* "shields." Dr. Lehmann has recently proposed another signification for *ulgusiyani* ("the armoury"?) in lii., but this is in consequence of his having misapprehended the construction at the beginning of the inscription. *Us-tu-ni* is a compound of *us* "near" and *tu* "to bring," and the text must be translated *Khaldie gissurie eurie ini (ase)* "to Khaldis of multitudes, the lord of this temple, Rušas, the son of Erimenas, has brought near the shields." It is, however, possible that, contrary to the usual Vannic usage, *gissurie* is governed by *eurie*, since in l xv. 1 we find 𐎲𐎠𐎵 "the lord of multitudes" ideographically written; in this case we shall have to translate lii. "For Khaldis, the lord of multitudes, to this temple Rušas, son of Erimenas, has brought near (*i.e.* attached) the shields." We know that shields were hung up against the front wall of a Vannic temple.
- (16) *Equi*, the equivalent of *kani*, may signify "round." In the Syllabary 83, 1-18, 1331 *Obv.*, published by Prof. Bezold in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, *equ* is given as the Assyrian equivalent of the Sumerian *gunu*, another signification of which is stated to be *banú sa ramani* "self-generating." But it is possible that the word is an equivalent of *sámu* "blue." I had already determined that the Vannic *iu* must be a particle signifying "thus"; the bilingual shows that it had the two senses of the Assyrian *ki* "when" and "thus." But I was wrong in rendering *nunabi* "I attacked"; we now see that it is simply "I went," the idea of "attacking"

being due to its combination with another word. This throws light on the passages in which it occurs. Accordingly, in xxx. 13 and l. 23, *nunabi kaiuki* must signify "I went against" (*Melidhani kabkarulini nunabi Khite-ruadini kauke* "after approaching Malatiyeh I went against Khite-ruadas"). The suffix *-ka* is proved by the bilingual to denote not "the race of" as I had imagined, but "the face of," "before"; and it is clear that it is identical with the stem of the adverb *ka(i)-uki*. The adverbial termination *-uki* thus receives an explanation, and in xxxix. 1, 25 the translation will be "the soldiers of Assyria were settled in the country" (*ebani-uki*, variant *ebani-ki*).

In xlix. 11 *inani nue nunabi meiali* is, perhaps, "I went round the royal city," though *meiali* may be connected with *meli* "ford," and the correct rendering be "I went to the ford of the royal city."

- (19) Here, it will be noticed, *kissat* "multitudes" is the equivalent of the Vannic *Suras* in the Assyrian text, instead of *matâti* "countries," as in lxv. 10. But the two phrases meant the same thing. There seems to be a connection between *suras* and *gis-suris*.
- (20) I had fixed the signification of *burgananis* in the first part of my Memoir. Here we have the verification of it.
- (21) *Usi-ni* may be derived from *usis* "neighbourhood," and so be the equivalent of the Assyrian *ina eli*. But it is more likely to be the city of Uisis, the Sun-god of which is mentioned in v. 16, 28. There was a land of Wusis adjoining Bustus near Lake Urumiyeh (xl. 56).
- (24) Perhaps "with the destruction of a bond-slave," but the meaning of the Assyrian equivalent *pasri* is quite unknown. I have long ago explained the signification of the Vannic *khau*¹; the bilingual shows that I was right.

¹ J.R.A.S. XX. i. p. 36.

- (28) I doubt the correctness of Dr. Scheil's reading, . . . *di-tu*, here.
- (30) Perhaps we have to supply at the beginning of the line [*gabû*]*li-ni* "beautiful." The Vannic *ainie inili dulie* seems to have no equivalent in the Assyrian text.
- (31) *Me* must here represent *mei* "its," as in line 35. The Assyrian *tsih* is the Heb. מֵי. It will be noticed that the Assyrian text confirms my rendering of the Vannic *dulie*. *Meni* is literally "someone else." Compare the Assyrian phrase (Balawât Table, l. 42) *sa narâ emaru-va annâ mina iqabû* "whoever shall see the tablet and shall call it another's."
- (33) *Kha-su-li*, a compound of *kha* "to take" and *su* "to make" or "cause."
- (35) *Kui*, the dative of *kus*, which enters into the composition of the verb *ku(i)-gu* "to inscribe." Compare also *ku-su-ni* "he caused to be erected" (lxv. 6).
- (36) I can suggest nothing better for *kulu-di* than my old rendering "in the district." The Assyrian equivalent is unintelligible to me.
- (37) Dr. Scheil and I read *mui*, but according to Dr. Belck the word is *sui*, which will be derived from the root *su* "to make." The meaning of the Assyrian verb *idahib* I do not know.
- (38) *Barka* can hardly be intended for *burki* or *birkat* "a pool," even if the reading were certain. The word looks like *maska* "skin," but I fancy we must rather see in it some derivative, perhaps *mas-ka-[a-ni]*, from *saqû* "to drink." Compare also the Heb. שָׁקַע.

The last lines of both the Vannic and the Assyrian texts are lost; as Mr. de Morgan informs me.

In the standard inscription of Argistis (xliii. 42) Ardinis is described as a city of Etius, a country which I have identified with the present Georgia. This conclusion, however, will have to be considerably modified if the Ardinis of Argistis is the same as that of Keli-shin, and Etius will have lain, not to the north-east of the Minni like Georgia,

but to the south-east in the neighbourhood of Mount Rowandiz. Argistis also mentions a city of Bikhuras in the county of Bam which adjoined the Minni (xli. 17-20). Perhaps the Bikhuras is the Bikuras of our present inscription.

NEW TEXTS.

Drs. Belck and Lehmann have continued their researches into the Vannic inscriptions and language in articles published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. In the latter periodical (1894), Dr. Lehmann has collected some interesting passages from Greek writers which show that derivatives from the name of the god Khaldis were used to denote localities in Armenia. One of the most striking is from Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes 767, where "the Khaldi, in the neighbourhood of Colchis," are said to be also called "Khaldæi" (see my *Herodotos*, p. 17, note 6). To this Dr. Belck adds that Khaldees are frequently referred to in Armenian authors between Trapezont and Batum, and that a Turkish inscription found at Sumela shows that as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lazistân was still known as Khaldia. A district in the province of Trapezont is still called Kaldir or Keldir. In the same article Dr. Lehmann points out that the shield of Rušas, now in the British Museum, from which I have taken the first of the inscriptions given under No. lii., is really put together out of originally independent pieces, and that the portion of the text which describes Rušas as "descendant of Argistis" does not belong to the same shield as that on which he is called "the son of Erimenas." It does not follow, however, that the Rušas meant in the two cases is a different prince. That there were two kings of the name of Rušas I have stated in the second part of my Memoir, so that it is no new discovery, as Dr. Belck seems to think; but the Assyrian

inscriptions make it difficult to assume that Ruśas I. (or, indeed, any other Ruśas) was a *son* of Argistis. The king of Van contemporary with Tiglath-pileser was Sar-duris II.; his son (as we now know from the Aluchalu inscription) was Ruśas I. in the early part of Sargon's reign; then comes Argistis II., who lived into the reign of Sennacherib, and early in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, Ruśas II. was on the throne. Consequently we have:

Argistis II.	contemporary with Sennacherib.
Erimenas	„ „ Esar-haddon.
Ruśas II.	„ „ Assur-bani-pal.

Consequently there is no room for another "Ruśas son of Argistis" unless we relegate him to a later period than Sar-duris III. In this case it would be strange that the only two royal names found on the shields of Toprak Kaleh should both be Ruśas, the name of no intermediate ruler being discoverable there. Such a coincidence is most improbable.

The only reason Dr. Belck has for his assumption is that elsewhere a Vannic king names his father and not his ancestor. But the Vannic texts we possess are far too few to allow us to say that this rule was never departed from; indeed the inscriptions of Ruśas II. offer several variations from the stereotyped expressions of the earlier kings. That the termination *-khis* had merely the same signification as the Greek *-γενης*, we know from cases like that of the king of Dayaeni, who is called Diauekhis "the descendant of Diaves," and Dr. Belck has himself pointed out that the suffix *khi* has this general sense in the name of the place Ruśa-khi-nas. Cf. also *teri-khi-ne* li. i. 6.

In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vii. 3, 4 (December, 1892), Dr. Belck and Dr. Lehmann publish a new and historically important inscription copied by Dr. Belck from a stele in the pavement at the entrance of the mosque of Kurshun in Van. In continuance of my notation it will be numbered LXXX.

- (1) AN Khal-di-i-e e-u-ri-i-e
To Khaldis the lord
- (2) Y Me-nu-a-s Y Is-pu-u-i-ni-khi-ni-s
Menuas son of Ispuinis
- (3) i-ni TAK pu-lu-śi ku-gu-u-ni
this stone inscribed has engraved;
- (4) ma-ni-ni AN Khal-di-ni be-e-di-ni
'To each of the Khaldis-gods, to all,
- (5) Y Me-nu-a Y Is-pu-u-i-ni-e-khi-ni-e
of Menuas son of Ispuinis
- (6) Y I-nu-us-pu-u-a Y Me-nu-a-khi-ni-e
(and) Inuspuas son of Menuas
- (7) ul-gu-u-se pi-tsu (?) -u-se al-śu-i-se-e
the shields great (are given);'
- (8) AN Khal-di-e e-u-ri-e [Y] Me-nu-a-s
to Khaldis the lord Menuas
- (9) Y Is-pu-u-i-ni-e-khi-ni-e-s
the son of Ispuinis
- (10) i-ni TAK [pu]-lu-śi ku-[gu]-u-ni
this inscribed stone has engraved.

As Dr. Lehmann has observed, the spelling *be-e-di-ni* shows that the pronunciation of \times was *be* and not *bad*, as I supposed in the first part of my Memoir. We have a parallel passage in v. 24, the only difference being in the order of words: *AN Khal-di-ni be-di-ni AN-MES PUKHRU* (so Deyrolle) *be-di-ni ma-ni-ni ul-gu-se Is-pu-u-i-ni* "to all the Khaldis-gods, to all the gods of the nation, severally, the shields (?) of Ispuinis (are given)." *Pitsuse* (?) must be an adjective agreeing with *ulguse*.

The historical importance of the inscription consists in its making known to us the name of an otherwise unknown son of Menuas. It is probable that at the time the text was composed Inuspuas was regarded as the crown prince. The name seems to be a compound of *inu* and *ispu*, "he who is settled in the place."

In the third part of the first volume of the "Transactions of the Imperial Archæological Society of Moscow" (the *Drevnosti Vostochnyia*, or "Oriental Antiquities"), 1893, Dr. V. Nikolsky has a long and valuable article on "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kings of Van found on the territory of Russia." After an account of the decipherment of the inscriptions, and a sketch of the history of the kingdom of Ararat, as made known to us by the monuments of Van and of Assyria, Dr. Nikolsky gives seventeen out of the twenty-two texts discovered in Russian territory, together with their transliteration and translation, as well as a commentary. Of these texts two are new, and of the second (that of Zakhalu) he has since published a revised copy.

LXXXI.

The following inscription was discovered in 1888 by the Archbishop Mesrop Sembatianz near Tash Burun, where Nos. xxxiv. and lxvi. were also found. It is numbered iii. in Dr. Nikolsky's collection.

- (1) AN [Khal-]di-e e-u-[ri-e]
To Khaldis the lord
- (2) i-ni ase ba-[du]-u-[sí-e]
this house that was decayed
- (3) [Y Me-]nu-a-s Y Is-pu-o-¹ ni-khi-ni-[s]
Menuas Y the son of Ispuinis
- (4) [si-]di-is-tu-ni E-GAL
has restored: the palace
- (5) [si-]di-is-tu-ni ba-du-[u-sí-e]
he has restored which had decayed
- (6) [te-]ru-ni Y Me-nu-a-khi-ni-[li]
(and) has erected, of Menuas
- (7) [ti-i-]ni AN Khal-di-ni-[ni]
it is called, for the children of Khaldis

¹ By o I designate <.

- (8) [al]-śu-si-i-ni ¶ Me-nu-a-[ni]
the great belonging to Menuas
- (9) [Y] Is-pu-u-i-ni-[khi-ni]
the son of Ispuinis
- (10) [◀◀ DAN-]NU ◀◀ 𐎠𐎡 Bi-a-na-[e]
the powerful king, the king of Bianas
- (11) [a-lu-śi 𐎠𐎡 Dhu-us-pa-e 𐎠𐎡]
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

The restorations are due to Dr. Nikolsky.

In line 6 Dr. Belck finds a word *inili* "palace." How he can do so is inconceivable to me, as *ni-li* is merely a termination. In LXXVII. 5, 10 we have *Argisti-khi-ni-li* "Argistian" and *arnisi-ni-li* parallel to one another, and *arnisi-ni-li* interchanges with *arniusi-ni-li*, which occurs in the phrase so often met with in the great inscription of Argistis, where any reference to "palaces" is out of the question. My latest view of the meaning of the phrase is given in the fourth part of my Memoir, p. 21.

LXXXII.

This inscription is found at Zakhalu, called Sagalu by Dr. Belck, on Lake Erivan. A corrected copy of it from a squeeze is given by Dr. Nikolsky in "Archæological Notes and Researches," No. 12.

- (1) AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-śi-ni [gis]-su-ri-e
To the Khaldis-gods I prayed, the spirits multitudinous,
- (2) ka-ru-ni ¶ Si-ri¹-qu-qi-ni 𐎠𐎡 ni-e
who have given of Siriquinis the country,
- (3) ¶ AN RI-du-ri-s a-li us-ta-di
Sar-duris says: on approaching
.....²

¹ Si-ri may also be read *Ar*.

² According to Dr. Belck three lines are missing here, but Dr. Nikolsky's first copy makes it only one. In the second and revised copy no lacuna is marked.

- (5) kha-u-bi ʿ Si-ri-qu-qi-ni-e 𐎧𐎺𐎠 -ni-e
I conquered of Siriquinis the country,
- (6) kha-dhu-bi pa-ri 𐎧𐎺 Ur-dhe-khi-i-ni
I cut it off (?) from the country of Urdhas
- (7) AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni
for the children of Khaldis the great
- (8) ʿ AN RI-du-ri-ni ʿ Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni
belonging to Sarduris the son of Argistis,
- (9) << DAN-NU << RAB-ni << 𐎧𐎺 𐎧𐎺
the powerful king, the great king, the king of the provinces,
 << << ʿ<<
 king of kings,
- (10) a-lu-śi 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Dhu-us-pa-e 𐎠𐎺𐎠
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.

As Siriquinis was the name of a country, according to lv. 5, Siriquinis must mean "the Siriquian." *Kha-dhu-bi* must be compared with *ku-dhu-bi* "I departed," and goes to show that the latter is a compound word composed of the roots *ku* and *dhu*, *kha-dhu* being similarly resolvable into *kha* "possess" and *dhu* "remove" (?). Dr. Nikolsky has already translated it "I separated."

Dr. Nikolsky is doubtless right in comparing Urdhas or Urdhes with the Urdhu of the Assyrian texts (W.A.I. II. 48, 13), where it is said to denote "the highlands" (of Armenia).

The revised copy of the inscription is taken from an important article published by Dr. Nikolsky in the "Archæological Notes and Researches," No. 12 (Moscow, 1893), subsequently to the Memoir already described. In this he publishes (with transliteration and translation) the inscriptions of which correct copies have for the first time been obtained by himself and Dr. Ivanovsky, in the course of their scientific mission to that part of Asiatic Russia in which Cuneiform inscriptions were known to exist. The result of the mission will appear in a work on "the Archæology of the Caucasus"; but meanwhile Dr. Nikolsky

has been generous enough to place the new Vannic texts obtained by himself and his companion at the disposal of scholars. Besides the inscription of Zakhalu, the new texts are the following four.

LXXXIII.

This inscription has been found at Armavir and is numbered xx. in Dr. Nikolsky's article. The stone on which it is engraved is now at Eshmiadzin.

- (1) [AN] Khal-di-e e-u-[ri-e] i-ni [ase ʔAN RI-du-ri-s]
 To Khaldis the lord this house Sar-duris
- (2) [ʔ] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s [si-di-is-tu-ni E-GAL]
 son of Argistis has restored, the palace
- (3) ba-du-u-[sí-e si-di-is-tu-ni AN Khal-di-ni-li BAB-li
 which was decayed he has restored, the gate of Khaldis
- (4) ku-u-[su-ni]
 he has set up
- (5) ʔ AN RI-du-ri-s ʔ Ar-[giš-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e]
 Sarduris the son of Argistis says:

Of the next three lines there are preserved only the initial characters (6) *sa-ta*, (7) *i*, (8) *te-ku-[ni]* "a present," and the last two lines (9 and 10) are completely destroyed.

The restorations are for the most part due to Dr. Nikolsky. Those in lines three and four are made from lxxv. 5, 6.

LXXXIV.

The following inscription is on a stone found at Sarikamihs on the road from Kars to Erzerûm, and is now in the Museum of Tiflis. It is numbered xxi. in Dr. Nikolsky's collection.

- (1) . . . al kha-u-bi >=ʔ A-khu-ri-a-ni
 . . . I conquered the city of Akhurias,
- (2) [ʔ] As-dhu-[a-khi-]ni-e-[i] ^ ^ -ni
 of the son of Asdhuas the land

- (3) . . me a lu . . khi ar . . u-i-ni

- (4) [Y] As-dhu-a-khi-ni-e kha-u-bi
 belonging to the son of Asdhuas I conquered
- (5) [E] E-ti-u-ni E I-bi-ra-ni
 the land of Etius (and) the land of Ibiras.
- (6) . . na-a-li-a-nu i . . a . . MES-ni
 the [horsemen?]
- (7) [Y U-du-]ri-e << E E-ti-u-ni.
 of Uduris the king of Etius.
- (8) [Y] Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-li-e
 Argistis says:
- (9) [khu-]ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di
 among the princes (P) Khaldis,
- (10) [AN] IM-di AN UT-di AN-MES-as-te
 Teisbas, (and) Ardinis the gods,
- (11) [kha-]si-a-al-me-e AN-MES li (P)
 may make me to prosper (P) the gods.
- (12) . . u i bi lu si-u-bi
 I carried away
- (13) [pa-]ri >[Y] Qa-al-ra-khi pa-[ri]
 from the city of Qalrakhis; from
- (14) [E E-]ti-u-ni kha-dhu-bi li (P)-me-ti-[ni P]
 the country of Etius I cut off the territories (P)
- (15) . . . [M] . . . XX . . C . . . bi
 (P for . . . Kasbi)
- (16) . . CL . . KHAL VI M . . . C
 . . 150 6, (1)00
- (17) [AN] Khal-di-ni-ni al-su-u-si-ni
 for the children of Khaldis, the great,
- (18) [Y] Ar-gi-is-ti-ni Y Me-nu-a-khi-[e] . . .
 belonging to Argistis the son of Menuas, . . .
- (19) [<<] DAN-NU << E Bi-a-na-u-e
 the powerful king, the king of Bianas,

- (20) [a-]lu-ši >𐎶 Dhu-us-pa >𐎶
inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.
- (21) [𐎶] Ar-gi-is-ti-s a-li-e
Argistis says:
- (22) [a-]lu-s i-ni DUP-TE tu-li-e
whoever this tablet removes,
- (23) [a-]lu-s pi-tu-li-e tu-ri-ni-ni
whoever removes the name, those persons
- (24) [AN] Khal-di-s AN IM-s AN UT-s
may Khaldis, Teisbas (&) Ardinis

The rest of the text is destroyed.

Line 5. If *ibirani* signifies "drink" (see my Memoir, Part IV. p. 25) 𐎶 *Ibirani* would mean "a well-watered land."

Line 6. Perhaps we have to read here *a-[ši]-ni* "horsemen."

Line 7. For Uduris, king of Etius, see xxxvii. 22.

Line 13. The final syllable of *Qabrahhi* may be the suffix *-khi*, in which case the name of the city will be Qalras.

Line 14. If *limeti-ni* be the right reading the word may be borrowed from the Assyrian *limeti* "dependencies," "neighbourhood."

Lines 15, 16. It is possible to supply [*kas-*]bi and [MU]-KHAL "lines." KHAL cannot represent either KHAL "fortress" or BIT-KHAL-LU "war-horses," as the ideograph of plurality is wanting. Tiglath-pileser III., when describing his defeat of the Vannic king, says "for 70 (P) *kasbu* the ground in the land of Ararat I ravaged utterly."

LV.

We now come to the most important of the new inscriptions published by Dr. Nikolaky. This is the inscription of Aluchalu, which should more correctly be called that of Kōlany-Kirlany. For many years I have

vainly tried to obtain a photograph of it; its inaccessible position on a rock overhanging the lake of Erivan explains why I could not obtain one. Dr. Belck tried to copy it, standing waist-deep in the water, but failed to do so; and Dr. Nikolsky's success in taking a squeeze of it is a matter for congratulation. Dr. Belck and myself prove to be wrong in supposing it to have been a record of Sarduris II.; it turns out to be really a monument of Ruśas I., the Urśa of Sargon's inscriptions, and consequently of very great importance, since it is the first monument of this king which has been discovered. The contents of it, moreover, are geographically as well as historically interesting.

- (1) AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-[ni] śi-ni
 To the children of Khaldis the gracious,
 † Ru-śa-a-s
 Ruśas
- (2) † AN RI-du-ri-khi-ni-s [a-li-e] i-e-s i-ni-li
 the son of Sar-duris says: I when this
 e-ba-ni-li
 country
- (3) su-śi-ni-e us-ti-ib-ti-ni ma-gu-u
 one government (?) under (?)
 >=†† bu-ra-as-tu-li
 has been made chief province,
- (4) ^^ A-da-khu-ni ^^ U-e-li-da ^^ Ku-me-ru-khi-e
 of the countries of Adakhunis, Uelidas, Kumerukhis
- (5) ^^ Si-ri-qu-qi-i-ni IV SARRU-MES
 (and) Siriquqinis the 4 kings,
 i-pa-ni ap-ti-ni ^^ La-i-ni-e
 who were called, (&) of the countries of Lais,
- (6) ^^ U-bi-me-ni ^^ Sa-ma-dhu-a-i-ni ^^ Te-ri-u-i-sa-i-ni
 Ubimes, Samadhuais, Terivisais,
- (7) ^^ Ri-su-a-i-ni ^^ Zu-a-i-ni ^^ A-ku-a-ni
 Risuais, Zuais, Akuas,
 ^^ A-ma-ni-ni
 Amanis,

- (8) ^{^^} Ir-qi-ma-i-ni ^{^^} E-la-i-ni ^{^^} E-ri-el-tu-a-i-ni
 Irqimais, Elais, Ereltuais,
- (9) ^{^^} A-i-da-ma-ni-u-ni ^{^^} Gu-ri-a-i-ni ^{^^} Al-zi-ra-ni
 Aidamianus, Guriais, Alziras,
- (10) ^{^^} Pi-ru-a-i-ni ^{^^} Me-la-a-i-ni ^{^^} U-se-du-i-ni
 Piruais, Melais, Useduis,
- (11) ^{^^} A-dhe-za-a-i-ni ^{^^} E-ri-a-i-ni ^{^^} A-za-me-ru-ni-ni
 Adhezais, Eriais, (and) Azamerunis
- (12) [XIX] SARRU-MES i-pa-ni ap-ti-ni
 the 19 kings, who were called,
^{^^} . . i-du-a-i-ni ^{^^} ba-ba-ni-a
 of the people of . . iduais a distant land
- (13) ku-ru-ni-e [^] XXIII SARRU-MES
 tributaries, in all 23 kings
 su-ši-ni-i-MES as-gu-bi
 together I took ;
- (14) ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES ^{^^} Bi-a-i-na-di pa-ru-bi
 the men (&) women to Biainas I carried away.
 me-si-ni sa-a-li
 That year
- (15) . . na-a-ab si-di-is-tu-[bi] [^] Ru-[ša]-a-s E-GAL-MES
 I restored, (even I) Rušas, the palaces
- (16) [^{^^}] . << -ku ^{^^} e-ba-a-ni
 of the country of . . man (?) ku
- (17) [AN] IM i-ni E-GAL ba-du-ši-i-e
 For Teisbas this palace which had decayed
 si-di-is-tu-bi
 I have restored.
- (18) AN IM i-zu (?) MAT-MAT-MES
 For Teisbas countries
 a na i MES

- (19) *Destroyed.*

Line 1. *-ši-ni* may be the termination of *alu-ši-ni* "great" or *alu-ši-ni* "inhabiting."

2, 3. The grammar requires that *buras-tuli* should be construed as a gerundive with *inili ebanili* (see v. 2, etc.), and the meaning of *buras-tu-li* is fixed by xlv. 18, 39, xlix. 17. In the last passage the determinative of *buras* is "official," here on the contrary it is "city"; but the difference is due to the fact that in xlix. 17 an individual is referred to ("the king of the city of Buinis I made governor"), whereas here it is the district in the neighbourhood of Lake Erivan, which was constituted into a ruling province. Since elsewhere we find the Vannic post-position terminating in *-u*, as *giu* in lx. 6, we should regard *magu* as governing the two words which precede it, and the signification of the first, which is known, gives us a clue to that of the second. For the sense compare W.A.I. iv. 34, 25 [*matâti*] *qatsu iksudu pi-su asar esten yukinu* "the countries his hand conquered, his mouth appointed to be one government."

5. For Siriquqinis see above lxxxii. 2.

7. For the country of Zuais, near Melazgherd, see xxx. 11. But the locality meant here, though having the same name, may have been in a different part of the world.

12, 13. Perhaps the more correct construction would be: "who were called *ipani* of the people of the distant land of . . . *iduais*, tributaries."

14. *Mesini sali* is literally "the year belonging to it," *i.e.* to the campaign just described.

17. As mention is made of "*this* palace," the palace in question must have been described in the preceding line.

LXXXV.

The following inscription of Ruśas II. is on a stone from Armavir, now removed to Eshmiadzin. It is numbered xix. in Dr. Nikolsky's collection.

(1) ¶ Ru-śa-s	¶ E-ri-[me-na-khi-ni-s]
Ruśas	the son of Eriuenas

- (2) i-ni BIT ha-ri [su-u-ni]
 this house . . . has made.
- (3) I M IV C XXXII ka-[pi-is-ti-ni]
 1432

In line 2 Dr. Nikolsky reads *khi-si-ri*, but according to lxii. 5 (where the determinative BIT is omitted) it ought to be *ha*. *Ha* and *khi-si* are formed very much alike. My restorations are taken from No. lxii.

The bilingual inscription of Keli-shin has led me to correct several of the significations I have assigned to Vannic words as well as to ascertain the meaning of other words the sense of which was doubtful. Therefore, instead of following my previous practice of going through the inscriptions in order and correcting them passage by passage, I will here give, once for all, the words, grammatical forms, and phrases of which, I believe, I can now furnish a better explanation than heretofore.

XI. *a*. Here we must read *asibi* in line 3, where it is plain that *sana* is the Vannic equivalent of the ideographs BIT-GI.

The inscription reads: (1) "[the men] of the city [𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢-*i-na-ni*], the men of the palace, the slaves . . . (2) the . . . of the stronghold, 2651 persons [*tu-u-ri*] . . . (3) which was called (*ap-tti*) the safeguard of the prisoners." The ideographic BIT-GI is "the stronghold," *i.e.* either a prison or a fortress, or both. Its Vannic equivalent comes in the next line, where *sana* takes its place.

Asibi is found at the beginning of the Standard Inscription of Argistis (xxxvii. 1). Here, in the following line (2), the last word must be *la-ra[gi]*, which has been given us by the new text, lxxix. 17. The context demands some sense like that of "work": "Whoever of the sons of Dhuspas shall give the seed-plot which has been made for (these) sons to be worked (*laragi*) with (instruments?) of bronze." *Asibi*, therefore, which is associated with *laragi*

by Argistis ought to signify persons who worked or were obliged to work, and I would consequently translate the words of Argistis: "These [spoils?] (&) prisoners [I have made] for the work of the city."

In lx. 5 we have *ebani sana ap-tini*. This inscription I can now translate. The sixth line, which I regarded as hopeless, is rendered difficult only by the fact that the first character in it is the suffix of the last word in the preceding line. The translation of lines five and six is:

(5) ebani	sana	ap-tini
the country	the safeguard	which was called
tsûnie-(6)li	meieli	qiu
belonging to the canal	the ford	beside.

Tsû-nê-li has received its interpretation from the new inscription of Rušas (lxxix. 3, 4, 14, 21), where Dr. Lehmann has proposed for it the meaning of "reservoir." But this is because Dr. Belck wishes to give *pili* "a memorial" the signification of "canal." This, however, is impossible. *Pili* is a regular derivative from *pi* "a name," and in lxiv. 6-8 we have "to the gracious Khaldises who [grant?] a princely name, riches (?),¹ prosperous days, (&) a long-enduring memorial," where not only the analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions, but also common-sense, requires the equivalent of the Assyrian *zikri* "memorial."

Dr. Lehmann's suggestion is negated by the fact that there is no reservoir accompanying the inscription of Rušas, only a canal, and that consequently the work executed by Rušas, and which he says was called after his name, must be the canal in question. This is named *tsue* in the text.²

For *meieli*, see xxxviii. 17 (*melaini*), where either a ford or a bridge must be referred to.

Qiu is an adverb terminating in *-u*, and claims connection with *qiu-ra* and *qiu-ra-ni* (lix. 6, lxxvii. 6). The latter

¹ Perhaps we should read [*ku*]-*ri-li* "tributes," like *kuru-li* (xxx. 14), from *kuru* "to give."

² "This canal (*istini tsue*) belonging to the mountain (?) I executed. It is called the canal of Rušas" (*tini Rušas tou [e]*).

word is associated with *galdi*, and as in lxxvii. the construction of a palace is described, and then mention is made of the building of *giurani galdi-ni* together with a wall, it seems probable that *galdis* signifies a "court" and *giuras* "a side." For *giu* in lx. 6 the only meanings that will suit are "near," "inside," "beyond," and "beside." The first and third of these are inapplicable to lxxvii. 6, while the idea of "near" is expressed by another word (*us*), so that our choice for *giu* lies between "inside" and "beside."

Sana is probably connected with *satuali* "a hostage," which is a compound of *tu* "to carry away" and *sa*; the natural sense of the latter would be "a security." Hence I translate *sana* "safeguard" rather than "stronghold."

Another word for which I propose a new translation is *inu*. None of those I have previously suggested will suit all the passages in which the word is found, and I know of only one that will do so. This is "area," "length and breadth." In iii. 2 we have the adverb *inuki*, formed like *kaiuki*, "in all its length and breadth," i.e. "wholly" ("this temple which was wholly decayed"). In xxi. 3, 5 we find: *ali inubini kharkharnei širsinini ter[du]ni inukani esini* "a part of the area excavated for the store-chamber he has made a space for an inscription," where *inu* has the suffix *ka* "front" attached to it. In xlv. 11, 12 we read: *alus gei inukani esinini siulie* "whoever removes the space of the rock-wall belonging to the inscriptions." Lastly, in lxxix. 6, 15, *inu* occurs in passages which I should now render as follows:

- (6) [i-]ku-ka-khi-ni ki-gu a-li qu-ul-di-[ni]
In the same place a garden & of a court
- (7) [i-]nu D.P. Bi-a-i-na-se pal-la e-ha
the area to the people of Biainas a delight (?) as well as
- (8) AN-MES-se gu-ni su-li-ma-nu D.P. Ru-ša-[s]
to the gods sacrifices for each day. Rušas
- (9) [a-]li i-u D.P. Ru-ša-khi-i-ni-li
says that when the city of Rušas

- (10) [si-]du-u-li i-u i-ni tsu-e ta-se-[e]
 had been restored, thus this canal for the people
- (11) [te-]ru-bi D.P. TUR-se D.P. Dhu-us-pa-i-ni-[e]
 I constructed (and) for the sons of Dhuspas
- (12) u-ru-li-ni i-śi-i ki-gu
 a seed-plot within the garden
- (13) [D.P.] Ru-śa-khi-na-ka-i e-ha i-nu-u-[ki]
 in front of the city of Ruśas as well as in all its length
- (14) tsu-i-ni-i e-śi gu-ni
 relating to the canal an inscription (and) sacrifices
 qu-ul-di-[di]
 in the court
- (15) su-li-ma-nu
 each day.

Ki-gu is, perhaps, a compound of *ki* "to cut off," "set apart."

I now see that *guni* is shown by No. lxxviii. to signify "sacrifices."

Suli-manu must contain the idea of "perpetually," "for ever." *Manu* is "each," "every" (with the adverbial termination *-u*); *suli* cannot be "month," since that is *atsus*; it can hardly represent *satis* "a year," as the vowel of the first syllable is not the same, and sacrifices seem to have been made more frequently than once a year: so nothing is left for the signification except "day." Compare *Selardis* "the moon," which may be a compound of *sel* "light" (?) and *ar* "to bring."

Tasé is in parallelism with D.P. TUR-se in line 16, and may be the phonetic reading of the latter, though from xxx. 17 it would seem rather to mean "people" in general.¹

That *śi* means "within" is clear from the context. Perhaps it is borrowed from the Assyrian preposition *śi*. The word occurs again in l. 23 ([i]-śi-i bu-u-se).

As for *inu[ki]* in l. 13, my restoration of the missing termination is, of course, not certain. The phrase may

¹ I may note that in this passage *bedi-manu* signifies "of all sorts."

mean "the space for the inscription relating to the canal." But in this case we should have expected some word signifying a column or stele.

The final lines of No. lxxix. I would now render thus:

- (28) [A]-MES D.P. a-la-i-ni-ni si-e du-li-[e]
The waters of the rivers to the channel may he give
- (29) [D.P.] Ru-ša-khi-na-i-di a-li A-[MES]
in the city of Rušas and the waters
- (30) [D.P.] a-la-i-ni-ni D.P. Dhu-us-pa-ni-[ni]
of the rivers of Dhuspas
- (31) [la]-ra-gi ul-khu-li-ni a-li a-[u-di]
to the work that are directed, and in the water
- (32) [D.P.] Ru-ša-khi-na-u-e ip-sa-du-li-[e]
of the city of Rušas may he secure the flood.

Alae "a river" is found in lxviii. 13.

I decompose *ip-sa-du-li* into *du* "to give" or "set," *sa* "security," and *ip* "a flood."

I believe I can now give an explanation at last of the frequently recurring phrase *andani haldubi*, which is conjoined with the word *sal(?)matkhi*. *Sal(?)matkhi* must mean "frontiers," and *andani haldubi* "I changed the road," i.e. I turned aside. Thus in xxxvii. 8, 11 we have: "On departing out of the city of Putis, on the frontiers of the countries of Bias and Khusas, I turned aside to the land of Tarius On departing out of the city of Uzinabitarnas, out of the land of Širinutaras, a distant country, I turned aside to the city of Maqaltus in the land of Igas." So again in xxxviii. 15, 16: "On approaching the land of the Hittites I turned aside to the land of the son of Tualas (&) the frontiers of the city of Malatiyeh." So, too, xl. 55, 56: "I turned aside from the land of Ugistis (&) the frontiers of the land of Wusis." *Andani Ugistini haldubi* is literally "I changed the road of Ugistis." *Sal(?)matkhi* has nothing to do with the ideograph NIN "a prince" in lxiv. 5, as I had erroneously supposed.

I will conclude with a conjecture. Do the epithets *nipšiduli-ni* and *urpuli-ni* (xii. 3, xix. 7, 8, lviii. 4, 5) mean "northern" and "southern"? In x. 6 *urpuli-ni* takes the place of *tanuli-ni* "on the right hand."

The following corrections must be made in the texts and translations already published.

xxxiv. 9, 13, 14, 19. Dr. Nikolsky states that the true reading of the name of the city is *Lu-khi-unis* and not *Lu-nu-nis*. See lxvi. 3.

Prof. Jensen has improved my translation of the Assyrian inscriptions of Sarduris I. (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, viii. 3, 4, pp. 375-81, December, 1893). In line 7 KA-KA must be the compound ideograph of "speaking," and we must therefore read *izak-ar* "he says." Accordingly the next line will be *má anaku pulani annute* "thus I these limestone-blocks," *pulanı* being, as Prof. D. H. Müller suggested, the Assyrian *pilu*. This increases the probability that Müller was right in making the Vannic *pulu-ši*, not "written" but "of limestone."

In the inscriptions of Sarduris I. consequently we must translate: "Sardur the son of Lutipri says thus: I have removed these blocks of limestone from the city of Alniun."

For the word "I have removed" Prof. Jensen proposes to read *nasaku*, correcting Layard's *za* into *sa*. But this is palæographically impossible. The true reading must be *na-kha-ku* with $\overline{\text{W}}$ for $\overline{\text{W}}$, as Mr. Strong has shown that the verb *nakhú* in Assyrian signified "to remove."

VOCABULARY.

VANNIC.

A.

- A-da-khu-ni. "The land of Adakhus." lv. 4.
 A-dhe-za-a-i-ni. "The land of Adhezais." lv. 11.
 A-i-da-ma-ni-u-ni. "The land of Aidamaniu." lv. 9.
 A-i-ni-e. "Earth." lvi. 30.
 A-khu-ri-a-ni. "The city of Akhurias." lxxxiv. 1.
 A-ku-a-ni. "The land of Akuas." lv. 7.
 Alae. "River." lxviii. 13. Alai-ni-ni, lxxix. 28, 30.
 Al-di-is. "The god Khaldis." lvi. 22. Al-di-na, lvi. 12.
 [Al-]di-ni-ni, lvi. 20. Al-di-ka-a-i, lvi. 16.
 A-li. "And." lxxxii. 3.
 Al-li-i-e. lvi. 35, 39.
 Al-šu-i-se-e. "Great." lxxx. 7. Al-šu-i-si-ni, lxxxvii. 7.
 Al-šu-si-i-ni, lxxx. 8, lxxxiv. 17.
 A-lu-ši. Equivalent of Assyrian *sa*. lxxxii. 10.
 Al-zi-ra-ni. "The land of Alziras." lv. 9.
 Andani. "Road," instead of "youths."
 Ap-ti-ni. "Which was called." lv. 5, 12.
 Ar-di-ni. "The city of the Sun-god." lvi. 23, 33.
 Ar-di-ni-di, lvi. 17, 26.
 A-ru-ni. Equivalent of Assyrian *yubalu*. lvi. 12.
 Ar-qu-qi-ni. See Si-ri-qu-qi-ni.
 As-dhu-a-khi-ni-e. "The son of Asdhuas." lxxxiv. 2, 4.
 Ase. "House." lxxx. 2, lxxxiii. 3.
 As-gu-bi. "I took." lv. 13.
 A-[u-i-e]. "Water." lvi. 38.
 A-za-me-ru-ni-ni. "The land of Azamerus." lv. 11.
 Azibi. "Prisoners" (?). xia. 3, xxxvii. 1.

B.

- Ba-ba-ni-a. "Distant." lv. 12.
 Ba-[du]-u-[sí-e]. "Decayed." lxxx. 2, 5, lxxxiii. 3,
 lv. 17.
 Be-e-di-ni. "All." lxxx. 4.
 Bedi-manu. "Of all sorts." xxx. 17.
 Bi-a-na-e. "Biainas." lxxx. 10. Bi-a-i-na-di, lv. 14.
 Bi-a-na-u-e, lxxxiv. 19.
 Bi-ku-ra-a-e-di. "In the city of Bikuras." lvi. 36, 41.
 Bu-ra-as-tu-li. "After making chief city." lv. 3.
 Bur - ga - na - a - ni. "Sanctuary." lvi. 20. Assyrian
panipani.

D.

- Du-li-i-e. "May he give." lvi. 31, 37.

E.

- E-ba-a-ni. "Country." lv. 16. E-ba-ni-li, lv. 2. Ebani-
 uki, "in the country," xxxix. 1, 25.
 E-la-i-ni. "The land of Elais." lv. 8.
 E-ri-a-i-ni. "The land of Eriais." lv. 11.
 E-ri-el-tu-a-i-ni. "The land of Ereltuais." lv. 8.
 [E]-sí-ya-me. "Its inscription." lvi. 31.
 E-ti-u-ni. "The land of Etius." lxxxiv. 5, 7, 14.
 E-u-ri-i-e. "Lord." lxxx. 1. E-u-ri-e, lxxx. 8, lxxx. 1,
 lxxxiii. 1. [E-u-]ri-i, lvi. 13.

G.

- Ga-sú-li. "Beautiful." lvi. 9. The Assyrian *damquti*.
 Gis-au-ri-e. "Multitudes." lxxxii. 1.
 Gu-ni. "Sacrifices." lxxix. 8, 14.
 Gu-ri-a-i-ni. "The land of Guriais." lv. 9.
 Gu-ru-khe. The Assyrian *pasri*. lvi. 15. Gu-ru-khu,
 lvi. 24.

H.

- Ha-ri. Some kind of "house." lxxxv. 2.
 Ha-se. "Men." lxxxv. 2.

I.

- I-bi-ra-ni. "The land of Ibiras." lxxxiv. 5.
 I-e-s. "I." lv. 2.
 I-na-a-ni. "City." lvi. 32. Equivalent of the Assyrian *alu*.
 I-ni-li. "This." lvi. 30, lv. 2.
 Inu. "Area." iii. 2, xxi. 3, 5, etc., lxxix. 7. Inu-ki,
 "in extent," lxxix. 13.
 I-nu-a-si. "The land of Inuas." lvi. 6. Perhaps the word
 means "far-extending."
 I-nu-us-pu-u-a. The son of Menuas. lxxx. 6.
 I-pa-ni. lv. 5, 12.
 Ip-sa-dule. "May he secure the flood." lxxix. 32.
 Ip-tu-li-i-e. "He shall flood." lvi. 38.
 Ir-qi-ma-i-ni. "The land of Irgimais." lv. 8.
 Isi. "Within." lxxix. 12.
 I-u. "Thus, that." lvi. 16, 25, 28. In Assyrian, *ki*
 and *umma*.

K.

- Ka-ni. Equivalent of Assyrian *equiti*. lvi. 16.
 Ka-[pistini]. lxxxv. 3.
 Ka-ru-ni. "They have given." lxxxii. 2.
 Kauke, kaiuke, etc. "Against." xxx. 13, l. 23.
 Ku-gu-u-ni. "He has engraved." lxxx. 3, 10.
 Ku-u-i. "Written." lvi. 35.
 Ku-lu-di. lvi. 36.
 Ku-me-ru-khi-e. "The land of Kumerukhis." lv. 4.
 Ku-ru-ni-e. "Tributaries." lv. 13.
 Ku-u-[su-ni.] "He has erected." lxxxiii. 4.

Q [K].

- Qa-al-ra-khi. "The city of Qalraa." lxxxiv. 13.
 Qiu. "Beside." lx. 6.
 Qiura. "Side." lix. 6, lxxvii. 6.
 Qul-di. "Court." lxxix. 6, 14.

KH.

- Kha-dhu-bi. "I cut off" (?). lxxxii. 6, lxxxiv. 14.
 Kha-i-ni. "Destruction." lvi. 24.
 Khal-di-ka-a-i. "Before Khaldia." lvi. 25.
 Khal-di-na-ni. lvi. 29.
 Kha-si-a-al-me. lxxxiv. 11.
 Kha-su-li. "Conquered." lvi. 33.
 Kha-u-li-i-e. "May he destroy." lvi. 29. Kha-u-li,
 lvi. 24, lxxxii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, 4.
 [Khu-te-]e-i. "King." lvi. 19. Khu-ti-a-di, lxxxiv. 9.

L.

- La-i-ni-e. "The land of Lais." lv. 5.
 La-a-ni. lvi. 21.
 La-ra-gi. "Work" (?). xxxvii. 2, lxxix. 31.
 Li (?)-me-ti-[ni]. lxxxiv. 14.
 Lu-tu-MES. "Women." lv. 14.

M.

- Ma-gu-u. "Under" (?). lv. 3.
 Ma-ni-ni. "Each." lxxx. 4.
 Ma-si-ni. "Powers." lxxxii. 1.
 Meiali. "Round" (?). xlix. 11.
 Meieli. lx. 6.
 Me-la-a-i-ni. "The land of Melais." lv. 10.
 Me-nu-a-khi-ni-li. lxxxi. 6.
 Me-si-ni. "Belonging to it." lv. 14.
 Mu-u-mu-ni-ni. lvi. 2.

N.

- Na-khu-ni-e. "He removes." lvi. 10. Equivalent of the Assyrian *nasi*.
 Na-ra-a-[u-e]. "Belonging to the land of Nahri." lvi. 18.
 Nipísiduli-ni. "Northern" (?).
 Ni-ri-bi-e. Equivalent of the Assyrian *bibu*, perhaps "chaldrons." lvi. 28. Ni-ri-bi-i, lvi. 20. Ni-ri-bi, lvi. 9, 29, 34.
 Nu-na-bi. "I went." lvi. 17. Equivalent of Assyrian *allik*. Nu-na-a-li, lvi. 36.

P.

- Pal-la. "Delight" (?). lxxix. 7.
 Pa-ri. "Out of." lxxxii. 6, lxxxiv. 13.
 Pa-ru-bi. "I took." lv. 14.
 Pi. "Name." lvi. 39. Pi-tu-li-e. "May he remove the name." lxxxiv. 23.
 Pi-tsu (?)-u-se. lxxx. 7.
 Pi-ru-a-i-ni. "The land of Piruais." lv. 10.
 Pu-lu-ší. "Of limestone." lxxx. 3, 10.
 Pu-ur-ni. "Tablet" (?). lvi. 8.

R.

- Ri-su-a-i-ni. "The land of Risuais." lv. 7.
 Ru-śa-a-s. lv. 1.

S.

- Sa-a-li. "Year." lv. 14.
 Sal(?)matkhi. "Frontiers."
 Sa-ma-dhu-a-i-ni. "The land of Samadhuais." lv. 6.
 Sa-na. "Stronghold." xia. 3, lx. 5.
 [Sar-]du-ra-za-u-ni. "Grandson of Sarduris." lvi. 3.
 Si-di-is-tu-[bi]. "I restored." lv. 15, 17. [Si-]di-is-tu-ni, lxxxi. 4, 5, lxxxiii. 2, 3.

Si-ri-qu-qi-i-ni. "The land of Siriquqis." lv. 5. Si-ri-qu-qi-ni, lxxxii. 2. Si-ri-qu-qi-ni-e, lxxxii. 5. See Ar-qu-qi-ni.

Si-u-bi. "I carried away." lxxxiv. 12.

Su-u-i. lvi. 37. Perhaps derived from *su* "to make."

But the reading is uncertain.

Sulimanu. "Every day" (?). lxxxix. 8, 15.

Su-ra-e. "The world." lvi. 19.

Su-si-ni-e. "One." lv. 3. Su-si-ni-i-MES. "Together." lv. 13.

T.

Tasê. "People." xxx. 17, lxxix. 10.

Te-ra-i-ni. "Set up." lvi. 22. Te-ru-ni. "He set up." lvi. 6, lxxxi. 6.

Te-ri-u-sa-i-ni. "The land of Teriusais." lv. 6.

Ti-u-li-i. "He pretends." lvi. 40.

Ti-i-ni. "Called." lxxxi. 7.

Tu-li-e. "He removes." lxxxiv. 22.

Tu-u-ri. "Person." xia. 2. Tu-ri-ni-ni, lxxxiv. 23.

U.

U-bi-me-ni. "The land of Ubimes." lv. 6.

U-du-ri-e. "Uduris." lxxxiv. 7.

U-e-li-da. "The land of Uelidas." lv. 4.

U-li-i-e. "Another." lvi. 39.

Ul-gu-u-se. "Shields." lxxx. 7. Equivalent of the Assyrian *sernati* (?). Ul-gu-si-ya-ni, lvi. 13.

Ulkhu-li-ni. "Directed." lxxix. 31.

Ur-dhe-khi-i-ni. "The land of Urdhes." lxxxii. 6. In Assyrian *Urdhu*.

U-ri-li. "Spears" (?). lvi. 8. Equivalent of the Assyrian *beli*.

Urpuli-ni. "Southern" (?).

U-se-du-ni. "The land of Usodus." lv. 10.

- U-si-ni. "The city of Usia." lvi. 21.
 Us-ma-si-ni. "Propitious." lv. 1.
 Us-ta-bi. "I approached." lxxxii. 1. Us-ta-di. "On
 approaching." lxxxii. 3.
 Us-ti-ib-ti-ni. "Government" (?). lv. 3.

Y.

- Ya-ra-[a]-ni. "He has erected." lvi. 5.

Z.

- Za-da-ni. "Established." lvi. 11, 34.
 Za-i-se-i. "Gate." lvi. 34.
 Zu-a-i-ni. "The land of Zuais." lv. 7.

TS.

- Tsue. "Canal." lxxix. 10. Tsuini, lxxix. 14. Tsûnie-li,
 lx. 5.

IDEOGRAPHS.

- BAB-li. "Gate." lxxxiii. 3. BIT-GL. "Stronghold."
 xia. 2.
 DUP-TE. "Tablet." lvi. 27, lxxxiv. 22.
 E-GAL. "Palace." lv. 17, lxxxiii. 2. E-GAL-MES,
 lv. 15.
 ERU. "Bronze." lvi. 10.
 GAL-MES. "Great." lvi. 16. GAL-ni, lxxxii. 9.
 QUR (𐎧). "In all." lv. 13. KHAL, lxxxiv. 16.
 LU-BIRU. "Lamb." lvi. 14.
 MAT-MAT. "The world." lxxxii. 9. MAT-MAT-MES,
 lv. 18.
 SARRU-MES. "Kings." lv. 5, 12, 13.

ASSYRIAN.

N.

An-ni. lvi. 38.
 An-ni-tu. lvi. 37.
 An-ni-u. lvi. 17.
 Yu-ba-lu. lvi. 12.
 Al-lik-u-ni. lvi. 23.
 Il-lak-an-ni. lvi. 15.
 An-na-te. lvi. 18, 20.

ג.

Babi. lvi. 19, 20, 27, 34.
 Be-li. lvi. 8.
 Bi-bu. lvi. 9, 10, 21, 26, 27, 32. Bi-bi. lvi. 38.

ד.

I-da-h-ib. lvi. 37.
 Damquti. lvi. 9.
 Dup-pu. lvi. 6.
 Dhu-us-pa-an. lvi. 3, 16.

ה.

U-[la]. lvi. 28, 36, 37.
 Um-ma. lvi. 27.

ו.

[I-khab]-bu-u-ni. lvi. 39.
 Khal-di-e. lvi. 1, 5, 11, 17, 21, 28, 34, 40.

ז.

I-nu. "The land of Inu." lvi. 6.
 Is-pu-u-i-ni. lvi. 5, 15, 24.

ח.

Ka-ki(?)-ri-is. lvi. 41.
 Ki-i. lvi. 14, 21, 22, 30, 32.

↳.

Lib-bi. lvi. 20, 27, 32, 34, 38, 41.

▷.

Ma-h-da. lvi. 10.

Ma-ka-nu. lvi. 5.

Ma-ka-ar. lvi. 13.

Mas(P)-ka. lvi. 38.

Me-ni. lvi. 29, 39.

Mu-xa-zir. lvi. 1, 15, 20, 23, 33, 40.

┆.

Iddinu. lvi. 34.

I-du-nu. lvi. 22.

Nakhaku. l. 7.

[Na-]i-ri. lvi. 3, 16.

Na-ka-MES. lvi. 18.

Na-si. lvi. 10.

▷.

Yu-sa-li-ku. lvi. 26.

I-sa-pa-nu. lvi. 31.

Ÿ.

E-qu-ti. lvi. 14. E-qu-te. lvi. 26.

▷.

Pan. lvi. 10, 14, 19, 22.

Pa-ni-pa-ni. lvi. 17.

Yu-pa-tsa-ar. lvi. 31.

Pa-as-ri. lvi. 21.

Pi. lvi. 39.

Pulani. i. 8.

Ÿ.

Tai-h. lvi. 29.

𐎶.

Sa. lvi. 16, 32.
 Sak-nu. lvi. 34. [Lus ?-]tas-kin. lvi. 40.
 I-si-me. lvi. 32.
 I-si-pak. lvi. 11.
 Ser-na(?)-ti. lvi. 12.

𐎶.

Tabra-[ti]. lvi. 7.
 Tu(?) -ru. lvi. 10.

IDEOGRAPHS.

ERU. lvi. 10.
 UMMAR. lvi. 10.
 ILLA. lvi. 21, 28, 30.
 GAL-MES. lvi. 14.
 GIS-ME. lvi. 30.
 KA-KA. i. 7.
 KA-MES. lvi. 22.
 KASDIN-MES. lvi. 13.
 MU. lvi. 29.
 MU-BI. lvi. 34.
 IDDINU. lvi. 29.
 ISTAK-an. lvi. 6, 10.

ART. XXII.—The *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh*, or *Essence of History*; being the description and history of India as told by a Hindu two hundred years ago. By H. BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S.

THE *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh* is a history of India from the days of the Pandus and Kurus down to the defeat of Dará Shikoh and the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb. It was written two hundred years ago (1695–96) by an up-country Hindu, whose name has been variously given as Sanjan, Suján, Saján, Shuján, and Subhán Rái.¹ He does not name himself in his history,² but he tells us that he was a native of Batála,³ in the Panjáb, and that he had been

¹ M. Garcin de Tassy and Dr. Rieu think it probable that the correct name is Suján—a word formed from the Sanskrit and meaning “clever” or “intelligent.”

² See note A at end of paper.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Irvine for pointing out to me that the place is Batála and not Patiálá. Batála is a town and district in Gurdáspúr, in the Panjáb. They are described in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and more fully in the *Gazetteer of the Gurdáspúr (i.e. Gurudáspúr) district* (Lahore, 1883–84, p. 96). Batála is the largest town in the Gurdáspúr district, and had in 1881 a population of 24,281. It lies 24 miles N.E. of Amritsar and about half a mile from the high road to Pathánkot. The town is best known to English people in connection with A. L. O. E. (Miss C. M. Tucker).

The account of the founding and embellishing of Batála given in the *Gazetteers* agrees generally with that in the *Khalásat*, but it does not seem correct to say that Shamsher Khán was a foster-brother of Akbar. There was a Shamsuddín who was Akbar's foster-father, and who was killed by Adham Khán, but Shamsher Khán does not appear to have been his son. One MS. calls Shamsher Khán a eunuch. The others speak of him as Khwájah. According to the *Khalásat*, Rái Rám Deo Bhatí, *zamindár* of Kapúrthala, was the founder of Batála. It is said that in his time the Panjáb was in a very desolate state on account of a flood, which had laid the whole country under water, from the Sutlej to the Chenáb, and also of the incursions of the Móguls. Rái Rám therefore got the whole of the Panjáb in farm from Tátár Khán, the *Sibahdár* (Governor) of Lahore, for nine *lakhs* of *tankás*. I understand this to mean *rupias*, but Sher 'Alí has taken it to mean *takas*, i.e. double *piece*. If so, the rent would be about Rs. 28,000. It *chanced*, says Suján Rái, that Rái Rám embraced Mahommadanism, a circumstance which led to his advancement. In 877 A.H. (1472 A.D.), in the reign of Bahlól Lodi, Rái Rám founded Batála, and it was afterwards embellished by Shamsher Khán and others. [Apparently the *Hijra* date given in the text is wrong, for 1522 is given as the corresponding *Vikramadítiya* date, but this would agree with 870 A.H. (1465 A.D.).] Suján Rái says that *batálá* means “change” in Panjábí, and that the town got the name of Batála because the site first chosen was not good, and so was altered to another place in the vicinity.

from his youth up in the employment of high officials as a *munshi* or secretary. Apparently he was a *kshatriya* by caste, but in my opinion he was almost, if not quite, a Sikh by religion.

The Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh is well known in India, and is, I believe, much esteemed there. There are many MS. copies of it in Europe also, but, as far as I know, it has never been printed or lithographed. Nor has it been completely translated, though Sher 'Alī Ja'farī (Afsos) rendered the first part of it into Urdu at the instance of Mr. Harrington in 1804-5. Sher 'Alī's work, called by him the *Araish-i-Mahfil* (Ornament of the Assembly), is, in the main, a translation from the Khalāṣat, but it only comes as far as the death of Rājah Prithvī or Pithu, and the completion of the Muhammadan conquest (1193).

The *Araish-i-Mahfil* has been translated into French by Abbé Bertrand, a pupil of M. Garçin de Tassy, and the latter also has translated several extracts in his book on Hindu literature. There is a very useful, though inelegant and not always accurate, translation into English by Captain Court.

My attention was first drawn to the Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh by Kavirāj Shyamāl Dās (who, I regret to say, has lately died). I had written a paper suggesting doubts as to Jahāngir's mother having been a Hindu. But the Kavirāj showed in reply that the Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh distinctly states that Jahāngir's mother was the daughter of Bihārī Mall Kachhwāhah.¹ Since then I have picked up a manuscript of the Khalāṣat in India, and have read a considerable portion of it. It seems to me that the work

¹ The passage occurs in the account of Akbar's reign. It is there stated that Shāh Tahmāsp, the king of Persia, suggested to Humāyūn that he should ally himself with the Indian aristocracy. Accordingly Humāyūn afterwards married the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, the nephew of Husain Khān Mewāṭī, a leading Indian Mahommadan, who probably was originally a Janūhah Rājput (Blochmann's *Āin*, p. 334, note). At the same time Bairām Khān married Jamal Khān's younger daughter, and she became the mother of 'Abdur-rahīm, the Khān Khānān. Akbar went a step further and married the daughter of a Hindu. The Khalāṣat wrongly says that it was Akbar who married into Husain Khān Mewāṭī's family, a mistake which throws some doubt on its accuracy about Jahāngir's mother.

has been unduly neglected, and that the text ought to be printed by our Society, or by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. My chief object in this paper is to call attention to the book, in the hope that this may be done. So long ago as 1868¹ Colonel Lees referred to the Khalásat, in a paper read before this Society, as one of the most carefully compiled histories of India. He subsequently wrote of it in the preface to his edition of the Araish-i-Mahfil as being altogether a most excellent compilation, and said that he should be very glad to see a good edition of the Persian text, and that parts of it would be well worth translating into English.

The neglect and discredit of the Khalásat-at-Tawárikh have been caused, in part, by the unfavourable remarks of Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson. Sir Henry was indignant with its author because he thought he had dishonestly used another man's labours. He said he had stolen his materials, and even his language, from the Makhtasirat-at-Tawárikh, and that the Khalásat-at-Tawárikh was one of the most impudent plagiarisms that even India could produce. The ground for these remarks is that Sir Henry discovered in one of the Royal libraries at Lucknow, an anonymous manuscript containing a number of passages identical with descriptions in the Khalásat-at-Tawárikh. The MS. was incomplete and contained neither the name of the author nor the date of composition. Nor had it any title, but as it professed to be a Makhtasir (abridgment) Sir Henry gave it the name of Makhtasir-at-Tawárikh or Abridgment of History.

As there is apparently nothing to show that the MS. was old, and the date of composition was not given, it is not easy to see how Sir Henry arrived at the conclusion that the Makhtasir was anterior to the Khalásat. The only reason he gives is, that the latest authority quoted in the book is a work which was written by a servant of Jahángír who died in the 13th year of Sháh Jahán, *i.e.* 1049 A.H. (1639).

¹ "Materials for the History of India," J.R.A.S., New Series, III. p. 423.

His words are: "Neither the name of the author nor the date of the composition is given; but as, among the general authorities which he mentions in his preface, the latest is the *Iqbálnámah-i Jahángírí* of Mu'tamid Khán, we may fairly assume that the work was written early during the reign of Sháh Jahán." It seems to me that this is a rash inference, especially as we do not know how far down the author of the *Makhtasír* intended to carry his narrative. He described his book as being an account of "Ancient Sultáns," and in the only known copy, the general history did not go beyond the reign of Humáyún. There does not appear to be evidence that he ever wrote anything more, though the reference to the *Iqbálnámah* would imply that he meant to go down as far as the reign of Jahángír. On the other hand the inclusion of Jahángír among "ancient sultáns" might lead to the inference that the writer of the *Makhtasír* belonged to recent times—such as the last century. At all events why should we hold that the *Makhtasír* must have been written before the *Khalásat*? Why may it not have been written long afterwards? If the writer only meant to deal with ancient sultáns, and did not intend to go farther than the reign of Jahángír, there was no occasion for his quoting any book more recent than the *Iqbálnámah*, even had he been writing in the reign of Sháh 'Alam.

Professor Dowson apparently endorses Sir Henry Elliot's view, though he does not strengthen it by any arguments of his own. Dr. Rieu, however, in his valuable Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, sensibly remarks that the fair inference from Sir Henry Elliot's account seems to be that the two books, the *Makhtasír* and the *Khalásat*, have proceeded from one and the same pen. This is, I think, a legitimate comment, but I would go further and say that a still more natural inference to make is, that the so-called *Makhtasír* is a plagiarism from the *Khalásat*. The facts that the author of the *Makhtasír* neither gave his own name nor a title to his book, nor the date of composition, seems to indicate a consciousness

that he had no claim to originality. It may be said that the *Khalásat* is also anonymous. This is perhaps true of the original MS., though the author's name is mentioned in several copies, and seems to have been known in India for many years.¹ But if Suján Rái does not give his name he, at least, gives many particulars about himself. He tells us where he was born, of his having been in Kábul and in Sind, of his having honoured a *Deogarh hundi*, and of the circumstances that led him to write his book. He also tells us its title and the date of his writing it. Further, in his account of his birthplace (Batála), he mentions the name of Suján Singh Kanungo in a way which, I think, clearly shows that he either means himself or some near relative. With regard to the title given by Sir Henry Elliot to the Lucknow MS., it may be noted that Suján Rái also calls his book a *makhtasir*. He says in his preface that "after reading many Hindí and Persian books it occurred to him that he might make a selection from them and present a *makhtasir*"—*Makhtasari mataxaman ahwál farmanroyán masiya Hindústán*—an abridged account of the former rulers of India, which should prove agreeable reading. Very likely this is the passage from which Sir Henry constructed the title *Makhtasir-at-Tawárikh*. But Suján Rái does not stop here. He goes on to describe the scope of his work, and says he begins with Judisthir (the eldest of the five Pándavas), on whom he passes an encomium which, perhaps, could only come from the pen of a Hindu. He then gives us the title of his work, viz. the *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh*, and, as if foreseeing the criticisms of Sir Henry Elliot, he makes an emphatic statement that the plan and style of his work are his own and not stolen from other books. Sir Henry regards this statement as suspicious, observing that, as the author was under no necessity to make it, the statement of itself excites suspicions of his honesty. But it may be retorted that subsequent events have justified the precaution. Suján

¹ See note A at end of paper:

Rái's fate, indeed, has been rather a hard one. Probably he would have explained it by saying that it was the fruit of sins committed by him in a former birth. First he is copied without sufficient acknowledgment by Ghulám Husain Khán, in the *Siyar Mutaqarín*; then Sher 'Alí copies him—with acknowledgment indeed, but with additions and omissions, which are not always improvements, and with the effect of superseding him;—and lastly we have Elliot and Dowson accusing him of plagiarism, and of being a traitor to his religion and his country.

Even those who have a good word for Suján Rái are not always quite just to him. For instance, Mr. Morley, though admitting that the book has some value, yet says that it is vastly inferior to *Ferishta* in every respect. But the two works hardly come into competition. The Khalāṣat does not profess to be more than an abridgment, and yet there are a number of things in it which are not to be found in *Ferishta*—for example, the geographical details.¹

After giving the title of his book, Suján Rái goes on to say that, having corrected his performance two or three times, he completed it at the end of two years, in the 40th year of Aurangzeb, 1107 A.H., 1753 *Vikramāditya*, 1618 *Sálivahan*, and 4796 of the *Káli Yug* (all of which dates correspond to 1695–96 A.D.). In the account of the Sikh leaders given in the course of the description of the province of Lahore, a somewhat different date is mentioned. There we are told that at the date of writing, Guru Govind had been *sajúda-nishín* (leader) for twenty-two years. Now, as we are also told that Tegh Bahádur, the father and predecessor of Guru Govind, was put to death in the 17th year of Aurangzeb, and 1081 A.H., it would seem to follow that the book was written in 1103 (1081+22) and not in 1107. Apparently the discrepancy is due to a clerical error in the *Hýra* date, for Tegh Bahádur was put to death in 1675 A.D., which corresponds to 1085 A.H. and not to 1081. Here it may be mentioned

¹ See note B at end of paper.

that the Romer M.S. has thirty-two instead of twenty-two for the duration of Guru Govind's leadership, but it is twenty-two in my copy, and no doubt this is right.

There can be no question that there is a close resemblance between the Matkhasir and the Khalasat. We have Sir Henry's word for this; and we have the fact that the description of India in the Makhtasir¹ resembles that in the Khalasat so closely that the one must be a copy from the other, or both must have been derived from a common source. They are not, however, identical, for an important and characteristic passage of Suján Rái's account—the poetical description of the rainy season—is altogether omitted in the Makhtasir. At one time I thought that this might be explained by the Makhtasir's being a rough draft of the Khalasat. Apparently this is Dr. Rieu's idea, and it might receive support from Suján Rái's statement that he had corrected his book two or three times. We might suppose that an early draft found its way to Lucknow. However, there are difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, and I think the simpler and more probable explanation is what I have already proposed, namely, that the Makhtasir is subsequent to the Khalasat. It may be that it is the work of some mere copyist or abridger, who had no intention of passing off his work as an original.

When two books closely resemble one another, there are, I believe, certain canons of criticism to assist us in determining which is the original. I regret that I am not fully acquainted with them, but I imagine one must be that the racier and more complete book is probably the older of the two. The seven well-favoured and fat-fleshed kine of Pharaoh's dream preceded the ill-favoured and lean-fleshed ones. Applying this principle to the question before us we find there is a great deal in the Khalasat which is not in the Makhtasir. And evidently this must be the case, for the Makhtasir can only have been about half the size of the Khalasat. Sir Henry

¹ Elliot, viii. 3.

Elliot tells us that the copy he saw was an octavo, containing 352 pages of 15 lines each. The general history, viz. that to the end of Humáyún's reign, occupied 290 pages. Now my copy of the Khalāsat is also octavo, and it contains 610 pages of 20 and 25 lines each. The portion to the death of Humáyún occupies about 374 pages, and, as each page has one-third more lines, we have 500 pages of the Khalāsat against 290 of the Makhtasir. The Romer MS. belonging to our Society is a folio, and contains 696 pages of 15 lines each.

But the table of contents given by Sir Henry Elliot is enough to show that the matter of the Makhtasir fell far short of that of the Khalāsat. Apparently it scarcely touched the Hindu dynasties of India, for it professed to deal only with ancient Sultāns, *i.e.* with Muhammadan rulers, and the authorities quoted in the preface were all Muhammadan except the Rājavalī.¹ Seemingly it did not contain anything about the Pandus and Kurus and their immediate descendants. The description, too, of India which Sir Henry Elliot's *munshi* translated, though agreeing with the Khalāsat so far as it goes, is much shorter. It gives a very meagre account of the vegetable productions of India, contenting itself with the statement that a separate book would be required to describe the fruits, etc. The Khalāsat, on the other hand, gives detailed accounts of several fruits, and is enthusiastic over *pān* (betel). I do not wish, however, to press this point, for it may be that Sir Henry Elliot's *munshi* did not translate the whole. But, at all events, it appears that the account of the different *súbahs* (provinces) of India, which form such an interesting feature of the Khalāsat, were wanting in the Makhtasir. According to the Khalāsat there are twenty-two *súbahs* in India, and it gives detailed accounts of eighteen.²

¹ It appears from the extract in B.M. Or. 2055 that the Rājavalī referred to in the Makhtasir is not any particular book. The anonymous author merely uses it as a general name for the chronicles and genealogies of Hindu kings.

² He says that there are in India twenty-two *súbahs* (provinces), 192 *sarkárs*, 4152 *mahals* (parganas); and that the revenue is 8 *arbs*, 68 *krors*, 26 *lakhs*,

In my copy these descriptions occupy seventy-seven pages, but in the *Makhtasir* the only *súbah* described was that of Sháhjahánábád, *i.e.* Delhi, and the pages devoted to it were only three in number. In the *Khalásat* the number of pages about Delhi is fourteen and a half, *i.e.* about twenty of the *Makhtasir*. I think I have said enough to show the improbability that the *Khalásat* is a plagiarism from the *Makhtasir*. I may remark, however, that if it be a plagiarism it is a fortunate one, for otherwise the information it contains would have been lost. Sir Henry Elliot never saw more than one copy of the *Makhtasir*, and that, I presume, has been irretrievably lost in the Mutiny. No one has seen another, so far as I know. The fact of the plagiarism then, if it were established, would make little difference in the value of the *Khalásat*.

The interesting thing about the *Khalásat* is, that it is the work of a Hindu. It is not the only historical work that Hindus have produced. The eighth volume of Elliot and Dowson's great work contains the names of several Hindu historians, of whom Suján Rái seems to be the

and 80,573 *dáms*, *i.e.* 8,682,680,573 *dáms*, or Rs. 217,067,014 = 22 *krors* of *rupis* nearly. A century before, *viz.* in 1594-95, in the reign of Akbar, there were 15 *súbahs*, 105 *sarkárs*, 2737 *qasbas* (parganas?), and the revenue was about nine *krors*, or ninety millions of *rupis*. (Kin, Jarrett's translation, II. 115. In addition to the *dáms* there were twelve *lakhs* of betel leaves. We are not told their value in money.)

The eighteen *súbahs* described are: Sháhjahánábád (Delhi), Agra, Allahábád, Oudh, Bihár, Bengal, Orissa, Aurangábád, Birar, Barhanpúr (Khándesh), Malwah, Ajmir, Ahmadábád (Gujrát), Tattah and Bhakkar (Sind), Multán, Lahore, Kashmir, and Kábul. He has omitted (according to two MSS. he has included them in his description), he says, Talingánah, the Deccan, and Kandahár. I do not know how the number twenty-two is made up (perhaps Assam or Assam and Kámrup, which are described under the head of Bengal, make up the 22). The Romer MS. gives twenty as the total number, and so does the *Arnaish-i-Mahfil*. Perhaps Suján Rái wrote Talingánah-Deccan, in which case the total number would be only twenty. Tieffenthaler, I. 66, says that in Sháh Jahán's time there were twenty-two provinces, but the list he gives contains twenty-three names. The names which he gives in addition to those in the *Khalásat* are Balkh, Badakhshán, and Baglána. The revenue was 8,800,000,000 *dáms*, *i.e.* 22 *krors* of *rupis*. In his own time (about the middle of the 18th century) the number of provinces was 23, and the revenue about 33 *krors*.

Baglána was in Gujrát, and is described in the *Khalásat* in the province of Ahmadábád or Gujrát. It is spoken of as being a mountainous district between Surát and Nandurbar. It is the last province mentioned in Bernier's list, which also contains only twenty names.

best, and he is perhaps the *first* Hindu who wrote history, with the doubtful exception of the author of the *Rāj Taranginī*. At the least, he seems to be the first Hindu who wrote a general history of India. This is sufficient to make the *Khalāṣat* worth looking into, but in my opinion the book has also real merit. Its author had a better notion of history than most Muhammadan writers, and his style, though flowery, is easy and intelligible, and is in marked contrast to the turgid and involved diction of pedants, such as Abul Fazl. Suján Rái is occasionally foolish and credulous, and according to our Western tastes he is much too fond of bespangling his pages with verses. These, he tells us, are taken for the most part from distinguished poets, but some are his own composition. He has a genuine love of nature and of India, and he has the art of telling a story. His simplicity and garrulousness enable him to see and relate things which pompous and *sultanised* historians, to use a phrase of Sir James Mackintosh, pass by. Indeed, it would not, I think, be improper to describe Suján Rái as the Indian Herodotus. They both wrote at a time when the boundaries between logography and history were not fixed, and both have the same charm of clear and interesting narrative. This has always been an Eastern gift, and perhaps it is worth noting that Herodotus was by birth an Asiatic, and may have been what we now call a Eurasian. Suján Rái is also, I think, a fair and impartial author. M. Garçin de Tassy has recognised this quality in him, and prefers him, on this account, to Ferishta.

I have a great respect both for Sir Henry Elliot and Prof. Dowson, but I think they have been unjust to the author of the *Khalāṣat*. After accusing him of plagiarism, Sir Henry Elliot goes on to say that there is little to indicate that this work was written by a Hindu except that the date of composition is recorded, not only in the *Hijra* and *Jalús* years, but in the era of the *Káli Yug*, *Vikramáditya*, and *Sálivahan*. Prof. Dowson caps this by a still more extraordinary statement. He says that the book

“is written with the intolerance and virulence of a bigoted Muhammadan, and carefully records many stories about Muhammadan saints and their tombs. So it would appear to have proceeded from the pen of a Muhammadan rather than a Hindu.”¹ I can only suppose that Prof. Dowson did not read the book through, and that in the search for “copy” he looked at the historical rather than at the geographical and introductory portions. No doubt there are many parts of the book which a Muhammadan might have written, and there are long accounts of Muhammadan saints, but I do not find anywhere either intolerance or virulence.² Suján Rái heads his preface with the Muhammadan formula, the *bismillah*: “In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,” but this is a phrase which I suppose no religious man would object to use. He certainly was a Hindu, or at least a Sikh, and he writes like one, though not in the spirit of a bigoted and intolerant Hindu. Indeed, if he had been a Hindu pure and simple, he would never have written history at all. It was the association with Muhammadans and with rulers that enlarged his mind and freed him from the trammels of caste. Perhaps he carries his affectation of liberalism too far, as, for example, when he speaks of Hindus as *kuffár*,³ but I suppose this is because he is writing in Persian and uses the conventional word. Similarly he calls the death of a Muhammadan in battle a *shahádat* or martyrdom. But I have not found him writing of Hindus being sent to hell. The words of Sir

¹ The account of Mahmúd of Ghazni is very full and might certainly have been written by a Muhammadan. The words *jahád* and *káfir* and *maláhiqá* are used, and the author is more favourable to the *Ghazí*, and describes the success of his expeditions with more zest, than might have been expected from a Hindu. But he does not praise him indiscriminately, and he tells, with many moral reflections, the story of Mahmúd's clinging to his possessions up to his last gasp. Perhaps Suján Rái was touched by Mahmúd's great abilities and his liberality to poets. It is clear from the description of the removal of the idol at Thanéswar (in Mahmúd's fifth expedition) and the verses which he composes or quotes on the occasion that he was not a believer in idols.

² I must admit that there are some unbecoming passages, e.g. the account of Mahmúd's fourth expedition and part of the account of Sultán Altamsh. Perhaps these were what Professor Dowson had in view.

³ Infidels—plural of *káfir*.

Henry Elliot,¹ on this point, must, I think, refer to other Hindu writers. That Suján Rái does not use the word *shahádat* in an intolerant sense is apparent from his applying it to Abul Fazl, who was a very unsound Muhammadan. He calls Abul Fazl's death a martyrdom, because it was incurred by his zeal for his king and by his resolving to obey, at all hazards, Akbar's order to come to him. The words *kaffár* and *shahádat* occur, among other places, in the account of the battle between Aurangzeb and Rájah Jaswant Singh, and the author there seems to be putting himself in the place of the Emperor, and to be uttering his sentiments. I do not mean to say that Suján Rái writes in a perfectly straightforward manner, or that he always expresses his real sentiments. He was in the service of Muhammadans and he wrote in the reign of Aurangzeb. According to Mr. Morley, who in this matter has been followed by M. Garçin de Tassy, the book was dedicated to Aurangzeb. I do not find this, and I am inclined to doubt the fact. I question if Suján Rái would, in a book dedicated to Aurangzeb, have ventured to denounce bigotry, and to speak of all religions as coming from God. But no doubt he wrote under some restraint. I cannot question but that he was in his heart more inclined to Dárá Shikoh than to Aurangzeb. He tells us in his preface that one of the authorities used by him was the translations of the Bhágavat-purána and Yog Vasishþha at the instance of Dárá Shikoh, and in his account of Batála he refers to Dárá Shikoh's interviews with the Hindu saint and poet Bábá Lál,² and praises the book by Chandra Bhán Munshi in which the conversations have been recorded.

In his account of the contest³ between Dárá and

¹ "Historians of India," I. xxi.

² The name is not mentioned in the Persian MSS. which I have seen, but it occurs in the *Araish-i-Mahfil*. Just previously Suján Rái had mentioned the remarkable fact that the *khádims* or servants of the shrine of a Muhammadan saint, Shamsuddín Dariyái, were Hindus, and that they had preserved their position in spite of the efforts of Musalmans to displace them.

³ The description of Dárá's heretical practices is mainly copied from the 'Alamgírnamah of Muhammad Kázim, Bib. Ind. pp. 84-86, but it is softened, and Suján never, I think, adopts M. Kázim's insulting way of speaking of Dárá as *Be-Shikoh*, i.e. "without magnificence."

Aurangzeb he tells, but with little comment of his own, how Aurangzeb stood up for the Muhammadan religion, whereas Dárá Shikoh had adopted Hindu practices and spent his time in listening to *bráhmans*. Perhaps in this remark we may trace a regret that Dárá was too much addicted to disquisitions, to the detriment of his practical statesmanship. But, as Tacitus tells us, the most difficult thing is to be moderate in the pursuit of philosophy. And though Suján Rái admits that it was the will of God that Aurangzeb should prevail, he yet does not spare him altogether, but describes him as actuated by carnal motives as well as by zeal for the Muhammadan religion. The truth is that, even supposing that Suján Rái was in a position to express his opinions fully, he was, like the majority of his countrymen, a fatalist and a worshipper of success. He fully believed that it was God's will that Aurangzeb should conquer. He takes a similar view of the contest between the Muhammadans and the Hindus.¹ The time had come for the latter to fall, and for the former to ascend, and he would have considered it as idle to lament over this as to mourn at the sinking of a star. *Factum valet* is a great maxim in Hindu law, and also in Hindu politics, and no sound Hindu would have had any difficulty in accepting Dean Sherlock's view of the position, after William III. had been firmly seated on the throne.²

I now proceed to describe the plan and contents of Suján Rái's work. He begins, like most Eastern writers, with some general remarks about the goodness of the Deity and the wonders of Creation. He then passes on to the subject of religions and speaks of the differences among them in language, which may remind us of Tennyson—

¹ See the remarks at the beginning of the Muhammadan period, where he says that God is no respecter of religions, and that it was His good pleasure that the Hindu supremacy should come to an end, and that India should come under the shadow of Muhammadan rulers.

² Bábar tells us the custom in Bengal was, that whoever succeeded in killing the King and placing himself on the throne was regarded as the legitimate monarch. *Memoirs of Bábar*, Erskine's translation, p. 311.

“ Our little systems have their day ;
 They have their day, and cease to be ;
 They are but broken lights of Thee,
 And Thou, O Lord ! art more than they.”

He condemns the narrow views of those who imagine that the divine beneficence is confined to them, and that they are the sole depositaries of the truth.¹ With him all religions are from God, and no people has been left by God without a witness to the truth. Every sect, he thinks, has its special God-given messenger and its divine book. Those men who think it their duty to spread their own religion and to extirpate that of others, mistake, he says, bigotry for religion. Finally he quotes a Persian verse which says : “ I marvel at the enmity “ between faith and infidelity, seeing that one and the same “ sun shines upon the *ka’bah* and the idol-temple.” Indeed his words are so striking that I must try to render them into English, although I am unable to translate them with perfect correctness.

“ The Creator of the universe, in the same way as He has “ formed different worlds and variously coloured races of men, “ has created different religions and different customs. And “ for the establishment of religions He has, in every country “ and in every race, clothed one of His chosen spirits with “ the garment of humanity, and has given him power to “ know all mysteries, and has enabled him to exhibit miracles. “ God has also put in his hands a divine book, so that he “ may guide men in the method of worship, and that they “ shall not go astray after his death. But each tribe is in “ error in treating their religion as a hook in the nostrils “ of their hearts and a rope round their necks, and in “ esteeming the religion and laws of other people as idle “ folly. They think that the divine mercy is confined to “ themselves, and that they are pleasing God by inculcating

¹ We are reminded of Locke’s description of the people who “ canton out “ to themselves a little Goshen in the intellectual world, where light shines, and, “ as they conclude, day blesses them ; but the rest of that vast *expansum* they give “ up to night and darkness, and so avoid coming near it.”

“their own religion and suppressing that of others. Thus
 “the majority of them mistake bigotry for worship. But
 “the select spirits of each sect, whose minds have been
 “illuminated, know that the mercy of the Creator is far-
 “reaching and not confined to any one tribe, and that, like
 “His sun and moon and refreshing rain, it exists for all
 “mankind. Such enlightened persons turn away from
 “bigotry and persecution, and live with their friends in
 “harmony and with their enemies without strife. They hold
 “that no sect is without a share of the divine support,
 “and they know that it is the boundless variety of the
 “universe and the limitations of human faculties which have
 “introduced religious disputes among mankind.” Then
 follows the verse which I have already referred to:—

“*Dar khairat am kah dushmani kafar o din chara ast*
As ek chiragh ka'bah o butkhana roshan ast.”¹

Though it is true that Suján Rái tells long stories about Muhammadan devotees, it has to be said that he is equally copious about Hindu temples and Hindu saints. This has led to a protest by his Urdu translator, Sher 'Alí Afsos, who desires his readers to understand that the accounts about *Çúfis* and about Hindu temples, etc., have been inserted by him merely because they are in the original and not because he believes them. If there were nothing else to show that Suján Rái was a Hindu, his praises of *sati* and of perpetual widowhood would prove it. This led to another protest from Sher 'Alí, who laments

¹ Apparently this is a favourite verse with Suján Rái, for he uses it again, when praising Akbar for abolishing the *jizyah* or capitation-tax on infidels. He there, too, represents Akbar as applying the argument from the universality of God's goodness to kings. Kings, Akbar is represented as saying, are the shadows of God, and as His sun warms equally the good and the bad so should they regard all religions and all men with equal favour. A striking verse is quoted, which says that disputes about faith, i.e. the Muhammadan creed, and infidelity come at last to the same thing. There is but one dream, though the interpretations be different. (It is interesting to find the author of the *Riyaz-as-Salátn* ending his book with this verse; and making it the climax of his panegyric on the British Government.) He refers to the suspicions about Akbar's orthodoxy, and says that he was really more religious than most princes. He mentions a fact which I have not seen noticed elsewhere, viz. that 'Abdunnabí, the *Çádr* and opponent of Akbar, was put under the charge of Abul Fazi.

that the Hindu notions about widowhood have infected Muhammadan women, especially in the villages, and have led to their remaining in widowhood, contrary to the precepts of their religion.

Suján Rái, in language that may remind us of the phrase of the Shorter Catechism, tells his readers that man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever; and after lamenting that few have the courage to give up the world altogether, and that we are overwhelmed by our desires and passions as by the waves of a stormy sea, he speaks of the value of history and says it is like the cup of Jamshed and the mirror of Alexander.¹ He tells us that from his youth up he had been in a Secretariat, and that he had studied many books. He gives us a list of these, amounting to twenty-two or twenty-three, exclusive of local histories.

After this introduction, he proceeds to give a general description of India. This is well written and very Oriental. He is enthusiastic in his praise of the country and its productions, and of its inhabitants. It is interesting to find that he chooses the rainy season for special commendation. He says that spring in all countries is a delightful season, but the rainy season in India surpasses the springtime in other countries. The most delightful period, he says, is from the end of Gemini to the beginning of Libra, *i.e.* from about the middle of June to the 23rd September. This view will sound strange to Anglo-Indians, especially to those who have lived in Bengal. I may remind them that Suján Rái was an up-country man, and that a similar preference for the rainy season is expressed by the Emperor Bábar.² Suján is quite poetical here. He speaks of the sky as clothed with clouds, like a bride with her veil; of the wind coming as

¹ It was fabled that these princes had cups or mirrors which showed the universe.

² "The chief excellency of Hindústán is that it is a large country and that it has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is very pleasant."—Bábar's Memoirs, p. 333.

a bridegroom, or rather, as he phrases it, like a son-in-law, and unveiling her. The moon and the planet Venus look out from their sphere, the lightning smiles, the *chinár* (aspen poplar) claps its hands with delight, etc. He gives a lengthy description of the vegetable products of India, and especially praises the stimulant known by the name of *pán*. He mentions the orange and the pineapple, but like Bábar, he regards the mango as the king of Indian fruits. He says nothing about the bamboo, nor does he refer to opium or tobacco. Perhaps as a Sikh he regarded tobacco as unlawful. He has a good deal to say about the rhinoceros and the elephant, and in particular, has a graphic description of an elephant fight. He concludes with praises of the women of India, and says that is in vain for him to try and depict the glories of the country. Even Aristotle, the master of those who know,¹ and Plato could only relate a few of them, and could but mention one of a thousand. How, then, can his poor pen do justice to the subject? He winds up by appealing to the fact that the inhabitants of the most distant countries abandon their love for their native land and come and settle in India. Greeks, Abyssinians, Franks, Arabs, Turanians, all come to India, and from being weak become powerful, and from being poor become rich.²

After this, we come to what is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, viz. the accounts of the different *súbahs* (provinces). The descriptions are of unequal value, one of the poorest being the account of Bengal. It is almost entirely derived from the *Áin-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl.

In the long account of the province of Sháhjahánábád (Delhi), perhaps the most interesting thing is the occurrence of the word *Angrez* (English). The author enumerates the nations which are to be met with in the Delhi bazar. There are men, he says, from Rúm and Zang, from Shám and Farang, i.e. from Greece and Abyssinia,

¹ This is not merely a translation of Dante. It is the Persian "*Aristo danishan peahin.*"

² See note C.

from Syria and Europe, and also *Angrez* and *Olandez*, i.e. Englishmen and Dutchmen. The Englishmen then in Delhi must, however, have been very few.

The account of the course of the Ganges is partly borrowed from the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, but there are some additions. After describing the source and upper course of the river, he speaks of its passing Akbarnagar, i.e. Ráj-mahal, Jahángírábád (Jangipúr?), Maksudábád, i.e. Murshidábád, Mirdadpúr, and Hazrahatí, and as entering the sea near the port of Sátgáon. He then ends with the following hit at the inhabitants of the Ganges valley:—

“It is reported by travellers that the dwellers on the banks of the Ganges, from its source in the mountains to its mingling with the ocean, are all of a rebellious nature, given to violence—thieves, and highwaymen, bloodthirsty and troublers of mankind. Inasmuch as bathing in this river wipes away men’s sins from their bodies, it may be, that these same sins are born again on the banks in the human shape and become the roots of evil actions.”

In the account of BÍhar there is a description of Deogarh in the Sonthal Parganas, and of a peculiar kind of bill of exchange known as a Baijnáth, i.e. Baidyanáth *hundí*. The author says that there is a *pipal* or sacred fig tree at the Baidyanáth temple, and that if anyone stay under it for two or three days, without eating or drinking, and pray for assistance from Síva, a leaf flutters down containing, in Hindu characters, the amount of money he requires and the name and residence of the payer, etc. This is afterwards exchanged for a paper, and the worshipper takes this to the residence of the obligor, though he may be a thousand miles off, and gets payment for it. Suján Rái says that a *bráhma*n presented him with one of these papers, and that he paid it, thinking that to do so was a meritorious action.

Sher ’Alí Afsos, in his account of BÍhar in the *Araish-i-Mahfil*, expresses his doubt of the correctness of the statement in the Khalāṣat that in the *sarkár* (division) of Monghyr a stone wall had been built from the Ganges to

the hills, and that this formed the boundary of Bengal. M. Garcin de Tassy rather unfortunately takes occasion from this passage to vindicate Sher 'Alí from the charge of being merely a translator. He says this passage and many others, prove that the work of Sher 'Alí is not a translation of the Persian book, but that, as he has said elsewhere, Afsos has merely taken the Khalásat for his groundwork. No doubt the passage proves this, but it also shows that Sher 'Alí had not as much knowledge as Suján Rái. The statement in the Khalásat is copied from Áin-i-Akbarí—a work which Sher 'Alí seems not to have read—and is quite correct. The hills referred to are not the Himálayas, but the range on the south of the Ganges, and which run down close to the edge of the river. The stone wall is nothing but the out-works of the fortress of Teliágarhí, which used to be called the "Gate of Bengal." I have myself seen the ruins of the fort. There is a similar wall or line of defence in the neighbourhood at Sikrigalí, which was in existence in the time of Father Tieffenthaler.

Sher 'Alí's account of Bengal is much fuller than Suján Rái's. He has here brought the description up to date, and among other things has given a long account of Calcutta and its Botanic Garden, and has noticed the tomb of Colonel Kyd. He has also told the story of Job Charnock's leaving Húglí, of his setting fire to the town by means of a burning-glass, and of his success with Aurangzeb. I am afraid, however, that all this will not add to his fame for research, as it is all copied from the Riyáz-us-Salátín of Ghulám Husain (Salím). The whole story may be read there, including the incident of Charnock's cutting the boom at Makhua with a European sword.¹

In the account of Tattah, *i.e.* Sind, we have a wonderful description of the wizards and witches of that country. They are liver-eaters, we are told, and that the only way to deal with a witch is to mark her on the sides of the head, stuff her eyes with salt, and hang her up in a room for forty days,

¹ Persian text, p. 36.

giving her food without salt. All this the author has borrowed from Abul Fazl, but he goes on to say that he himself has seen liver-eaters. Sher 'Alī describes him as saying that he actually saw a witch take out a child's liver, but I am not sure that Suján Rái means anything more than that he had seen people who were reported to do such things.

In his account of the Panjáb, or *súbah* Lahore as he calls it, he is very copious, and he enters into great detail about the Sikhs. From the way in which he speaks of them, it seems to me that he was either a Sikh himself, or had a great respect for their creed. We have seen that in his introduction he speaks of *hommes d'élite* or chosen spirits, as recognising that God's mercy is not confined to any one tribe, and as being able to live in harmony with friends and foes. Now, it is remarkable that he uses the same phrase, "*ba dostan ekrang o ba dushman be jung*," in describing the tenets of the Sikhs. He also tells us that many distinguished men are followers of Nának, and that the principle of the Sikhs is to regard kinsmen and strangers with equal affection. The faith of the Sikhs in their religion is, he tells us, such as is hardly to be met with elsewhere, and they are much given to hospitality and very kind to travellers. If at midnight a man arrive at the house of a Sikh, and utter the name of Nának, he is received and fed, though he be a stranger and even a thief or a robber.

Suján Rái is extremely diffuse about Batála,¹ giving as

¹ He calls it "*Batála dīlkusha o ma'mur*," i.e. pleasant and heart-expanding Batála. After mentioning that in the 12th year of 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb), Mirzá Muhammad Khán, also called Mir Kháni, had built a bazar at Batála when he was *amin* of the *pargana*, and that Qázi 'Abdul Hye had built a house of stone and a masonry caravanserai, he says that Mánki Rái and Suján Singh Kanungo and their sons had erected rest-houses and mosques, etc. He then speaks of a masonry well, made by Gangádhār, the son of Híránand Dhír, and of a garden made by Amar Singh in imitation of the gardens of Shálámár. He also gives an enthusiastic description of a fair held in September at a place called Achal, about four miles from Batála. He praises the beauty of the women who assemble there, and says that even the sun pauses in its course to admire the festival, and that there is no native of Batála, though he were hundreds of *parasangs* away, and living in great prosperity, and surrounded with delights, but would wish to be at home at such a time, and to take part in this fair. As the country is his own birthplace, he has, he remarks, thought it right to

his reason that it was his birthplace, and speaking of it in a way which may remind us of Dr. Johnson's "*Salve magna parens*" when introducing the name of Lichfield in his explanation of the word *lych*. He gives a curious and interesting description of the way in which rock-salt was dug out of the Salt Range, in the Panjáb, in the time of Aurangzeb. He tells us that the miners enter a pit or gallery 200 or 300 yards long, quite naked, with a lamp in the hand and a pickaxe on the shoulders, and get out blocks of salt of three *maunds* in weight. The men are called *Lásakash*, he says, and the mines are near Shamsábád. Abul Fazl has described this in the *Áín*,¹ but Suján Rái is fuller.

There are also long descriptions of Kashmír and Kábul, but I have not space to notice them. They may be read in Captain Court's translation of the *Araish-i-Mahfil*. I may remark, however, that it is interesting to compare the Hindu accounts of Delhi and of Kashmír with those given some thirty years before by Bernier. For a Hindu, Suján Rái was a considerable traveller. He speaks of visiting the rose-gardens of Bijnaur, of his having seen the witches of Sind, and of his having been in Afghánistán—where he saw women who had had fifteen or twenty husbands. His descriptions of the various provinces are, undoubtedly, the most original part of his book, and give a great deal of interesting geographical information which is probably not to be found elsewhere.² Certainly it is not to be met with in the ordinary Muhammadan chroniclers.

say a little about Batála, and the splendid festival. It seems evident that he only mentions the above obscure names because they are connected with himself, and that Suján Singh Kanungo must be either himself or a near relative. The mention of Híranand Dhir is interesting, as the writer describes himself in the extracts in Or. 1924 in the British Museum as Suján Singh Dhir.

It should be mentioned that in the Romer MS. and in the Hull MS., B.M. Add. 6564, the above-named building of a mosque or mosques is ascribed to Qázi 'Abdul Hye, and that the name Mánki is spelt Bánki. B.M. Add. 5559 says the same thing, so that I suppose my MS. is in error in connecting the mosques with the names of the Hindus.

¹ II. 315, Jarrett's translation.

² In the account of Gujrát he states that the people collect the rain-water in underground reservoirs, which they call *tankhas*. This agrees with the statement in Wilson's Glossary that the word "tank" is said to be Gujráti.

After describing the provinces, he begins the historical part of his work, with an account of the Hindu dynasties, commencing with Vicitra-vírya, the grandfather of the Kurus and Pandávas, and giving the details of the births of Dhrita-ráshtra and Pandu. He ends with the death of Rájah Prithví of Ajmír. This occurred in the reign of Sháhábuddín, 200 years after Sabuktigín's victory, and about 193 years after his son Mahmúd of Ghazn's first expedition. Much of his narrative is taken from the Mahábhárat and such-like sources, and is, of course, fabulous. It may all be read in the translation of the Araish-i-Mahfil. He is especially copious in his account of the wonderful adventures of King Vikramáditya. In his account of Rájah Prithví, the last of the Hindu kings, he first gives the romantic story of Chand Bardai's inducing the Sultán to witness an exhibition of the captive Rájah's skill in archery, and how the Rájah, when he got the bow and arrows into his hand, shot the tyrant, and then, together with his faithful bard, fell, oppressed by numbers. Then he adds that Persian books tell the story differently, and say that the Rájah was killed at the battle of Talaurí, and that the Sultán was afterwards assassinated. God, he says, knows the truth. He ends this part of his work with reflections on the instability of the world and the inevitableness of death.

He opens his account of the Muhammadan princes with remarks on the omnipotence of God. God, he says, is no respecter of forms of religion, but extends His goodness to everyone. It was now His will that the Hindu dynasties should come to an end, and that India should rest under the shadow of Muhammadan rule. He then proceeds to describe the reign of Sabuktigín. I do not suppose that there is much value in these accounts.¹ Perhaps the most valuable thing in them now is the extraordinary digressions that Sujáu Rái indulges in. Thus,

¹ He ascribes Sabuktigín's victory over Jaipal to supernatural causes. The Sultán was worsted, and then raised a storm of sleet and snow by defiling a fountain!

he takes advantage of Mahmúd of Ghazni's various expeditions to describe the seasons of India, and in his account of Maizuddín Kaikobád, the fact that the young prince was fond of pleasure and of games is sufficient to set him off on a rhapsody about chess.¹ In his account of 'Aláuddín, he tells with great spirit the story of Rái Ratan Singh, of Chítor, and his beautiful wife Padmávati. His account is different from that in Tod and in Ferishta, but agrees generally with that in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*. Suján Rái, however, can tell a story better than the ponderous Abul Fazl, and here, as well as in his account of the heroism of Raní Durgávati, he shows that he has not forgotten that he is a Hindu. In the account of Humáyún, he tells graphically the story of the Emperor's escape at Chausá, and how the water-carrier who saved him was rewarded by being seated on the throne for half a day. The account of Akbar is full and sympathetic, and he praises him for remitting the *jazyah*² or capitation-tax, and for his Thursday evening conferences, in a way which shows how far he was from being Muhammadanised.

He gives an interesting sketch of Todar Mall's career,³ and praises him in a discriminating fashion. No doubt, if he was Suján Singh the Kanungo, mentioned in the account of Batála, or his descendant, he would be here on known ground, and able to speak with authority. He has also a good deal to tell us about Abul Fazl and his distinguished father, Mubáarak. In noticing Abul Fazl's wide reading, he observes that he was acquainted with the Pentateuch and the Gospels.

The most interesting of his accounts is, perhaps, his

¹ Similarly the circumstance that Ghiásuddín Balbán was fond of birds leads him into a disquisition on ornithology.

² The passage in which Suján Rái describes this measure is enough to absolve him from the charge of intolerance or bigotry. Compare it with the extract from the *Tárikh-i-Firúz Sháhí* quoted by Blochmann, *Aín* i. 237. He also praises Akbar for putting a stop to cow-killing (*gokashí*), a practice which is, he says, abhorrent to the Hindus.

³ He ascribes to Todar Mall the introduction of Persian into the *samándári* papers. In another place he exculpates him from the charge (mentioned by Blochmann, *Aín* i. 432) that he had to do with the murder of Sháh Mançúr.

mention of the reign of Sher Sháh. He is more just to him than Abul Fazl is, or could be expected to be,¹ and yet he does not conceal his faults. He describes the treacherous way in which Sher Sháh took Rohtas, in Bihar, from the Rájah Chintáman; and he also tells us how he broke the capitulation with Púran Mall, of Ráísín. Here he mentions something that is not in Ferishta or Elphinstone. Both these writers tell us that Sher Sháh broke the treaty, on the faith of which the Rájah had surrendered, because his lawyers advised him that it was not necessary to keep faith with an infidel. But Suján Rái adds the detail that the ground of the lawyers' *fatwá* was, that Púran Mall had kept Muhammadan concubines. They said that such conduct was worthy of death. It may be observed that though Muhammadans do not, or at least did not, altogether disapprove of Muhammadans taking Hindu wives, they thought it dreadful that Hindu men should have Muhammadan women in their keeping. The Emperor Jahángír remarks in his Memoirs, that for Muhammadans to marry Hindu women was not so bad²—which is pretty well, considering that his mother was a Hindu, and that he had more than one Hindu wife—but that it was monstrous that Hindu men should have Muhammadan wives. Suján Rái, however, does justice to Sher Sháh's great qualities. He tells how well he behaved to Humáyún's queen, Hájí Begum, and what a just and beneficent ruler he was.

Like other great men who have had to breast the blows of circumstances, Sher Sháh felt that he had attained success too late in life. "Alas!" he said, on looking into a mirror, "I have reached my goal at evensong." Suján Rái adds that when Sher Sháh was entering Delhi

¹ Abul Fazl never gives him the title of Sháh, but calls him either Faríd Khán or Sher Khán.

² *Wákiát-i-Jahángírí*, Elliot vi. p. 376. "They associate and intermarry with Hindus, giving and taking daughters. As for taking, it does not so much matter; but as for giving their own daughters—Heaven protect us!" The Emperor is here speaking of the people of Rajáin, who were converts to Muhammadanism.

a milkwoman looked at him and exclaimed, "Yes, Delhi has got a husband, but he is an old man." But when Sher Sháh stayed his horse and listened for more, the wise woman cried out, "*Pir ast amma zarif*"—"Yes! old, but good." Suján Rái also tells the following story illustrative of Sher Sháh's even-handed justice:—

"One day Prince 'Ádil, the eldest of his sons, was passing through a lane in Ágra on an elephant. By chance a shopkeeper's wife had undressed herself and was bathing in her courtyard. The prince, being high up, could look over the wall; and, seeing a beautiful girl, he wickedly enough flung down a *bira*, or confection of *pán*, towards her, and thereby made her look up. He went off at once, but the chaste Hindu felt outraged by a strange man having seen her while bathing, and was about to commit suicide. Happily her husband came in just then from the bazaar and stayed her hand. But he, too, was indignant, and, snatching up the *bira*, he rushed off to the *gharókah* of complaints," *i.e.* the window or gallery where the Sultáns were accustomed to give audience and to administer justice. "Here he told his grievance to Sher Sháh. The latter was much grieved, and, in order to redress the wrong, directed that the shopkeeper be mounted on an elephant and be taken to Prince 'Ádil's house, that Prince 'Ádil's wife should be produced before him, naked, and that the shopkeeper should then throw the *bira* to her. His *Vazir* and other counsellors besought him not to be so strict, but he stuck to his point, and only gave way when the shopkeeper exclaimed that he was satisfied, that justice had been done him, and that he withdrew his charge."

Another of Suján Rái's stories is one of two soldiers in the time of Akbar who were twins, and so alike that nobody could tell the one from the other. One day both of them went with the army to a place near Ágra on an expedition against some rebels. By chance one was killed, and his body was sent into Ágra to be burned. No information was sent as to which brother had been killed, and when the body arrived, the wife of each brother claimed it as her

husband's, and demanded to be burnt along with it. The dispute rose high, and was referred to the *kotwāl*, or Head of the Metropolitan Police. But the *kotwāl* found he could not settle it, and so it was referred to the Emperor. The women having come before Akbar, he asked the wife of the eldest twin—for there was a difference of a minute or two in the births of the brothers—what evidence she had that the body was that of her husband. "Oh," she said, "I am certain of it, and if you want proof I tell you this—that about a year ago we lost our son, aged ten. My husband was excessively fond of him, and I am positive that if you could examine his liver you would see his grief engraved there." The Emperor thereon sent for skilful surgeons, and had the body opened, when it appeared that there was a hole in the liver, as if it had been pierced with an arrow. Everybody agreed that the woman was right, and so, she was rewarded by having the body made over to her, and by her being allowed to burn along with it. Just then the truth of her claim was established by the return of the other brother safe and sound, and the *sati* was performed to the satisfaction of everybody.

The Khalāṣat-i-Tawārikh has a good deal to say about Jahāngír. It tells the story of Sher Afkan and his beautiful wife, who afterwards became Núr Jahán, and it gives the circumstances of Jahāngír's death. But it passes very lightly over the reign of Sháh Jahán. The disputes between his four sons are told at considerable length; but the work ends rather abruptly with Dárá Shikoh's flight to Gujráat, etc., and does not tell us of his death.

I have already mentioned that the author of the Khalāṣat does not give his name. Perhaps this was because he did not live to finish his book. He speaks, certainly, of his having finished it in 1695-96, and I doubt if he ever contemplated carrying his history further than the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. Indeed, he tells us that his design was to carry it up to that reign. But there is an abruptness about the termination which appears to point to the hand of the author having been

arrested by death, or the fatigue of age, before he had completed his task. He was an old, at least an elderly man, when he began to write, and two years afterwards he finished, in the fortieth year of Aurangzeb. The last pages describe the defeat and wanderings of the unhappy Dára Shikoh; and one would expect the writer not to stop there, but to go on and tell us of Dára's capture and death. Instead of this we have only a brief note, and that not in all the copies, of the date of Aurangzeb's death. Probably this has been added by the copyist, though Suján Rái might have lived to insert it himself, seeing that Aurangzeb died in 1707, *i.e.* eleven or twelve years after the completion of the Khalásat.

It is to be regretted that Suján Rái has not described the capture and death of Dára Shikoh, and has not given us a sketch of his character and abilities. To my thinking Dára Shikoh is one of the most pathetic figures in Indian history. By his name and calamities we are reminded of Alexander's victim—

“ Darius, great and good,
By too severe a fate
Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
Fallen from his high estate
And weltering in his blood.”

Dára's birth might seem to be fortunate, for he was the son of the magnificent Sháh Jahán, and of the beautiful Mamtáz Mahall, niece of Núr Jahán, and the lady in whose honour the Táj was built. He was the eldest of the four sons of Sháh Jahán, and so had the best claim to the succession, but before it had opened to him and while his father was still reigning, he was defeated and driven into exile, and after enduring much anguish and many hardships, he was betrayed by the Rájah of Jún, and put to death by Aurangzeb. He appears to have been the only one of Sháh Jahán's sons who inherited the liberal and enquiring spirit of their great-grandfather Akbar. He was fond of discussing religious questions, and of Hindu literature, and

he even went so far as to write a book called the *Majmaal-Baħrın* (the Meeting of two seas), with the intention of reconciling the two religions, Muhammadanism and Hinduism. Nearly all that we know of Dárá is favourable. Bernier, indeed, casts some doubts on the sincerity of his religious beliefs, and, half sneeringly says that he was a Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus. But, as Elphinstone observes, Bernier was in the service of a personal enemy of Dárá; this, at least, has to be said—that Dárá suffered for his beliefs and was put to death as a *Çúfi*. His worst fault appears to have been a want of prudence. He was indisputably a gallant as well as an enlightened man, and he must have been lovable, for we find that his sister, Jahánará Begum, was devoted to him, and that the common people of Delhi were so attached to him that they nearly rose in rebellion when he was brought there a captive.

I do not think we are bound to believe the scandalous gossip of Bernier about the beautiful and unfortunate Jahánará. Even if she had her faults she was, at least, a loving sister and daughter, and Mr. Keene has well called her the Mogul Cordelia. Apparently Dárá and she were kindred souls for the epitaph¹ which she wrote for herself shows that she was spiritually minded. Dárá was married to his cousin Nádira Begum, the daughter of Prince Parvız. Such was his love for her that when she died, worn out by sufferings on their flight,² he became quite unhinged, and, in his anxiety to fulfil her last wishes and to bury her in Lahore, lost precious time, and failed to make his escape to Kandahár.

There is a curious parallelism between the Mogul emperors

¹ "Let no rich coverlet adorn my grave; this grass is the best covering for the poor in spirit, the humble, the transitory Jahánará, the disciple of the holy men of Chisht, the daughter of the Emperor Sháh Jahán." (The epitaph plays upon her name—Jahánará—the ornament of the world.) She was Sháh Jahán's firstborn, and was Dárá's full sister—the daughter of 'Açaf Khán, i. e. Mamtáz Mahall, being the mother of both. Jahánará was also called Begum Sahib and Pádisháh Begum.

² Perhaps it was she whom Bernier was called in to prescribe for near Ahmadábád.

and the princes of the West. Akbar indeed stands alone in his combination of strength and tenderness, though he and his minister, Abul Fazl, bear some analogy to Henry IV. of France and the Duke of Sully. But his son Jahángír was in many respects like our James I. Both of these were inordinately fond of wine and of hunting, both fulminated against tobacco, both were pedants and fond of talking about absolutism and the divine right of kings, and both were essentially men of low character, and yet had a strain of simplicity and easy good-nature which makes us at times almost like them in spite of their terrible faults. Macaulay, it may be remembered, draws a striking parallel between the Emperor Claudius and James I.,¹ but I think the likeness between the latter and Jahángír was still closer. We cannot imagine James as a Roman, but we can figure him to ourselves as a Hindu² or a Bengali. The career and character of Aurangzeb have many points of resemblance with those of Augustus,³ and I do not know to which of them we should give the preference. Aurangzeb had not Augustus' love of literature, and he was much more of a bigot than was Augustus. On the other hand, he seems to have been of an austere life, and he is entitled to honourable mention as a codifier of the laws. Dárá reminds us of our Charles I. There was, in him, the same uxoriousness, the same arrogance and want of prudence, the same love of literature, and both Dárá and Charles may be said to have died as martyrs to their religion. Both of them were gallant gentlemen, but they had not the imperturbable nerves of Cromwell and Aurangzeb.⁴ *Samaghar* was Dárá's Naseby, and

¹ In his review of the "Memorials of Hampden." It is curious that Archdeacon Farrar has overlooked this passage when he draws a similar parallel in his "Seekers after God," p. 77.

² Jahángír was a Muhammadan, but an Indian one, and his mother was a Hindu.

³ This has been remarked by Mr. Seton-Karr in an article in the *Calcutta Review*—"Selections from C.R.," iii. 600.

⁴ Muhammad Kázim, Kháfi Khán, and Suján Rái all accuse Dárá of want of courage. But it seems to me that he had plenty of pluck, though he had not the coolness of a Marlborough. Muhammad Kázim is an unblushing panegyrist of Aurangzeb. Suján Rái and Kháfi Khán have both copied from him, but I think that Kháfi Khán has also copied Suján Rái.

though he fought well in it for a time, the strain was too great, and he lost the day by a precipitate descent from his elephant. It is interesting to think what would have been the result to India if Dárá had succeeded instead of Aurangzeb. He had not the strength of Aurangzeb, nor his staying powers and talent for administration, but on the other hand he had not his limitations. He would not have alienated the Hindus, and he might have found a *modus vivendi* with the Mahrattas. Aurangzeb was in one sense the stronger man, and bound to prevail over his brilliant but unequal elder brother. The maxim, however, that "whatever is, is right," is of doubtful correctness, and we may remember the line of the poet which tells us—"How far high failure overleaps the bounds of low success." We may recall, too, the words of a greater poet—

"The low man seeks a little thing to do,
 Sees it and does it;
 This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
 Dies ere he knows it.
 The low man goes on adding one to one,
 His hundred's soon hit;
 The high man, aiming at a million,
 Misses an unit."

NOTE A.

In the British Museum there is a MS., numbered Or. 2055, which contains papers relating to the works noticed in the eighth volume of Elliot's History. Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue (iii. 1050a) says, that the first extract in the volume is from the anonymous history of India described by Elliot under the title of *Makhtasir*, with a table of its contents by Dr. Sprenger. The preface, he says, agrees

to some extent *verbatim* with that of the *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh* of Suján Rái, and the verses introduced are mostly identical, but the list of authorities is far less extensive. It is to all appearance due to the same author, and represents an early recension of the work, which was recast and enlarged under the title of the *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh*. At p. 908 *l.c.*, under heading Or. 1924, he says that at fol. 3 of the MS. the author designates himself as Suján Singh Dhír, inhabitant of Patiálá.

The MS. Or. 1924 here referred to is a small book of extracts by Sir Henry Elliot. In the extract at fol. 3, referred to by Dr. Rieu, we have the words "*ain hechmadán saqír haqír Suján Singh Dhír sákin qaşba Batála az 'unfwán zahúr,*" etc., whereas in other copies we have only the word *hechmadán*, *i.e.* humble individual. His name, too, is given in the extract from the beginning of the preface, immediately below the *bismillah*. The MS. Or. 2055 gives the preface of the *Makhtaşar*, which certainly, as Dr. Rieu says, agrees with the *Khalásat*, but the description of India is not given. There is such a description at p. 21, but it is marked in Persian as taken from the *Khalásat-at-Tawárikh*. It agrees with the translation given in Elliot, vol. viii., as from the *Makhtaşar*, but it contains the poetical description of the rainy season, which is omitted in the English.

It seems probable that the real name of the author is Suján Rái, or Suján Singh. *Subhán* is an Arabic word, and not likely to be the title of a Hindu. Still this is not impossible, especially in the case of an up-country Hindu whose family had probably long had relations with Muhammadans.

The difficulty in ascertaining the name arises in part from the words *Suján* and *Subhán* being written nearly alike in Persian. The chief difference is in the position of a dot. *Subhán* is written *سبحان*, and *Suján* is written *سجان*. In the MSS. that I have seen the dot is that of a *j* and not of a *b*. I should be inclined to prefer Elliot's *Subhán* on account of his local knowledge, if I knew that this had

guided him in the matter. But he makes no reference to local knowledge or inquiries. It ought to be possible to get particulars of Suján Rái's name and family at Batála, and I have written to the Magistrate now stationed there, to beg for information. Mr. Morley, in his descriptive catalogue of the R.A.S. MSS., says that in No. 53 it is written Shaján, شجان, but somewhat indistinctly, and that in Nos. 54 and 55 it appears respectively as سبجان and ساجان, *i.e.* Sabján and Suján. I think, however, that Mr. Morley's 53 is a clerical error for 55, as in the MS. called by me the Romer MS. the name appears as شجان, but with the dots over the *s* blurred. In an interesting note with which Mr. Irvine has favoured me, it is mentioned that Syed Muhammad Latif, in his book on Lahore (1892), speaks of the author of the Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh as Suján Rái Kanungo of Batála. The Syed would therefore appear to identify him with the Suján Rái Kanungo mentioned in the Khalāṣat in the account of Batála. Dr. Rieu, *l.c.*, quotes a superscription on a MS. which calls Suján Rái, *almanasabi ba hasári* (apparently this means merely "author"—the phrase being equivalent to *mu-allif*), and says that he knew Hindí, Persian, and Sanscrit. Suján Rái himself does not claim a knowledge of Sanscrit, and refers only to Persian translations of the Mahábhárat, etc.

It seems probable that Suján Rái had lived for some time at Siálkot. His description of the place is very minute, and he speaks of buildings erected by the Kanungos there. Perhaps he received his education there, for he dwells upon the good teaching of one or two of its *maulvis*.

NOTE B.

Suján Rái does not name Ferishta among his authorities, but there is a close resemblance between the two writers in many passages, so that Suján must either have copied Ferishta or both must have consulted the same sources.

There are, however, some details in the Khalásat account of the Muhammadan princes which, I believe, are not to be found in Ferishta, and seem to me to be novel. For instance, there is the story about Prince Muhammad, the son of Ghiássuddín Balban. The prince was married to a daughter of Sultán Altamsh, and one day, being under the influence of wine, he accidentally used the word divorce with regard to her. This was irrevocable, and the only remedy was to marry the princess to somebody else, on the understanding that he would divorce her. She would then become *halálah*, i.e. the prince could marry her again. So they married the princess to a holy dervish, named Shaikh Baháuddín Zakariyá, and the dervish took her to his home. But afterwards, when the Shaikh spoke to her of the arrangement with the Prince and of his divorcing her again, the lady said: "I have come out of a wicked home and have found refuge with a holy man; for God's sake do not send me back again." The dervish was touched by her love and self-sacrifice, and, saying that he could not be inferior to a woman in courage and in fidelity, refused to divorce her and kept her as his own wife. The Prince was angry at this, and took advantage of an opportunity to avenge himself on the dervish. "No one," says the author, "injures a holy man without suffering for it, so shortly afterwards the prince was killed in a battle with the "Moguls."

Then, again, there is the detail about the bigotry of Sikandar Lodí—that he prescribed a particular badge for Hindus, therein anticipating Husain Khán Tukriyah of Akbar's reign. According to the Khalásat, Sikandar was the first Muhammadan prince who treated the Hindus with contempt. Both Ferishta and Suján Rái mention the curious fact of the discovery of the fossil bones of elephants, etc., when Fírúz Sháh Tughlak excavated a hillock for the construction of one of his canals; but Suján has most details. The object of the excavation was to join the Saraswatí and Sutlej, and apparently the excavation was made near Fírúzpúr. Suján

says that the elephant bones were eight yards long, and that there were the bones of men's fore-arms, three yards long. Naturally he accounts for these bones by saying that a battle had been fought there between the Kurus and Pandávas, but may it not be that this was really a discovery in the fourteenth century of the fossils of the Siwáliks?

NOTE C.

Anquetil Du Perron quotes¹ the remark about people of all nations settling in India, and also the stanza which follows it. He gives them as coming from the Tazkarát-as-Šalátín, a work which is evidently either the same as the K. T. or a derivative from it. Possibly it is the real title of the book which Sir Henry Elliot designated the Makhtaśír-at-Tawárikh. The error in the *Vikramáditya* year (1233 instead of 1249) pointed out by Du Perron² occurs likewise in the Khaláṣat. It has apparently arisen from the mixing up of two chronologies. Suján Rái, in his notice of Rájah Prithví, first tells us that, according to the Rájavalí and the Ráj Tarangíní, Rájah Prithví was killed by Shihábuddín after he had reigned for fifteen years. Then he gives another account from the Áin-i-Akbari and other sources, and says that Rájah Prithví was killed in the forty-ninth year of his reign and 1233 *Vikramáditya*, or 588 A.H. and 1192 A.D. As Du Perron observes, this *Vikramáditya* date is wrong by sixteen years, for 588 A.H. corresponds to 1249 A.V. We can, perhaps, reconcile the discrepancies, or at least conjecture at the truth, by supposing that Rájah Prithví reigned sixteen years, and that 1233 was the date of his accession. The Khaláṣat tells us that Rájah Prithví conquered Jivan Singh of Delhi, and after reigning for fifteen years was attacked by Shihábuddín. They fought seven battles, but in all the Rájah was victorious. Then occurred the episode of the quarrel

¹ Tieffenthaler's "India," II. lix. Berlin, 1787.

² *Loc. cit.* p. xxxix. n.

with Jai Chand of Kanauj, about the Rája-súya festival, and the abduction by Rájah Prithví of Jai Chand's daughter. A year elapsed, says the Khalásat, which Rájah Prithví spent in the society of his bride and the neglect of his kingdom, and then Shihábuddín, having leagued with Jai Chand, attacked Rájah Prithví for the eighth time, and defeated and killed him. Thus we have the sixteen years desiderated by Du Perron, and the date 1249 A.V. corresponding to 588 A.H. At all events, this is a more consistent account than the one which makes Rájah Prithví reign for forty-nine years and five months, and then lose his kingdom for excessive devotion to Jai Chand's daughter. By that time he must have been about seventy, and have been married for nearly thirty-five years.

Du Perron seems to regard the mention in the Tazkarát of the Tawárikh Bahádur Sháhí as evidence that the work was not composed till about 1712. But the Tawárikh Bahádur Sháhí is quoted in the Khalásat at the beginning of the account of Gujrá, and the Khalásat was certainly written in 1696.

NOTE D.

Suján Rái on Stimulants.

Suján Rái is very severe on opium in his account of Rájah Sakunt of Kumaon (Sakwantí) and calls it the worst of all intoxicants. It turns young men old, he says, and makes their sinews to be like threads. But in his notice of Rájah Badhal ("Parmal Sen" of Tieffenthaler) he had already drawn a still darker picture of the evils of *bhang*, *i.e.* Indian hemp, or *ganja*. A *bangi*, *i.e.* a *ganja*-smoker, barks like a dog and brays like an ass, and the evil effects of the drug are continued in his offspring. Suján Rái himself has seen, he says, many of the rich and powerful reduced to poverty and misery by this vice. He is also strong against the use of wine. His attitude towards tobacco is rather amusing.

In his account of Jahángír he has a paragraph entitled "Praise and blame of tobacco," and tells how the Emperor vainly endeavoured to prevent its use. He begins by saying that tobacco (*tambáku*) was introduced into India from the islands of the Franks, but that for some time it was not much used, and the import was small. In the reign of Jahángír, however, it began to be largely cultivated in India, and everybody, high and low, rich and poor, took to smoking. He then proceeds to describe the delights of tobacco in language worthy of Salvation Yeo, calling it a companion at home and abroad, and saying that its smoke-wreaths are like the musky tresses of beautiful women in their power of lassoing the necks of men. Then, as if recollecting himself, he says: "May God forgive me! "What I am saying, and what I am writing? Tobacco is the "worst of intoxicants; it wastes time, shuts up the mouth "against the praises of God," etc. Evidently Suján Rái was or had been a devotee of the weed.

ART. XXIII.—*The Raṭṭhapāla Sutta.* By WALTER
LUPTON, I.C.S.

THE Sutta of which the Pāli text, together with a translation, is here given is No. 82 of the Majjhima Nikāya. I have availed myself throughout of Buddhaghosa's Commentary, the *Papañca-Sūdanī*; but only so much of it is here reproduced, in the form of extracts, as I thought was necessary either to support a rendering, or to illustrate a point, of the text. Such extracts are marked 'Pap. Sūd.' I have added, at the end of the text, a few further references of general interest.

In its form the Raṭṭhapāla Sutta stands midway between those Suttas (the vast majority) in which the chief interlocutor is the Buddha himself, and those Suttas in which this place is held by one of his disciples. Of this latter class, the Madhura Sutta on Caste, which appeared in the April number of this *Journal*, is an example. The present Sutta differs from this in that the Buddha does indeed figure, as in the first class of Suttas; but his appearance is rather an episode than the essential part, and the story of the conversion of the young nobleman is really an introduction to the main part of the Sutta, from which the Buddha disappears. The main interest rather lies in the attitude of contemporary opinion towards the demands made by the Buddha's teaching, and in bringing out the feeling, not confined, perhaps, to the days of Gotama, of surprise, not unmingled with pity, of the average man in the world, and of the world, towards earnest spirits prepared to give up everything which the world regards as making life worth living, to pursue an ideal, to tread the higher path. The bulk of mankind is content with a lower standard. "It is possible," says his father to Raṭṭhapāla, "both to enjoy the

good things of life, and to perform good works." What need of such rigid system of self-denial? asks the world. "Come, Raṭṭhapāla," echoes his father; "give up this Discipline, return to family life," or, as the Pāli words actually translate, 'take the lower course.'* Finally, King Koravya takes up the parable, and presents the case for the world in four questions. Briefly summarised, the position is this: One can understand, perhaps, a man who is old, or diseased, or impoverished, or desolate, renouncing the world; one can understand, that is, a man who is no longer able to enjoy the things of life, and who is out of heart generally with the world, making a show of giving up this mundane existence for higher things. But here is a young man, in the heyday of youth, with rank and position, with health and wealth; and it is such an one who is renouncing all and everything to become a 'shaveling ascetic.' This is the wonder. Sour grapes, the world can understand; but this other thing—the hands of surprise are upraised thereat.

Apart from this general interest, it cannot be said that the student of Buddhism, as such, will find anything remarkable in this Sutta. But it may be of interest to note that the story which is the framework of the Sutta was certainly a popular one with the Buddhist community; for we find it again in the Vinaya, Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pārājika, 1. 5 (Oldenberg's edition, vol. iii. p. xi.), and in the Jātaka (Fausböll, vol. i. p. 156, the Vātamiga-Jātaka); while the story of Raṭṭhapāla is referred to again, by way of illustration, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga (Oldenberg, vol. iii. p. 148; Saṅghādisesa, vi. 4-6). In the first case, substituting Sudinna for Raṭṭhapāla, the story is repeated almost verbatim for the first three-fourths. The last fourth of the story is different, in that Sudinna yields to the entreaties of mother and wife, and becomes the pattern backslider, as Raṭṭhapāla remains the instance of steadfast resolution. The Jātaka tale, on the other hand, if more pointed, is

* *āināya vattitvā*, etc.

meagre and somewhat far removed from our version. Still there is enough, in Jātaka phraseology, 'to establish the identity' of the two, and to see how in the Jātaka the story was clipped and altered to suit its present purpose. Suffice it to say here that it is the slave-girl who, with the mother's consent, sets herself to break down the resolution of the young Prince Tissa, the Jātaka Raṭṭhapāla, or rather Sudinna, for Tissa is seduced from the Way of Holiness, and relapses with Sudinna into the laity.

It would be an interesting question to ask, in connection with the date of the various portions of the Tipiṭakam, which of the three versions, if any, is the primordial story, or whether some story of the kind was generally current in the early centuries of Buddhism. If it be permitted to hazard a theory based on a close comparison of the two stories, I should consider that Sudinna was evolved as the correlative of Raṭṭhapāla, in order to illustrate certain precepts of the Vinaya Nikāya. For the latter is admittedly a composite work, pieced together at different periods. But in the present state of our knowledge of the age of the texts, we are limited to speculation; and it is perhaps idle to attempt to argue the question one way or the other.

[No. 82.]

[RAṬṬHAPĀLA-SUTTANTAM.]

Evam me sutam. Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Kurūsu cārikaṁ caramāno mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim yena Thullakoṭṭhitam nāma Kurūnaṁ nigamo tad avasari. Assosum kho Thullakoṭṭitakā brāhmaṇagahapatikā:—“Samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo Sakyaputto Sakyakulā pabbajito Kurūsu cārikaṁ caramāno mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhim Thullakoṭṭhitam anuppatto; tam kho pana bhavantaṁ Gotamaṁ evaṁ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato—‘iti pi so bhagavā araham Sammā-sambuddho vijjā-carāṇa-sampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanusānaṁ Buddho bhagavā ti.’¹ So imaṁ lokam sadevakam

samārakam sabrahmakam sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇim pajam sadeva-manussam sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti. So dhammam deseti ādi-kalyāṇam majjhe kalyāṇam pariyoṣāna-kalyāṇam sāttham savyañjanam, kevala-paripunṇam parisuddham brahmacariyam pakāseti. Sādhu kho pana tathārūpānam arahataṃ dassanam hotīti.”

Atha kho Thullakoṭṭhitakā brāhmaṇagahapatikā yena Bhagavā ten' upasāmkamimsu, upasāmkamitvā app' ekacce Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app' ekacce Bhagavatā saddhim sammodimsu sammodaniyam katham sārāṇiyam vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app' ekacce yena Bhagavā ten' añjalim paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app' ekacce Bhagavato santike nāmagottaṃ sāvetaṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app' ekacce tuṅhībhūtaṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinne kho Thullakoṭṭhitake brāhmaṇagahapatike Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahamsesi. Tena kho pana samayena Raṭṭhapālo nāma kulaputto tasmim yeva Thullakoṭṭhite aggakulikassa putto tissaṃ parisāyam nisinno hoti. Atha kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa etad ahoṣi:—“Yathā yathā kho Bhagavatā dhammam desitaṃ ājānāmi, nayidaṃ sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipunṇam ekantaparisuddham saṃkhalikhitam² brahmacariyam caritum; yannūnāham kesamassum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajeyyan ti.” Atha kho Thullakoṭṭhitakā brāhmaṇagahapatikā Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahamsitā Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy' āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pakkamimsu. Atha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto acirapakkantesu Thullakoṭṭhitakesu brāhmaṇagahapatikesu yena Bhagavā ten' upasāmkami, upasāmkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto Bhagavantam etad avoca:—“Yathā yathāham, bhante, Bhagavatā dhammam desitaṃ ājānāmi, nayidaṃ sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipunṇam ekantaparisuddham saṃkhalikhitam brahmacariyam caritum. Labheyyāham, bhante, Bhagavato santike pabbajjam, labheyyam upasampadan ti.”

“Anuññāto si pana tvaṃ, Raṭṭhapāla, mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti?”

“Na kho ahaṃ, bhante, anuññāto mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti.”

“Na kho, Raṭṭhapāla, Tathāgatā ananuññātaṃ mātāpitūhi pabbājentīti.”

“Svāhaṃ, bhante, tathā karissāmi yathā maṃ mātāpitāro anujānissanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti.” Atha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto utṭhāy’ āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā yena mātāpitāro ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtvā mātāpitāro etad avoca:—“Amma tāta, yathā yathā ’haṃ Bhagavato dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmi, nayidaṃ sukaraṃ agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ saṃkhalikhitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritum; icchāmi’ ahaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitum. Anujānātha maṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti.” Evaṃ vutte Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitāro Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum:—“Tvaṃ kho, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, ambhakaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvaṃ, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Ehi tvaṃ, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi³ ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Na taṃ mayaṃ anujānāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mayaṃ akāmakā vinā bhavissāma. Kim pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyā ti?”

Dutiyam pi kho—pe—tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto mātāpitāro etad avoca:—“Amma tāta, yathā yathā ’haṃ Bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmi, nayidaṃ sukaraṃ agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ saṃkhalikhitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritum; icchāmi’ ahaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitum. Anujānātha maṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti.” Tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitāro Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum:—“Tvaṃ kho, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, ambhakaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvaṃ,

tāta Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Ehi tvaṃ, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Na taṃ mayāṃ anujānāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mayāṃ akāmakā vinā bhavissāma. Kiṃ pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyā ti ?”

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto mātāpitusu pabbajjāṃ alabhamāno tath’ eva anantarahitāya bhūmiyā nipajji “ Idh’eva me maraṇam bhavissati pabbajjā vā ti.”

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitaro Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum :—“ Tvaṃ kho, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, amhākaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukharibhato ; na tvaṃ, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhāhi, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Na taṃ mayāṃ anujānāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mayāṃ akāmakā vinā bhavissāma. Kiṃ pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyā ti ?” Evaṃ vutte Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto tuṅhī ahoṣi. Dutiyam pi kho—pe—tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitaro Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum :—“ Tvaṃ kho, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, amhākaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukharibhato ; na tvaṃ, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhehi, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Na taṃ mayāṃ anujānāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mayāṃ akāmakā vinā bhavissāma. Kiṃ pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissāma agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti ?” Tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto tuṅhī ahoṣi.

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitaro yena Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa sahāyakā ten’ upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa sahāyake etad avocum :—“ Eso, tātā, Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto anantarahitāya bhūmiyā nipanno ‘ Idh’ eva me maraṇam bhavissati pabbajjā vā ti.’ Ehi, tātā, yena Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto teu’ upa-

samkamatha, upasamkamitvā Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ evaṃ vadetha:—‘Tvaṃ kho, samma Raṭṭhapāla, mātāpitunnaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvaṃ, samma Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhehi, samma Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Na taṃ mātāpitaro anujānanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mātāpitaro akāmakā vinā bhavissanti. Kim pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissanti agārasma anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti?’”

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa saḥāyakā Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitunnaṃ paṭisutvā yena Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto ten’ upasamkamimsu, upasamkamitvā Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum:—“Tvaṃ kho, samma Raṭṭhapāla, mātāpitunnaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvaṃ, samma Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhehi, samma Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu; na taṃ mātāpitaro anujānanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mātāpitaro akāmakā vinā bhavissanti. Kim pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti?’”

Evaṃ vutte Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto tuṇhī ahoṣi. Dutiyam pi kho—pe—tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa saḥāyakā Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum:—“Tvaṃ kho, samma Raṭṭhapāla, mātāpitunnaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvaṃ, samma Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhehi, samma Raṭṭhapāla, bhuñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhuñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhuñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu; na taṃ mātāpitaro anujānanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, maraṇena pi te mātāpitaro akāmakā vinā bhavissanti. Kim pana taṃ jīvantaṃ anujānissanti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti?’”

Tatiyam pi kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto tuṇhi ahoṣi.

Atho kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa saḥāyakā yena Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitaro ten’ upasamkamimsu, upasamkamitvā Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa mātāpitaro etad

avocum:—“Amma tāta, eso Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto tath’eva anantarāhitāya bhūmiyā nipanno ‘Idh’eva me maraṇaṃ bhavissati pabbajjā vā ti’; sace tumhe Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ nānujānissatha agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, tath’eva maraṇaṃ āgamissati. Sace pana tumhe Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ anujānissatha agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, pabbajitaṃ pi naṃ dakkhissatha; sace Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto nābhiramissati agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, kā nvassa aññā gati bhavissati? Idh’eva paccāgamissati. Anujānātha Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyāti.” “Anujānāma, tātā, Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, pabbajitena ca pana te mātāpitāro uddassetabbā ti.”

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa saḥāyāka yena Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto ten’ upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā Raṭṭhapālaṃ kulaputtaṃ etad avocum:—“Tvam kho, samma Raṭṭhapāla, mātāpitunnaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo sukhe t̥hito sukhaparibhato; na tvam, samma Raṭṭhapāla, kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi. Uṭṭhehi bhūñja ca piva ca paricārehi ca, bhūñjanto pivanto paricārento kāmāni paribhūñjanto puññāni karonto abhiramassu. Anuññāto si mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya, pabbajitena ca pana te mātāpitāro uddassetabbā ti.”

Atha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto uṭṭhahitvā balaṃ gahetvā⁴ yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:—“Anuññāto ahaṃ, bhante, mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya; pabbājetu maṃ Bhagavā ti.” Alattha kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto Bhagavato santike pabbajjam, alattha upasampadam.

Atha kho Bhagavā acirūpasampanne āyasmante Raṭṭhapāle adhamāsūpasampanne Thullakoṭṭhite yathā ’bhirantaṃ viharitvā yena Sāvatti tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi, anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno yena Sāvatti tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Sāvattiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpi pahitatto viharanto na cirass’eva yass’ aṭṭhāya

kulaputtā sammad-eva agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi; “Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇiyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyāti” abbaññāsi. Aññataro kho pan’ āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo arahataṃ ahosi.

Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :—“Iochāṃ’ ahaṃ, bhante, mātāpitara uddassetuṃ, sace maṃ Bhagavā anujānātīti.”

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa cetasā ceto parivittakkaṃ manasākāsi. Yadā Bhagavā aññāsi “Abhabbo kho Raṭṭhapālo kulaputto sikkhaṃ paccakkhāya hīnāyā vattitun ti,” atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ etad avoca :—“Yassa dāni tvaṃ, Raṭṭhapāla, kālam maññasīti.”

Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo utṭhāy’ āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā senāsanaṃ saṃsāmetvā pattacīvaraṃ ādāya yena Thullakoṭṭhitaṃ tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi, anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno yena Thullakoṭṭhitaṃ tad avasari. Tatra sudamā āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo Thullakoṭṭhite viharati rañño Koravyassa migācīre. Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo pubbaṅhasamayam nivāsetvā pattacīvaraṃ ādāya Thullakoṭṭhitaṃ piṇḍāya pāvīsi; Thullakoṭṭhite sepadānaṃ piṇḍāya caramāno yena sakapitu nivesanaṃ ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā majjhimāya dvārasālāya ullikhāpeti. Addasā kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ dūrato va āgacchantaṃ, disvāna etad avoca :—“Imehi muṇḍakehi samaṇakehi amhākaṃ ekaputtako piyo manāpo pabbajito ti.” Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo sakapitu nivesane n’ eva dānaṃ alattha na paccakkhānaṃ, aññadatthu akkosam eva alattha. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa nātidāsī ābhidosikaṃ pūtikummāsam chaddetukāmaṃ hoti. Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo taṃ nātidāsīṃ etad avoca :—“Sace taṃ, bhagini, ābhidosikaṃ pūtikummāsam chaddetukāmaṃ si, idha me patte ākirāti.”

Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa nītidāsi taṃ ābhidosikāṃ pūtikummāsaṃ āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa patte ākirantī hatthānaṃ ca pādānaṃ ca sarassa ca nimittaṃ aggaheṣi. Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa nītidāsi yen' āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa mātā ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa mātaraṃ etad avoca:—“Yagghe'yye jāneyyāsi, ayyaputto Raṭṭhapālo anuppatto ti.”

“Sace je saccaṃ vadasi, a-dāsi bhavasīti.” Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa mātā yen' āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitarāṃ etad avoca:—“Yagghe, gahapati, jāneyyāsi Raṭṭhapālo kira kulaputto anuppatto ti.”

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo taṃ ābhidosikāṃ pūtikummāsaṃ aññatarāṃ kuḍḍaṃ nissāya paribhuñjati. Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā yen' āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ etad avoca:—“Atthi nāma,⁵ tāta Raṭṭhapāla; ābhidosikāṃ pūtikummāsaṃ paribhuñjissasi? Nanu, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, sakaṃ gehaṃ gantabban ti?”

“Kuto no, gahapati, amhākaṃ gehaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitānaṃ? Anāgārā mayāṃ, gahapati; agamambā kho te, gahapati, gehaṃ; tattha n'eva dānaṃ alatthamha na paccakkhānaṃ aññadatthu akkosam eva alatthamhāti.”

“Ehi, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, gharaṃ gāmissāmāti.”

“Alaṃ, gahapati; katam me ajjha bhattakiccan ti.”

“Tena hi, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, adhvāsehi svātānāya bhattan ti.”

Adhvāsesi kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo tuṇḥibhāvena. Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa adhvāsaṇaṃ viditvā yena sakaṃ nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā mahantaṃ hiraññasuvannaṃ puñjaṃ⁶ kārapetvā kilan̄jehi paṭicchādāpetvā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa purāṇadūtiyike āmantesi:—“Ētha tumhe vadhuke yena alaṅkārena alaṅkatā pubbe Raṭṭhapālassa kulaputtassa piyā 'hotha manāpā, tena alaṅkārena alaṅkarothāti.” Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā tassā rattiyaṃ accayena sake nivesane paṇitaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa kālaṃ ārocesi—“Kālo, tāta Raṭṭha-

pāla, niṭṭhitam bhattan ti." Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo pubbaṅhasamayam nivāsetvā pattacivaram ādāya yena saka-pitu nivesanam ten' upasamkamī, upasamkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā tam hiraññasuvannaṅgassa puñjam vivarāpetvā āyasantam Raṭṭhapālam etad avoca :—"Idam te, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, mattikam dhanam, aññam pettikam, aññam pitāmahaṃ ; sakkā, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, bhoge ca bhujitum puññāni ca katum. Ehi tvam, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, sikkham paccakkhāya hīnāya vattitvā bhoge bhujassu puññāni ca karohīti."

"Sace kho me tvam, gahapati, vacanam kareyyāsi, imam hiraññasuvannaṅgassa puñjam sakatesu āropetvā nibbāhāpetvā majjhe Gaṅgāya nadiyā sote opilāpeyyāsi. Tam kissa hetu? Uppajjissanti hi te, gahapati, tatonidānam sokaparideva-dukkhadomanassupāyāsūti ?"

Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa purānadūtiyikā paccakam padesu gahetvā āyasantam Raṭṭhapālam etad avocum :—"Kidisā nāma tā, ayyaputtaka, accharāyo, yāyam tvam hetu brahmacariyam carasīti ?"

"Na kho mayam, bhagini, accharānam hetu brahmacariyam carāmāti."

'Bhagini'-vādena "no ayyaputto Raṭṭhapālo samudā-caratīti" tath' eva mucchitā papatimsu.

Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo pitaram etad avoca :—"Sace, gahapati, bhojanam dātabbam, detha mā no viheṭhethāti."

"Bhuñja, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, niṭṭhitam bhattan ti." Atha kho āyasmato Raṭṭhapālassa pitā āyasantam Raṭṭhapālam pañitena khādāyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi.

Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo bhuttāvī onitapattapāṇi ṭhitako va imā gathā abbāsi :—

Passa cittakataṃ bimbaṃ arukāyaṃ samussitaṃ
āturaṃ bahusaṃkappaṃ yassa na 'tthi dhuvaṃ ṭhiti.

Passa cittakataṃ rūpaṃ maṇinā kuṇḍalena ca
aṭṭhittacena onaddhaṃ saha vatthehi sobhati.

Alattakakataṃ pādā mukhaṃ cuṅṅakamakkhitaṃ
alam bālassa mohāya no ca pāragavēsino.

Aṭṭhapādakatā kesā nettā añjanamakkhitā
alam bālassa mohāya no ca pārāgavesino.

Añjanī 'va navā cittā pūtikāyo alankato
alam bālassa mohāya no ca pārāgavesino.

Odahī migavo pāsān ; nāsadā vākaraṃ migo ;
bhutvā nivāpaṃ gacchāma kandante migabandhake ti.

Atha kho āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo ṭhitako va imā gāthā bhāsivā
yena rañño Koravyassa migācīraṃ ten' upasāṃkamaṃ, upasāṃ-
kamitvā aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṃ divāvihāraṃ nisīdi.

Atha kho rājā Koravyo migavaṃ āmantesi :—“Sodhehi,
samma migava,⁷ migācīraṃ uyyānabhūmiṃ, gacchāma
subhūmiṃ dassanāyāti.” “Evaṃ, devāti” kho migavo
rañño Koravyassa paṭisesutvā migācīraṃ sodhento addasa
āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṃ divā-
vihāraṃ nisinnaṃ ; disvāna yena rājā Koravyo ten' upasāṃ-
kamaṃ, upasāṃkamitvā rājānaṃ Koravyaṃ etad avoca :—
“Suddhaṃ kho, deva, migācīraṃ ; atthi c' ettha Raṭṭhapālo
nāma kulaputto, imasmiṃ yeva Thullakoṭṭhite aggakuli-
kassa putto, yassa tvaṃ abhiṇhaṃ kittayamāno ahoṣi ; so
aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṃ divāvihāraṃ nisinnaṃ ti.” “Tena
hi, samma migava, alam dān' ajja uyyānabhūmiyā, tam eva
dāni mayā bhavantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ payirupāsissāmāti.”
Atha kho rājā Koravyo “Yaṃ tattha khādaniyaṃ bhojani-
yaṃ paṭiyattaṃ sabbam viṣajjethāti” vatvā bhadrāni
bhadrāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhadrāni yānaṃ abhirūhitvā
bhadrehi bhadrehi yānehi Thullakoṭṭhitambā niyyāsi
mahaccarājānubhāvena āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ dassanāya.
Yāvaticā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānaṃ paccorohitvā
pattiko va ussatāya ussatāya⁸ parisāya yen' āyasmā Raṭṭha-
pālo ten' upasāṃkamaṃ, upasāṃkamitvā āyasmatā Raṭṭha-
pālena saddhiṃ sammodi sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ
vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi.

Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho rājā Koravyo āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭha-
pālaṃ etad avoca :—“Idha bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo hatthatthare
nisīdatūti.”

“Alam, mahārāja, nisīda tvain ; nisinna ahaṃ sake
āsane ti.”

Nisīdi kho rājā Koravyo paññatte āsane; nisajja kho rājā Koravyo āyasmantaṃ Raṭṭhapālaṃ etad avoca:—“Cattār’ imāni, bho Raṭṭhapāla, pārijuṇṇāni yehi pārijuṇṇehi samannāgatā idh’ ekacce kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti. Katamāni cattāri? Jarāpārijuṇṇaṃ byādhipārijuṇṇaṃ bhogapārijuṇṇaṃ nātīpārijuṇṇaṃ. “Katamañ ca, bho Raṭṭhapāla, jarāpārijuṇṇaṃ? Idha, bho Raṭṭhapāla, ekacco jinno hoti vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto; so iti paṭisañcikkhati:—‘Ahaṃ kho ’mhi etarahi jinno vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto, na kho pana mayā sukaraṃ anadhigatā vā bhogā adhigantuṃ adhigatā vā bhogā phātīm kātuṃ; yannūnāhaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyan ti;’ so tena jarāpārijuṇṇena samannāgato kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati. Idam vuccati, bho Raṭṭhapāla, jarāpārijuṇṇaṃ. Bhavaṃ kho Raṭṭhapālo etarahi daharo yuvā susu kālakeso bhadrēna yobbanena samannāgato paṭhamena vayasā. Tam bhoto Raṭṭhapālassa jarāpārijuṇṇaṃ na ’tthi. Kim bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo nātvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito?”

“Katamañ ca, bho Raṭṭhapāla, byādhipārijuṇṇaṃ? Idha, bho Raṭṭhapāla, ekacco ābādhiko hoti dukkhito baḷhagilāno; so iti paṭisañcikkhati—‘Ahaṃ kho ’mhi etarahi ābādhiko dukkhito baḷhagilāno, na kho pana mayaṃ sukaraṃ anadhigatā vā bhogā adhigantuṃ adhigatā vā bhogā phātīm kattūṃ, yannūnāhaṃ kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyan ti;’ so tena byādhipārijuṇṇena samannāgato kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati. Idam vuccati, bho Raṭṭhapāla, byādhipārijuṇṇaṃ. Bhavaṃ kho pana Raṭṭhapālo etarahi appābādhō appātānko samavepākiniyā gahaṇiyā samannāgato nātisītāya nācunhāya. Tam bhoto Raṭṭhapālassa byādhipārijuṇṇaṃ na ’tthi. Kim bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo nātvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito?”

“Katamañ ca, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhogapārijuṇṇaṃ? Idha,

bho Raṭṭhapāla, ekacco aḍḍho hoti mahaddhano mahābhogo ; tassa te bhogā anupubbena parikkhayaṃ gacchanti ; so iti paṭisañcikkhati—‘Ahaṃ kho pubbe aḍḍho ahoṣiṃ mahaddhano mahābhogo, tassa me te bhogā anupubbena parikkhayaṃ gatā, na kho pana mayā sukaraṃ anadhigatā vā bhogā adhigantūṃ adhigatā vā bhogā phātiṃ kattūṃ, yannūnāhaṃ kesamassūṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyaṃ ti ;’ so tena bhogapārijuṇṇena samannāgato kesamassūṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati. Idaṃ vuccati, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhogapārijuṇṇaṃ. Bhavaṃ kho pana Raṭṭhapālo imasmim yeva Thullakoṭṭhite aggakulikassa putto. Taṃ bhoto Raṭṭhapālassa bhogapārijuṇṇaṃ na ’tthi. Kim bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo ñatvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ?”

“Katamañ ca, bho Raṭṭhapāla, ñātipārijuṇṇaṃ ? Idha, bho Raṭṭhapāla, ekaccassa bahū honti mittāmaccā ñātisālohitā, tassa te ñātakā anupubbena parikkhayaṃ gacchanti ; so iti paṭisañcikkhati—‘Mamaṃ kho pubbe bahū ahesūṃ mittāmaccā ñātisālohitā, tassa me ñātakā anupubbena parikkhayaṃ gatā, na kho pana mayā sukaraṃ anadhigatā vā bhogā adhigantūṃ adhigatā vā bhogā phātiṃ kattūṃ, yannūnāhaṃ kesamassūṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyaṃ ti ;’ so tena ñātipārijuṇṇena samannāgato kesamassūṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati. Idaṃ vuccati, bho Raṭṭhapāla, ñātipārijuṇṇaṃ. Bhoto kho pana Raṭṭhapālassa imasmim yeva Thullakoṭṭhite bahū mittāmaccā ñātisālohitā. Taṃ bhoto Raṭṭhapālassa ñātipārijuṇṇaṃ na ’tthi. Kim bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo ñatvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ?”

“Imāni kho, bho Raṭṭhapāla, cattāri pārijuṇṇāni yehi pārijuṇṇehi samannāgata idh’ ekacce kesamassūṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti. Tāni bhoto Raṭṭhapālassa na ’tthi. Kim bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo ñatvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā pabbajito ti ?”

“Atthi kho, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena cattāro dhammuddesā uddiṭṭhā ;

yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. Katame cattāro?—‘Upaniyati loko addhuvo ti’ kho, mahārāja, tena bhagatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena paṭhamo dhammuddeso uddiṭṭho; yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. ‘Attāno loko anabhissaro ti’ kho, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena dutiyo dhammuddeso uddiṭṭho; yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. ‘Assako loko’ sabbam pabhāya gamaṇiyaṃ ti’ kho, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena tatiyo dhammuddeso uddiṭṭho; yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. ‘Īno loko atitto taṇhādāso ti’ kho, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena catuttho dhammuddeso uddiṭṭho; yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito. Ime kho, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena cattāro dhammuddesa uddiṭṭhā; ye ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti.”

“‘Upaniyati loko addhuvo ti,’ bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo āha; imassa pana, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhāsitassa katham attho datṭhabbo ti?”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Ahosi tvaṃ vīsativassuddesiko pi paṇṇu-vīsativassuddesiko pi hatthismim pi katāvī assasmim pi katāvī rathasmim pi katāvī dhanusmim pi katāvī tharusmim pi katāvī ūrubalī bāhubalī alamatto saṅgāmāvacaro ti?”

“Ahoṣiṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, vīsativassuddesiko pi paṇṇu-vīsativassuddesiko pi hatthismim pi katāvī assasmim pi rathasmim pi katāvī dhanusmim pi katāvī tharusmim pi katāvī ūrubalī bāhubalī alamatto saṅgāmāvacaro; appekadā’haṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, iddhiṃ va maññe, na attano balena samasamaṃ samanupassāmi.”

“Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Evaṃ eva tvaṃ etarahi ūrubalī bāhubalī alamatto saṅgāmāvacaro ti?”

“No h’ idam, bho Raṭṭhapāla; etarahi jīṇṇo vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto āsītiko vayo vattati; appe-

kadā 'ham, bho Raṭṭhapāla, 'idha pādān karissāmiti' aññien' eva pādān karomīti."

"Idaṃ kho taṃ, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena sandhāya bhāsitaṃ 'Upaniyati loko addhuvo ti,' yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā cā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti."

"Acchariyaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abbhutaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, yāva subhāsitaṃ c' idaṃ tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena 'Upaniyati loko addhuvo ti.' Upaniyati hi, bho Raṭṭhapāla, loko addhuvo ti. Saṃvījjante kho, Raṭṭhapāla, imasmiṃ rājakule hatthikāyā pi assakāyā pi rathakāyā pi pattikāyā pi, ye ambhakaṃ āpadā supariyodhāya vattissanti. 'Attāno loko anabhissaro ti' bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo āha; imassa pana, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhāsitassa kathaṃ attho daṭṭhabbo ti?"

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Atthi te koci anussāyiko ābādho ti?"

"Atthi bho me bho Raṭṭhapāla anussāyiko vātābādho; appekadā maṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, mittāmaccā ñātisālohitaṃ parivāretvā ṭhitā honti, 'Idāni rājā Koravyo kālaṃ karissati, idāni rājā Koravyo kālaṃ karissatīti.'"

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Labhasi tvaṃ te mittāmacce ñātisālohite 'Ayantu me bhonto mittāmaccā ñātisālohitaṃ, sabbe va santā imaṃ vedanaṃ saṃvibhajatha yathā 'ham lahukatarikaṃ vedanaṃ vediyeyyan ti?' Udāhu tvaṃ yeva taṃ vedanaṃ vediyāsīti?"

"Nāhaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, labhāmi te mittāmacce ñātisālohite 'Ayantu me bhonto mittāmaccā ñātisālohitaṃ, sabbe va santā imaṃ vedanaṃ saṃvibhajatha yathā 'ham lahukatarikaṃ vedanaṃ vediyeyyan ti.' Atha kho ahaṃ eva taṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti."

"Idaṃ kho taṃ, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena sandhāya bhāsitaṃ 'Attāno loko anabhissaro'; yam ahaṃ ñatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti."

"Acchariyaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abbhutaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, yāva subhāsitaṃ c' idaṃ tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena 'Attāno loko anabhissaro ti.'"

Attāno hi, bho Raṭṭhapāla, loko anabhissaro; samvijjati kho, bho Raṭṭhapāla, imasmiṃ rājakule pahūtaṃ hiraññasuvaṇṇaṃ bhūmigatañ ca vehūsaṭṭhaṃ ca. 'Assako loko sabbam pahāya gamaṇīyaṃ ti' bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo āha. Imassa pana, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhāsītassa kathaṃ attho daṭṭhabbo ti?"

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Yathā tvaṃ etarahi pañcahi kāmagaṇehi samappito samaṅgibhūto paricāresi, lacchasi paratthā pi—'Evaṃ evāhaṃ ime heva pañcahi kāmagaṇehi samappito samaṅgibhūto paricāremīti.' Udāhu aññe imaṃ bhogaṃ paṭipajjissanti, tvaṃ pana yathākammaṃ gamissasīti?"

"Yathāhaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, etarahi pañcahi gāmagaṇehi samappito samaṅgibhūto paricāremi, nāhaṃ lacchāmi paratthā pi—'Evaṃ evāhaṃ imehi heva pañcahi kāmagaṇehi samappito samaṅgibhūto paricāremīti.' Atha kho aññe imaṃ bhogaṃ paṭipajjissanti, ahaṃ pana yathākammaṃ gamissāmīti."

"Idaṃ kho taṃ, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena sandhāya bhāsitaṃ: 'Assako loko, sabbam pahāya gamaṇīyaṃ ti,' yaṃ ahaṃ ūtvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito ti."

"Acchariyaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abbhutaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, yāva subhāsitaṃ c' idaṃ tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena 'Assako loko, sabbam pahāya gamaṇīyaṃ ti.' Assako hi, bho Raṭṭhapāla, loko sabbam pahāya gamaṇīyaṃ. 'Ūno loko atitto taṇhādāso ti' bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo āha;—imassa pana, bho Raṭṭhapāla, bhāsītassa kathaṃ attho daṭṭhabbo ti?"

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Phītaṃ Kurum ajjhavasasīti?"

"Evaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla; phītaṃ Kurum ajjhavasāmīti."

"Taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idha te puriso āgaccheyya puratthimāya disāya saddhāyiko paccayiko, so taṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ vadeyya—'Yagghe, mahārāja, jāneyyāsi, ahaṃ āgacchāmi puratthimāya disāya; tath' addasaṃ mahantaṃ janapadaṃ iddhaṃ c' eva phītaṃ ca bahujanāṃ akinnāmanussaṃ; bahū tathā hatthikāyā assakāyā ratha-

kāyā pattikāyā, bahu tattha dantājinam, bahu tattha hiraññasuvaṇṇam akatañi c' eva katañ ca, bahu tattha itthipariggaho; sakkā ca tāvatakena balatthena abhivijinitum; abhivijana, mahārājāti.' Kinti nam kareyyāsīti?"

"Tam pi mayam, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abhivijiya ajjhāvasseyyāmāti."

"Tam kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idha te puriso āgaccheyya pacchimāya disāya—pe—uttarāya disāya, dakkhiṇāya disāya, pārasamuddato saddhāyiko paccayiko, so tam upasamkamitvā evam vadeyya—'Yagghe, mahārāja, jāneyyāsi aham āgacchāmi pārasamuddato, tath' addasam mahantaṃ janapadaṃ iddhañi c'eva phītañi ca bahujanam ākiṇṇamanussaṃ, bahū tattha hatthikāyā assakāyā rathakāyā pattikāyā, bahu tattha dantājinam, bahu tattha hiraññasuvaṇṇam akatañi c' eva katañ ca, bahu tattha itthipariggaho; sakkā ca tāvatakena balatthena abhivijinitum; abhivijina mahārājāti.' Kinti nam kareyyāsīti?"

"Tam pi mayam, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abhivijiya ajjhāvasseyyāmāti."

"Idam kho tam, mahārāja, tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena sandhāya bhāsitaṃ 'Ūno loko atitto taṇhādāso ti' yam aham űatvā ca disvā ca sutvā ca agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajito ti."

"Acchariyam, bho Raṭṭhapāla, abbhutaṃ, bho Raṭṭhapāla, yāva subhāsitañi c' idam tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā Sammā-sambuddhena 'Ūno loko atitto taṇhādāso ti.' Ūno hi, bho Raṭṭhapāla, loko atitto taṇhādāso ti."

Idam avoc' āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo; idam vatvā athāparam etad avoca :—

Passāmi loke sadhane manusse laddhāna vittaṃ na dādanti mohā;

Luddhā dhanam sanniccayam karonti, bhīyo va kāme abhipatthayanti.

Rājā pasayhā paṭhavim vijetvā sasāgarantaṃ mahim āvasanto

Oram samuddassa atittarūpo pāram samuddassa pi patthayetha.

Rājā ca aññe va bahū manussā avītaṭaṇhā maraṇaṃ
 upenti,
 Ūnā va hutvāna jahanti dehaṃ ; kāmehi lokamhi na h'
 atthi titti.
 Kandanti naṃ nāti parikiriya kese, 'Aho vatā no
 amarāti ti' c'āhu ;
 Vatthena naṃ pārutaṃ nīharitvā citakaṃ samādāya
 tato dahanti.
 So dayhāti sūlehi tujjamāno ekena vatthena pahāya
 bhoge,
 Na miyamānassa bhavanti tāṇā nāti' dha mittā atha vā
 sahāyā.
 Dāyādakā tassa dhanam haranti, satto pana gacchati
 yena kammaṃ.
 Na miyamānaṃ dhanam anveti kiñci puttā ca dārā ca
 dhanā ca raṭṭhaṃ.
 Na dīgham āyuraṃ labhate dhanena, na cāpi vittena
 jaraṃ vihanti.
 Appaṃ h' idaṃ jīvitaṃ, āhu dhīrā, asassataṃ vippari-
 ṇāmadhammaṃ.
 Aḍḍhā daḍḍā ca phusanti phassaṃ, bālo ca dhīro ca
 tath' eva phuṭṭho.
 Bālo hi bālyā vadhito va seti, dhīro ca na vedhati
 phassaphuṭṭho.
 Tasmā hi paññā va dhanena seyyo yāya vosānaṃ idh-
 ādhigacchati.⁹
 Asositattā¹⁰ hi bhavābhavesu pāpāni kammāni karonti
 mohā.
 Upeti gabbhaṃ ca paraṃ ca lokam saṃsāram āpajja
 paramparāya.
 Tass' appapañño abhisaddahanto upeti gabbhaṃ ca
 paraṃ ca lokam.
 Coro yathā sandhimukhe gahito sakammaṇā haññati
 pāpadhammo,
 Evaṃ pajā ; pecca paramhi loke sakammaṇā haññati
 pāpadhammo.
 Kāmā hi citrā madhurā manoramā virūparūpena ma-
 thenti cittaṃ ;

Ādinavaṃ kāmagaṇesu disvā tasmā ahaṃ pabbajito
'mhi, rāja.

Dumapphalānīva patanti mānavā daharā ca vuddhā
ca sarīrabhedā;

Etam pi disvā pabbajito 'mhi, rājā; apaṇṇakam
sāmaññam eva seyyo¹ ti."

Raṭṭhapāla-suttantaṃ niṭṭhitam dutiyaṃ.

NOTES.

¹ *So Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho . . . pe . . . Buddho Bhagavā* ti. Tatrāyam pada-sambandho. So Bhagavā iti pi araham iti pi sammā sambuddho . . . pe . . . iti pi Bhagavā ti imina ṇa iminā ṇa karaṇeṇāti vuttam hoti (Sumangala, Dīgha, ii. 8). This string of epithets is, as it were, the official title of the Buddha, commonly occurring; in the Jātaka it is referred to as the 'nine qualities, arahatship, etc.,' e.g. "nava arahādiguṇe" (Jāt. vol. i. p. 509, Fausböll).

² *Samkhalikkhitam* ti, 'as the polished shell,' a descriptive compound; so Buddhaghosa, Pap. Sūd.—likhitasamkhasadisam dhotasamkhappavibhāgam caritabbam; and cf. Sumangala, Dīgha, ii. 40. But might it not be a dependent compound, 'polished by the shell,' i.e. rubbed and made smooth and glossy, as fur and paper and other material are prepared by rubbing with the furbisher's shell?

³ *Paricārehi* ti, gandhabbanātakādīni paccupaṭṭhāpetvā tathā sahāyakehi saddhīm yathā sukham indriyāni cārehi pacārehi ito cuto caupanehīti vuttam hoti. Athavā paricārehīti gandhabbananātakādīni paccupaṭṭhāpetvā sahāyakehi saddhīm lala-upalalaramakilassūti pi vuttam hoti (Pap. Sūd.).

⁴ *Balaṃ gahetvā* ti, sappāya bhojanāti bhujanto ucchādāna nahānādihi ca kāyaṃ pariharanto kāyena balaṃ janetva . . . (Pap. Sūd.).

⁵ *Atthi nāma*, ti,—Idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti; ‘Atthi nu kho, tāta Raṭṭhapāla, amhākaṃ dhaṇaṃ.’ Nanu mayhaṃ niddhanā ti, vattabbā; yesaṃ no tvaṃ Idiseṭṭhāne nisīditvā ābhidosikaṃ kummāsaṃ paribhuñjissasi (Pap. Sūd.).

⁶ *Mahantaṃ . . . pañjaṃ* ti, ekaṃ hiraññassa ekaṃ suvaṇṇassāti dve punje kārapetvā . . . (Pap. Sūd.). But possibly this comment of Buddhaghosa is due to his recollection of the parallel passage in the Sudinna-Sutta (see Introduction).

⁷ *Migavo* ti, tassa uyyānapālassa nāmaṃ (Pap. Sūd.).

⁸ *Ussaṭṭhāya* ti, ussitāya ussitāya mahāmatamahārattḥi-kādīnaṃ vasena uggatuggatam eva pariṣaṃ gahetvā upasaṃkamīti attho (Pap. Sūd.).

⁹ *Vosānaṃ idhādhiacchati* ti, yāya paññāya imasmin loke sabbakiccavosaṇaṃ arahattaṃ adhiacchati, sā ca dhānato uttamatarā (Pap. Sūd.).

¹⁰ *Asositattā* ti, aparisositattā arahattapattiyā abbāvena vā, ti attha (Pap. Sūd.).

¹¹ *Apaṇṇakam sāmāññaṃ eva seyyo* ti, aviruddhaṃ avejjhagāmī ekantaniyyānikaṃ sāmāññaṃ eva seyyo uttari-taraṇca paṇītaraṇca ti upadhāretvā (Pap. Sūd.).

Raṭṭhapāla-Suttaṃ dutiyaṃ.

Majjhima, No. 82.

RAṬṬHAPĀLA SUTTA.

Thus have I heard :—Once the Blessed One, as he wandered from place to place in the Kuru country, with a great company of Brethren, arrived at the town of the Kurus, named Thullakoṭṭhita. Now tidings came to the Brahmins and householders of Thullakoṭṭhita that the sage Gotama, of the Sakya clan and tribe, having renounced the world, and wandering from place to place in the Kuru country with a great company of Brethren, was arrived at Thullakoṭṭhita; and that regarding the Blessed One, Gotama, such was the high repute noised abroad that it was said of him that he was a Blessed One, an Arahāt, a very Buddha, excellent in wisdom and conduct, an auspicious one, who has surveyed all existence, an incomparable breaker-in of restive humanity, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha; that he, having brought himself to the knowledge thereof, and realised it face to face, tells of this world of existence, with its Devas, its Māra, and its Brahmā, and of the beings therein, Samanas and Brahmins, and the rest of mankind with the beings they have deified; he preaches a Doctrine, fair at beginning, fair at end, fair throughout, text and interpretation; he makes known a Way of Holiness supremely beautiful; it was good to go and see such Arahats as he was.

So the Brahmins and householders of Thullakoṭṭhita went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when they had come thither, some of them sat down respectfully beside him; some, on the other hand, exchanged friendly greetings with the Blessed One; and when they had exchanged with him the greetings of friendliness and civility, then sat down beside him. Others sat down by him, making humble obeisance with palms upraised in reverential attitude towards the Blessed One; and some made mention of their name and house, and so sat down with some who kept silence. And when the Brahmins

and householders of Thullakoṭṭhita were thus seated beside him, the Blessed One instructed them with a discourse of the Doctrine, and caused them to receive it, and stirred them up, and brought them to extol it.

Now at that time there was sitting in that congregation a young man of noble birth, Raṭṭhapāla by name, a son of the chief family in this very Thullakoṭṭhita. Now the young man Raṭṭhapāla thought thus: "So far as the Blessed One expounds the Doctrine point by point, it is no easy matter for one who lives the ordinary lay life of the householder to go the Way of Holiness, most perfect, most pure as the polished shell. Wherefore were it better for me, cutting off my hair and beard, and putting on yellow robes, to relinquish the household life and go forth unto homelessness."

Then, when the Brahmins and householders of Thullakoṭṭhita had been instructed by the Blessed One by his discourse of the Doctrine, and had received it in their minds and been stirred up to acknowledge and extol it; and, having rejoiced in the words of the Blessed One and given him thanks and risen from their seats, and, having said a respectful farewell, had taken their departure, keeping him ever on the right—then the young man Raṭṭhapāla, while the Brahmins and householders were not yet gone far off, approached the Blessed One, and sat respectfully beside him. And when he was thus seated, the young man, Raṭṭhapāla, spake as follows to the Blessed One: "As far, Lord, as I understand the Doctrine set forth by the Blessed One, point by point, it is no easy matter for one who leads the household life, to go the Way of Holiness, most perfect, most pure as the polished shell. I would, Lord, obtain admission to the ascetic life from the Blessed One; yea, I would obtain full admission into the order."

"Have you then, Raṭṭhapāla, your parents' consent to your going forth from home to homelessness?"

"I have not, Lord, their consent to my going forth from home to homelessness."

“Then, Raṭṭhapāla, the Tathāgatas receive not him into the homeless life who has not his parents’ consent.”

“Then, Lord, so will I do that my parents will allow me to go forth from home to homelessness.” And the young man, Raṭṭhapāla, rising up from his seat, greeted respectfully the Blessed One; and passing from him, keeping him ever on the right, came to the place where his mother and father were, and being come, spake thus to them: “My dear parents, so far as I understand the Doctrine set forth by the Blessed one, point by point, it is no easy matter for one who leads the household life, to go the Way of Holiness, most perfect, most pure as the polished shell. I wish, then, having cut off my hair and beard, and donned yellow robes, to give up this life of home, and go forth to the homeless state. Do ye allow me so to go forth!”

When he had said this, the parents of the young man Raṭṭhapāla spake to him thus:—“My dear Raṭṭhapāla, you are our only son, dear to us and beloved, well cared for, delicately nurtured. You have never, dear Raṭṭhapāla, known any sorrow. Come, Raṭṭhapāla, eat and drink, and associate with your companions; and eating and drinking and associating with your companions, and enjoying the pleasures of life, and doing good works, remain content therewith. We do not allow you to give up home and go forth a homeless one. We shall be unwilling to be separated from you even by death. Shall we, then, allow the living to give up home and go forth unto homelessness?”

A second time also, and a third, the young man Raṭṭhapāla spake to his parents; and a second time, and a third also, they returned him answer in the same words. Then the young man, Raṭṭhapāla, obtaining not from his parents their consent to his renunciation, flung himself then and there even on the bare ground, saying, “Here, here, death shall come to me, if I go not forth a homeless one.” And his parents said to him: “Dear Raṭṭhapāla, you are our only son, dear to us and beloved (etc. as above). We cannot let you go forth from home to home-

lessness." So they spake, but Raṭṭhapāla remained silent. And they spake to him a second time, and a third time; and ever at each entreaty, Raṭṭhapāla lay there, answering naught.

Then the parents of the young man Raṭṭhapāla went to his friends; and when they had come, they spake thus to them:—"Good sirs, this Raṭṭhapāla of ours is lying on the bare ground and saying, 'Here even shall death come upon me, or I go forth a homeless one.' Come, good sirs, go to Raṭṭhapāla, and say to him, 'Friend Raṭṭhapāla, you are your parents' only son, dear to them and beloved, well cared for and delicately nurtured. You have never, Raṭṭhapāla, known sorrow. Get up, friend Raṭṭhapāla, eat and drink, and associate with your companions; and eating and drinking, and associating with your companions, and taking the pleasures of life, and doing good works, remain content therewith. Your mother and father cannot see their son go forth from home to homelessness. They will be unwilling to give you up even to death when it comes at its appointed time. Shall they then, while you are yet alive, allow you to go forth from home to homelessness?'"

So the friends of the young man Raṭṭhapāla, hearkening to his parents, approached the place where Raṭṭhapāla was; and when they had come to him, they spake as they had promised. Thus they spake, but Raṭṭhapāla remained silent; and a second time, and a third, they spake to him; and ever Raṭṭhapāla lay there, answering naught.

Then the friends of the young man Raṭṭhapāla came to where his mother and father were, and said to them:—"Good parents, your son Raṭṭhapāla is lying on the bare ground, and saying, 'Here even shall death come upon me, or I go forth a homeless one.' If ye consent not to his going forth to the life of homelessness, there, even on that very spot, will he meet his death. But if ye consent, ye will indeed see him gone forth unto homelessness; yet if he shall not find contentment in his homeless life,

what other course will there be for him? 'Twill be here, and here alone, that he will turn back. Allow him, then, to go forth from home unto homelessness."

"We allow him, then, to go forth; but when he has become a homeless ascetic, he must from time to time come to see his parents."

Then his friends went to the place where Raṭṭhapāla lay, and said to him, "Friend Raṭṭhapāla, you are your parents' only son, dear to them and beloved, well cared for and delicately nurtured; you have never, friend Raṭṭhapāla, known any sorrow; get up [and eat and drink and associate with your companions, and eating and drinking and enjoying ease, and taking the pleasures of life, and doing good works, remain content therewith]; you have your parents' consent to go forth from your home unto homelessness; but when you are gone forth, you must come from time to time to see them."

Then Raṭṭhapāla rose up and, having fortified himself with food, went to where the Blessed One was. And when he had come thither, and greeted him respectfully, he sat down beside him, and when he was thus seated, Raṭṭhapāla spoke to the Blessed One:—"My parents have consented, Lord, that I should go forth from home to homelessness. Let the Blessed One receive me." Accordingly the young man, Raṭṭhapāla, found admission at the hands of the Blessed One, yea, full admission to the homeless state.

Now the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla had not been admitted to the full religious life longer than a fortnight, when the Blessed One, having sojourned at Thullakoṭṭhita as was convenient, departed thence for Sāvatti; and thither, after the circuit of his wanderings, he at length arrived. There the Blessed One took up his residence in Jetavana, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. But the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla, dwelling in solitude, far removed from the world, diligent and persevering, and earnest in effort, in no long time attained that for which the young scions of noble lineage give up home to go forth to homelessness,

namely the supreme goal of the Way of Holiness; having brought himself here in this visible world to the knowledge of it, and realised it face to face, dwelling ever therein. And he came to full understanding that re-birth was to be no more, that the Way of Holiness had been traversed, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this life there would be for him no beyond. So the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla became yet another among the Arahats.

Then the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla came to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there took his seat respectfully beside him. And being thus seated, the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla said to the Blessed One: "Lord, I wish to go and see my mother and father, if the Blessed One grant me permission." Thereupon the Blessed One pondered in his mind the thoughts of Raṭṭhapāla; and when he became conscious that Raṭṭhapāla was not minded to abandon the Discipline and to take to the lesser path, the lay-life, the Blessed One said to the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla: "At your pleasure, Raṭṭhapāla; go whenever you think fit."

So Raṭṭhapāla arose from his seat, and taking respectful farewell passed from the Blessed One, keeping him ever on the right. And having arranged his dwelling-place, and taking his robes and bowl, he departed thence for Thullakoṭṭhita; whither in the course of his wanderings he at length arrived, and took up his residence there in a pleasaunce called Deer Park,¹ belonging to King Koravya. Then in the morning the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla, putting on his yellow robes and taking his bowl, entered Thullakoṭṭhita for alms; and as he went from house to house in succession on his round for alms, he came to the place where his father dwelt. Now at this time his father was in the central hall of his house, being tended by his barber. Glancing up, he saw the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla coming in the distance. And seeing him he said, "These shaveling ascetics caused our only son, our dear and

¹ Buddh. Comment. 'Migācetre ti'; evamāmake uyyāne.

beloved boy, to give up his home for homelessness." And so the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla received no gift at his father's house, nor even courteous refusal, but abuse alone.

Now at that moment a slave girl belonging to the relatives of the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla was about to throw away some gruel which had turned sour from being kept overnight. So the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla said to her: "Sister, if you are going to throw away that sour gruel, put it here into my bowl." Now, as she put this sour old gruel into the bowl of the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla, she recognised his hands and his feet, and the sound of his voice. Thereupon she went to the place where his mother was, and said to her: "If you please, ma'am, do you know, my young master, Raṭṭhapāla, is come back." "Oh! If you but speak the truth," the mother replied, "you shall obtain your freedom." And then, going to his father, she said to him: "Do you know, husband, they say our son Raṭṭhapāla is returned."

In the meantime, the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla was eating his sour gruel under a wall close by, when his father came to him and said: "Is it so then, my dear Raṭṭhapāla, will you eat sour old gruel? Nay, dear Raṭṭhapāla, must you not come to your own house?"

"Where, householder," he answered, "is our house who have given up home to go forth unto homelessness. We went, homeless one, to your house, householder; but there we obtained no alms, not even courteous refusal, but only abuse."

"Come, dear Raṭṭhapāla, we will go home."

"Nay, householder, the need of a meal is at an end to-day."

"Then consent, dear Raṭṭhapāla, to take your meal with me to-morrow."

The Venerable Raṭṭhapāla by his silence consented; and his father, perceiving his consent, returned to his own house. And when he had returned, he caused a great heap of treasure and gold to be made, and caused it to be covered with mats. Then he summoned the wives of

the mundane life of the Venerable Ratthapāla, and said to them: "Come here, my daughters, trick yourselves out in all the brave adornments in which ye were formerly so dear and winning to the young man Ratthapāla." And in the course of that night his father caused drinks and meats and delicacies to be prepared in his house; and went and informed the Venerable Ratthapāla when it was the time. "It is the time, dear Ratthapāla," he said; "the food is ready." Then in the morning the Venerable Ratthapāla, clothed in his robes, took his bowl and went to his father's house; and sat down on the seat prepared for him.

Then his father, causing the heap of treasure and gold to be uncovered, said to the Venerable Ratthapāla: "This, dear Ratthapāla, is your maternal wealth, that your paternal wealth, and that other the wealth of your father's fathers. It is possible both to enjoy the good things of life, dear Ratthapāla, and to perform good works. Come, dear Ratthapāla, give up this Discipline, and return to family life, enjoy your wealth, and perform good works."

"If, householder, you would carry out my words, you would have this heap of treasure and gold put on to carts and conveyed to the Ganges, and there plunged into the middle of the stream; for therefrom will arise to you, householder, sorrow, and wailing, and grief, and woe, and despair."

Then they who had been the wives of his mundane life came to the Venerable Ratthapāla, and each of them, taking hold of his feet, said to him, "Who and what, pray, dear lord, are the goddesses for whose sake you go now the Way of Holiness?"

"Nay, sisters, 'tis for the sake of no goddesses that I now tread the Way of Holiness."

"Our lord Ratthapāla addresses us by the name of sisters," they exclaimed; and they fell, swooning away, to the ground.

Then the Venerable Ratthapāla said to his father, "If, householder, food is to be given, then do ye give it; but do not harass me therewith."

“Eat, my son; the food is ready,” said his father, and with his own hands he caused him to take his fill of drinks and meats and delicacies, pressing him with more until he refused. Then the Venerable Ratthapāla, having eaten and withdrawn his hand from the bowl, standing up and not sitting, recited these stanzas :—

“Behold this tricked-out frame, this maimed, corrupt,
And propped-up body, that doth yet so much
Usurp the thoughts of men, abiding not !

Behold this tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed,
Set up with bones and skin ; how to the view
Its garish raiment makes it bright and fair !

Fair feet, red tinged with dye, and fragrant mouth
That odorous powders had the savouring of ;—
Such folly is enough for folly’s friends,
But not for him who seeks the Shore beyond.

Fair locks in eight-fold curls, eyes fringed with black ;—
Such folly is enough for folly’s friends,
But not for him who seeks the Shore beyond.

Yea, tinged with black, fresh painted and adorned,
This fatal mass of foul mortality ;—
Such folly is enough for folly’s friends,
But not for him who seeks the Shore beyond.

The keeper set his snare, but as the deer
Not even touched the net ; so we depart,
Our need of food fulfilled, unfettered, free ;
But they who set the snare, they weep and wail.”

And having recited these stanzas, standing ever, then the Venerable Ratthapāla went to the deer-park of King Koravya. And when he had come thither, he sat down at the root of a tree to pass the heat of the day. Now King Koravya called his park-keeper and said to him : “Keeper, clear out the Migacīra park; we are going to visit it.” “Certainly, your Majesty,” answered the keeper, and as he was clearing the park he saw the

Venerable Raṭṭhapāla sitting under a tree. And having seen him, he went to the place where King Koravya was, and said, "Your Majesty, the park is cleared; and there is there the young sir, Raṭṭhapāla, the son of the chief family in Thullakoṭṭhita, whom you have frequently extolled. He is sitting at the foot of a tree to pass the heat of the day." "Then, keeper, let the park be for to-day; we will go and wait on that worshipful Raṭṭhapāla." So saying, King Koravya, having given orders for them to remove the food which had been prepared for him, and having caused his chariots so fair, so fair, to be made ready, got into his chariot so fair, and passed forth from Thullakoṭṭhita with his chariots so fair, so fair, in royal pomp to see the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla, and having gone in his chariot as far as a chariot might go, he alighted from it, and made his way on foot with a brilliant train to the place where the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla was. And when he had come there, he exchanged with the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla the greetings and compliments of friendliness and civility, and remaining standing beside him, he said to him: "Let the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla sit himself here on a couch of flowers."¹

"Nay, great King, sit you there. I will remain on my own seat."

So King Koravya sat down on the seat prepared for him; and when he was thus seated, he spake thus to the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla: "These, Raṭṭhapāla, are the four losses,² overtaken by which in this world some persons cut off their hair and beard, and putting on yellow robes give up home to go forth unto homelessness. What are the four? They are, the loss from old age, the loss from sickness, the loss of wealth, and the loss of relatives. And what, Raṭṭhapāla, is the loss from old age? In this world, Raṭṭhapāla, a person becomes worn, and old, and aged,

¹ Buddhaghosa comments thus on this passage: "Hatthatharo tanuko kābahalapappho, dugupam Katvā atthato abhilakkhito hoti. Tādise anāpucchitvā nisiditvā na yuttan ti, maññamāno evam āha."

² 'Pārijuññāniti, pārijuññabhavaparikkhaya; Buddhaghosa Pap. Sūd.

burdened with many years, nearing the term of his life. Then he falls a-thinking to himself: 'I am now worn and old and aged, and burdened with the weight of years, my term of life nearly done. I cannot now acquire the wealth I have not acquired, nor keep that which I have acquired. It were better then for me, cutting off my hair and beard, and putting on yellow robes, to go forth unto homelessness.' So he, overtaken by the loss from old age, cutting off his hair and beard, and clothed in yellow robes, goes forth from his home unto homelessness. This, Raṭṭhapāla, is called the loss from old age. Raṭṭhapāla, however, is still young and vigorous, still but a youth, with hair that age has not yet whitened; still in the fair bloom of youth, in the prime of his days. This loss from old age has not come to Raṭṭhapāla. What has Raṭṭhapāla known, or seen, or heard, that he has gone forth, forsaking his home, unto homelessness?

"And what, Raṭṭhapāla, is the loss from sickness? On this earth, Raṭṭhapāla, a person becomes ill, racked with pain, exceedingly sick, and he falls a-thinking to himself: 'Here I am, ill, racked with pain, exceedingly ill; I cannot acquire the wealth that I have not acquired, or increase that which I have acquired; it were better, therefore, for me to cut off my hair and beard, and, putting on yellow robes, to give up all and go forth to homelessness.' So he, overtaken by the loss from sickness, having cut off his hair and beard, and put on yellow robes, gives up all, and goes forth unto homelessness. This, Raṭṭhapāla, is called loss from sickness. But Raṭṭhapāla is still in good health, free from pain, with a healthy digestion, troubled by no excess of either hot or cold. Raṭṭhapāla has not suffered from loss by sickness. What has Raṭṭhapāla known, or seen, or heard, that he has gone forth from home unto homelessness?

"And what, Raṭṭhapāla, is loss of wealth? On this earth, Raṭṭhapāla, a certain one is wealthy, of great riches, having much substance; by degrees this substance of his goes to destruction. He falls a-thinking to

himself: 'Formerly I was wealthy, of great riches, having much substance; by degrees my substance has gone to destruction. I cannot acquire wealth that I have not acquired, nor can I increase the wealth that I have. It were therefore better for me, cutting off my hair and beard, and donning yellow robes, to give up all and go forth to homelessness.' So he, overtaken by loss of property, cuts off his hair and beard, and, putting on the yellow robes, goes forth to homelessness. This, Ratṭhapāla, is called loss of wealth. But Ratṭhapāla is the son of the chief family in this very Thūlakoṭṭhitam. He has not suffered from loss of wealth. What has Ratṭhapāla known, or seen, or heard, that he has given up home to go forth unto homelessness?

"And what, Ratṭhapāla, is loss of relatives? On this earth, Ratṭhapāla, a certain one has many friends and blood relations; by degrees these friends and relatives fall away; and he falls a-thinking to himself: 'Formerly I had many friends and blood relations; these by degrees have fallen away; I cannot now acquire the wealth I have not acquired, nor can I increase that which I have. Therefore it were better for me to cut off my hair and beard, and, putting on yellow robes, to go forth from home to homelessness.' So he, overtaken by loss of relatives, cuts off his hair and beard, and, putting on the yellow robes, goes forth. This, Ratṭhapāla, is called loss of relatives. But Ratṭhapāla has, in this very town, many friends and relatives; he has not, therefore, suffered from loss of relatives. What, then, has Ratṭhapāla known, or seen, or heard, that he has gone forth from home to homelessness?"

"These indeed, Ratṭhapāla, are the four kinds of losses which cause some men to cut off their hair and beard, and, putting on yellow robes, to go forth from home to homelessness. These Ratṭhapāla has not suffered. What then has Ratṭhapāla known or seen or heard that he is gone forth?"

"There are four Doctrines, great King, declared by the

Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha; which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth from home to homelessness. What are the four? 'The world passes away; it has no permanence.' This, great King, is the first doctrine declared by that Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha; which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth unto homelessness.

"'The world is without a refuge, without protection.' This is the second doctrine declared by that Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha; which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth unto homelessness.

"'The world has naught of its own, but, forsaking all, must pass away.' This is the third doctrine of the Blessed One (etc.), which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth into homelessness.

"'The world is ever wanting more, unsated, the slave of desire.' This, great King, is the fourth doctrine of the Blessed One (etc.), which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth from home to homelessness.

"These indeed, great King, are the four Doctrines declared by that Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha; and these I, having known, and seen, and heard, have passed forth from home to homelessness."

"You have said, Raṭṭhapāla, 'that the world passes away; it has not permanence.' But how, Raṭṭhapāla, is this statement to be understood?"

"What think you, great King? Were you at twenty or twenty-five skilled in the management of elephants and horses and chariots, expert in the use of the bow and sword, firm of foot and strong of arm, at home in the fight?"

"At twenty or twenty-five, Raṭṭhapāla, I was skilled in the management of elephants and horses and chariots, expert in the use of bow and sword, firm of foot and strong of arm, at home in the fight. Why, at one

time, Ratṭhapāla, my strength was more than human; I saw no equal of myself in strength."

"Then what think you, great King? Are you now thus firm of foot and strong of arm, unassailable in the fight?"

"Not so, Ratṭhapāla, I am now worn and old and aged, burdened with length of years, my days well-nigh run. My age is eighty; sometimes, Ratṭhapāla, I go to place my foot in one place, and put it down in another."

"Concerning this, then, great King, was it said by that Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha, that the 'world passes away, and has no permanence,' which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth to homelessness."

"Marvellous, Ratṭhapāla, wonderful! how well this indeed has been said by that Blessed One (etc.) that the things of the world pass away and have no permanence. For they do pass away, Ratṭhapāla, and have no permanence. But in this royal house, Ratṭhapāla, there are bodies of elephants, and of horses, and of chariots, and of infantry; and these would be a good protection against our necessity. But you said, Ratṭhapāla, that the things of the world are without refuge, without protection. How then, Ratṭhapāla, is this statement to be understood?"

"What think you, great King, of this? Have you any habitual complaint?"

"Yes, indeed, Ratṭhapāla, I have a certain complaint¹ which comes upon me, so that sometimes my friends and relatives stand round me and say, 'King Koravya must now fulfil his time! King Koravya will die.'"

"What think you, then, great King? Can you say to these friends and relatives, 'Come, friends and relatives, all of you, good people, divide this suffering with me, that so my own share of pain may be lightened.' Or must you bear this suffering alone?"

"No, Ratṭhapāla, I cannot say to these friends and relatives what you have suggested; but I have to bear my suffering alone."

¹ Vātābādhō.

“Concerning this, then, was it spoken by that Blessed One (etc.), that the things of the world are without a refuge, without protection; which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth unto homelessness.”

“Marvellous, Raṭṭhapāla, wonderful! how well was it said by the Blessed One that the things of the world are without a refuge, without protection. For they are, indeed, without a refuge, without protection. But, Raṭṭhapāla, in this royal house is there abundant stock of treasure and gold stored up both in vault and in attic. But you, Raṭṭhapāla, said that the world has naught of its own, but, giving up all, must pass away. Yet how is this statement, Raṭṭhapāla, to be understood?”

“What think you, great King, of this? The pleasures of your five senses which you now possess and enjoy, and by which you are surrounded in this life, will you possess and enjoy, and be surrounded by, these very same pleasures hereafter also? Or will others enter upon this wealth, while you go to fare according to your deserts?”

“The pleasures, Raṭṭhapāla, which I possess and enjoy and am surrounded by in this life, I cannot, shall not, possess and enjoy, and be surrounded by these very same pleasures hereafter also. Then, indeed, others will enter upon this wealth, and I shall go to fare according to my deserts.”

“Concerning this, then, great King, was it said by that Blessed One (etc.) that the world has naught of its own, but, leaving all, must pass away; which I, having known, and seen, and heard, have gone forth to homelessness.”

“Marvellous, Raṭṭhapāla, wonderful! How well said by that Blessed One (etc.) that the world has naught of its own, but, leaving all, must pass away. But Raṭṭhapāla said that the world is ever wanting more, unsated, the slave of desire. Yet how, Raṭṭhapāla, must this be understood?”

“What think you of this, great King? Is this Kuru country in which you dwell prosperous?”

“Even so, Raṭṭhapāla, this Kuru country, in which I dwell, is prosperous.”

“Then what think you, great King? If a servant

of yours should come from the East country, a man trustworthy and faithful; and when he had come, should say to you, 'If you please, great King, know that I am come from the East country: there saw I a mighty province, prosperous and rich, populous, thickspread with inhabitants. There are there vast numbers of elephants, and horses, and chariots, and infantry; there, too, is much ivory and skins; there much gold and coins, unwrought and wrought; there, too, multitudes of women. And it may be won by such and such a number of your servants. Conquer it, great King.' Pray, would you do it?"

"Yes, Raṭṭhapāla, I would conquer it and dwell there."

"What think you, great King? If your servants should come from the west country and from the north also, and from the south, having travelled across seas, faithful and trustworthy men; and if they were to tell you the same story (as above), and each should say, 'Conquer this land, great King': pray, would you do it?"

"I would indeed conquer it, Raṭṭhapāla, and dwell there."

"Concerning this, then, great King, was it said by that Blessed One, the All-Knowing and Seeing, the Arahāt, the Very Buddha, that the world is ever wanting more, unsated, the slave of desire; which I, having perceived, and seen, and heard, have gone forth from home unto homelessness."

"Marvellous, Raṭṭhapāla, wonderful! How well was it said by that Blessed One (etc.) that the world is ever wanting more, unsated, and the slave of desire."

Thus spake the Venerable Raṭṭhapāla; and, having thus spoken, he said this further: "I see rich men in the world; they acquire wealth but bestow it not, from infatuation. Greedy, they hoard their riches, and in their desire long ever after more.

"A king, having conquered the world with violence, up to the limits of the ocean, occupying it all on this side of the sea, unsatisfied still, would desire, too, the parts beyond.

"Kings, and many others of the earth, approach death with desires unquenched; still unsated, they leave the body: in the world there is no standing still in desire.

“Their relatives bewail him with dishevelled hair ; and say ‘ Alas, verily he is dead ! ’ They wrap him in a cloth and bear him away ; and taking him to the pile, they burn him.

“So he, forsaking his wealth, pierced with stakes, is burnt in a single cloth. To the dying, neither relatives nor friends are a refuge here.

“The heirs take away his wealth ; its owner goes to fare according to his deserts. The dead man wealth follows not, nor sons, nor wife, nor property, nor land.

“By wealth a man gains not length of years ; nor by possessions escapes the decay of age. Short is this life, say the wise, and unenduring, full of change.

“Rich and poor alike are touched by this stroke ; the fool even with the wise is touched. But the fool, thus stricken, that moment in his folly succumbs ; the wise man is touched but is unmoved.

“Therefore wisdom is better than riches : ’tis by this that a man attains Arahathship, the end of existence. For they in whom folly hath not ceased, go on from birth to birth performing sinful acts.

“Man enters the womb and goes to a new existence, being born and re-born continually ; believing such a one, the man of little wit again enters the womb and again is born to existence.

“As the wicked thief, taken in house-breaking, is punished in consequence of his own act, even so mankind ; the wicked man is punished hereafter in another world in consequence of his own act.

“The pleasures of sense, varied, and sweet, and heart-delighting, stir up the mind in changing modes. Seeing the evils of the pleasures of sense, therefore I went forth, O King, unto homelessness.

“As fruit from the tree, so at the dissolution of the body fall the boy, and the youth, and the aged. Seeing this, O King, went I forth from home unto homelessness. Most excellent is the recluse’s certain way.”

ART. XXIV.—*The Babylonian Chronicle.* By THEO. G.
PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

IN the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1887 (p. 655), I gave the text of a tablet of the Babylonian Chronicle referring to the period immediately following 747 B.C. Since then I have copied and studied the rather difficult text of an earlier tablet of the series, of which I now give a rendering, accompanied by the Babylonian text, a transcription, and notes.

The original is a large tablet of unbaked clay, about eight inches square when perfect. The upper part has now, however, disappeared, so that probably less than one-third of the text remains, damaged and very imperfect in places. The writing, though clear, is not in the best style, some of the characters having apparently been very carelessly formed, and portions of the surface preserved have also suffered severely in the course of the twenty-three centuries or thereabouts which have passed since the present copy was written.

If we may form any conclusion from the wording of the inscription, it is probable that a copy of our text fell, about 650 B.C. or earlier, into the hands of Assyrians, who seem to have compiled from it, or from another version which differed somewhat, the series known as the "Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia." If so, they left out all the references which might be regarded as damaging

to the reputation of the Assyrians as warriors, or too laudatory to the Babylonians.

The first column refers to Kadišman-Muruš, son of Kar-indaš, and grandson of the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ (1400 B.C.). If, however, the Babylonian version here published be correct, the Assyrian copyist of the "Synchronous History" must have gone somewhat astray, for he calls the Babylonian king Kara-Murdaš instead of Kadišman-Muruš, and leaves out the name of his father Kara-indaš.¹ He omits also the fact that Kadišman-Muruš transported the "numerous Suti" from the East (their native place) to the West (the land of the Amorites), "until there were no more" (*ādi lā bašē*). The Assyrian text also differs in calling Šu-zigaš by the name of Nazi-bugaš. We learn from the "Synchronous History" that Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, avenged his grandson by killing Nazi-bugaš (=Šu-zigaš), and setting on the throne Kuri-galzu, son of Burna-buriaš, whose reign forms the subject of the second column of our text.

The long account of what seems to have taken place in the land Tāmti^m (the land of the sea-coast) does not occur in the Assyrian version. The Babylonian version, as will be seen, was not a mere outline of what took place, but a detailed account, seemingly compiled from trustworthy sources—probably Kuri-galzu's own records—and seems to have had a certain amount of literary merit. It is probable that Babylon and Borsippa had not submitted to Kuri-galzu because of his having been set on the throne by the King of Assyria, and if this be the case it would account for his adding those cities to his dominions (line 9). The account of Hurba-tila's challenge to Kuri-galzu to fight with him at Dûr-Dungi, and the defeat of Hurba-tila there,

¹ The name of Kara-indaš (=Kar-indaš) comes in lower down, where, however, the name of Kara-Murdaš (=Kadišman-Muruš) is omitted, making the Assyrian text quite incomprehensible.

are likewise absent from the "Synchronous History." The details of the above are contained in columns two and three, and probably occupied a great part of those columns when the text was perfect. The end of this section refers to the battle at Sugaga, which, however, according to the "Synchronous History," was fought with 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Êa-nirari,¹ not Rammānu-nirari (as our text gives). Rammānu-nirari was the grandson of Êa-nirari, hence, probably, the Babylonian scribe's mistake.

The fourth and last column treats of a later period—the reign of Tukulti-Ninip, of Assyria, who conquered Babylonia, and ruled the country for seven years, when, a revolt against his rule taking place, he was driven out of Babylonia, and Rammānu-nadin-ṣḥi (or Addu-nadin-ṣḥi) sat on the throne. Apparently the Babylonians considered it as a kind of judgment against him that the great ones of his country, headed by Aššur-našir-apli, his own son, also revolted against him, deposed him, and slew him in Kar-Tukulti-Ninip, the city named after him. This, as Aššur-našir-apli came to the throne in 885 B.C., must have taken place in that year. Who Tukulti-Aššur-Bêl ("my help is Aššur, the lord"), who is mentioned twice in line 12, was, is unknown; but as he is not called king, and has, in fact, no title whatever, it may be conjectured that he was a common man, or, at most, a nobleman, who tried by some means to get influence among the people, and attained thereby a certain reputation, not only in Assyria, but also in Babylonia. If the translation of the beginning of line 12 be correct, Tukulti-Ninip would seem to have ruled Assyria for twelve years. This portion is one that does not redound to the credit of Assyria, and is probably for that reason not touched upon in the "Synchronous History."

¹ Elsewhere called, seemingly, Bêl-nirari.

Two interesting paragraphs referring to an invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king Kidin-Īutrudiš follow, but are unfortunately rather mutilated. These, too, have no parallels in the Assyrian record above referred to, so that we have no means of filling out the wanting parts. We must be thankful to get them as they are.

COLUMN II.

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COLUMN III.

3 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠
 6 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠
 9 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠
 12 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠

COLUMN IV.

12
 9
 6
 3

COL. I.

1. ša a šur (P)
who
2. šAR MÂT Kar- >𐎶 Dun-ia-aš ū
king of Kar-Duniaš, and
𐎶 >𐎶 [Aššur-UBALL-iṭ]
[Aššur-uballit]
3. u-rak-kis ina bi-ri-šu-nu, mi-šir a-ḥa-
covenanted between them, the boundary of
weš u-kin-nu
each other they fixed
4. ik-kil-ma EPUŠ-ma a-na aš-ri-šu
he prepared and made and to its place
u-tir
restored
5. [𐎶 Ka-diš-man-Mur]-uš MÂR 𐎶 Kar-in-da-aš MÂRU ša
Kadišman-Muruš son of Kar-indaš son of
𐎶 Mu-bal-liṭ-at- >𐎶 Šeru-u-a
Muballitāt- Šerūa
6. [MÂRTU] ša 𐎶 >𐎶 Aššur-UBALL-iṭ šAR MÂT Aššur 𐎶
[daughter] of Aššur-uballit king of Assyria
ka-ma-ri Su-ti-i rab-ba-a-tu
troops of the the Suti numerous
7. ULTU ši-it >𐎶 ŠAM-ši âdi e-rib >𐎶 ŠAM-ši
from the rising { of the } to the setting { of the }
is-pur-ma ÂDI LÂ BAŠ-e. INA ÂLAKĒ-šu-nu
he sent also until there was not. In their goings
8. ÂL Bi-ra-a-ta^m INA ki-rib MÂT Šar-šar u-kaš-šir
the city of Birātu¹ in the midst of Amurri { he banded }
𐎶 ku-up-pu ip-te-e-ma { together }

¹ Or, "the fortresses."

9. a-na MASSAR-ta^m du-un-nu-nu.
 for the watch they were strengthened.
 NĪŠĒ INA LIBBI-ši-na a-bur-riš u-še-šib. Ar-ka-nu
 The { men in the } in comfort he set. Afterwards
 { midst of them }
10. NĪŠĒ Kaš-ši-i IBBALKITU-šu IDŪKU-šu. ʾ Šu-zi-ga-aš
 men of Kašši { revolted } (and) killed him. Šuzigaš
 { against him }
 MĀT Kaš-ša-a
 of the land of Kaššâ
11. MĀR lâ-ma-am-nu a-na šARR-u-tu a-na ÊLI-šu-nu iš-šu-u.
 son of a nobody to the kingdom over them they raised.
 ʾ Aššur-UBALL-iṭ
 Aššur-uballit
12. [šAR] MĀT Aššur ʾ a-na tu-ru gi-mir ša ʾ Ka-diš-man-
 king of Assyria to return the benefit of Kadišman-
 Mur-uš MĀR MĀRTI-šu
 Muruš, son of his daughter
13. [a-na] MĀT Kar-ʾ Dun-ia-aš il-lik. ʾ Šu-zi-ga-aš
 [to] the land of Kar-Duniaš he went. Šuzigaš
 MĀT Kaš-ša-a
 of the land of Kaššâ
14. . . . [ʾ Ka-]diš-man-Mur-uš INA KUSSĪ
 Kadišman-Muruš upon the throne

COL. II.

1. mu-
2. zi-it-tu (P)
 furniture (P)
3. e-li-šu-nu -ma ri-ig-mu i-
 over them and the cry
4. ʾ NAKRU i-h[u-u]s-su. a-ḥa-weš u-tak-kil
 the enemy took it. Each other they trusted

5. u-šam-kit-[su-nu-tu] kul-lat-su-nu NAPIš-ti^m
 he caused [them] to be slain, all of them—a soul
 ul e-zib (P)-ma ak-tu (P)
 he did not leave and
6. u- . . . -ku (P) NAPIš-ti^m tam-ti^m gal-la-ti^m ina
 he [destroyed P] life—(as) a great sea with
 da-mi-šu-nu mât Tam-ti^m (P)
 their blood the land of Tamti^m [was covered P]
7. id-du (P) u-še-šu-u ➤ UMMANI-šu ni-ik-bu-du
 an agreement (P) he sent forth. His army we honoured,
 ni-iz-ku-ur su-un-
 we proclaimed
8. ➤ UMMANU u-pa-aš-ši-hu bu-še-e ➤ NAKKI
 the army rested, the property of the enemy
 šad-lu-tu^m u-pa-aḥ-
 extensive they gathered (P)
9. a-na gu-ru-ni-e u-še-li i-tur-ru-nim-ma
 to heaps (P) he { caused to } They returned and
 { be raised. }
 INA ṬÂBTI
 with the benefit
10. ul ni-di-e-ma ¶ Ku-ri-gal-zu ki-i kul-lat nišē
 we knew not and Kuri-galzu as all the men
 ta-
 of ba[ttle P]
11. ina nišē ša-nin-ni ul ni-ši e-nin-na
 among the people our rival { we had } Again
 { not. }
 ma-ta-tu
 the countries
12. ni (P)-is-bat a-šar-ka ni-iš-te-e-ma ir-ba-a-ni ni-bil . . .
 we took, thy place we held (P) and our reward (P) we took away
13. . . . -tu nu-šak-ši-du ka-tuk-ku i-tu-ur-ma iš- . . .
 . . . { we caused to be } thy hand restored and set (P)
 { captured, }

14. . . . -ša-nu-ti-ma si- . . . -tu ta-
 them and thou (?).

COL. III.

1. . . . bi (?)-ḥu (?)-um (?)
 2. . . . ši-gu-u lu-u
 prayer then
 3. ¶ Ši-el (?) -tam (?) da-la-
 Šéltu^m (?)
 4. EŠTIN lim sisê bar-mu (?) -ta^m i-dan-šu-nu-u-tu^m
 1000 horses many-coloured (?) he gave them
 5. ša (?) li-ša-nu iṣ-bat-tam-ma ri-da-a u-bi-li ib-
 who the language accepted and offspring brought, he
 6. ma-ša-ar u-še-iṣ-bit, a-dan-na u-gam-mi-ir
 the watch { he caused to } the time he completed
 { be kept, }
 7. ta-a-a-ri ur-ḥu-ku-mu. KASPA, HURASA ni-sik-tu^m
 the return (of) your path. Silver, gold, precious
 ABNU
 stones
 8. ub-lam, šAM-e HURASI ÊLLŪTI a-na →† MARUDUK
 I brought, skies of gold glorious for Merodach
 BĒLI-ia lu-
 my lord then
 9. BĀBĪLI ¶ u Bar-sip ¶ ÊLI sĒRI-ia lu-u-ša-aṭ-tir
 Babylon and Borsippa unto my country then I added
 10. ¶ Hū-ur-ba-ti-la šAR MĀT E-lam-mat a-na ¶ Ku-ri-gal-zu
 Hūrba-tila king of the land of Elam to Kuri-galzu
 šAR (?)
 the king (?) [sent]
 11. um-ma : Al-kam-ma ana-ku û ka-a-šu ina DŪR-
 thus : Come I and thou in DŪr-
 →† Dun-gi
 Dungi [battle with]

12. a-ḥa-weš ni-pu-uš. ¶ Ku-ri-gal-zu iš-me-e-ma . . .
each other will make. Kuri-galzu heard and . . .
13. a-na MĀT ELAMMAT ¶ a-na ka-ša-du ILL-ik-ma
to the land of Elam. to conquer he went and
¶ Ḥu-[ur-ba-ti-la] . . .
Ḥurba-tila
14. šAR MĀT E-lam-mat ina DŌR-→¶ Dun-gi ni-tu^m
king of the land of Elam at Dûr-Dungi battle
ana libbi-šu (P)-[nu]
between them (P)
15. ina PĀNI-šu ib-bal-kit-ma ¶ Ku-ri-gal-zu ABIKTA-
before him revolted and Kuri-galzu their
šu-nu iš[-kun]. [¶ Ḥu-ur-ba-ti-la] . . .
overthrow made. [Ḥurba-tila]
16. šAR MĀT E-lam-mat KĀT-su IKŠ-ud kul-lat
king of the land of Elam his hand captured. The whole
MĀT E-lam-mat, mi-na-
of the land of Elam
17. ki-mi-iš ina kin-ši-šu ¶ Ḥu-ur-ba-ti-la
was apportioned (P) among his portions (P) Ḥurba-tila
šAR MĀT E-lam-mat
king of the land of Elam
18. lu-u-i-di. ŠARRU ¶ Ku-ri-gal-zu ki-i a-ga-a-an-na
then knew. The king, Kuri-galzu, when this
19. it-ti šARRĀNI ša nap-ḥar MĀTĀTI man-da-at-tu^m . . .
with the kings of all the lands, tribute
20. a-na ÊLI ¶ →¶ Rammānu-nirari šAR MĀT Aššur ¶
against Rammānu-nirari, king of the land of Assyria,
ana kaša-du
to capture
21. ina âl Sugaga ša ÊLI NĀR Zal-zal-lat
in the city Sugaga which is upon the river Zalzallat
ni-ta^m (P)
battle (P) [with him he made]

22. UMMANĀTI-šu i-duk, \Rightarrow RABŪTI-šu
 his army he killed his great men
-
23. Υ Na-zi-muru-taš MĀR Υ
 Nazi-Murutaš, son of
24. šAR māt Aššur Υ ina (?)
 the king of Assyria in (?)

COL. IV.

1. šarrāni
 kings
2. [ma]-har \rightarrow NINIP id-di-ma
 [be]fore Ninip he set and
3. [Υ TUKUL-ti-] \rightarrow NINIP a-na BĀBĪLI Υ
 [Tukulti]- Ninip to Babylon
 i-tu-ra-am-ma
 returned and
4. kar (?)-ri-bu DŪR BĀBĪLI Υ
 approached (?), the fortress of Babylon
 ik-[šud], mār-BĀBĪLI ina kakki
 he captured, the Babylonians with the sword
5. MAKKUR Ê-sag-gil u BĀBĪLI Υ
 [he slew], the property of Ê-saggil and Babylon
 ina sūḫ māti uš-te-ši
 into the street of the land he caused to be brought forth,
 BĒLU RAB-u \rightarrow MARUDUK
 the great lord Merodach
6. bil-ti-šu id-ki-e-ma a-na MĀT Aššur Υ
 his tribute he gathered and to the land of Assyria
 u-ša-aš-bit. Har-ra-an \Rightarrow šak-nu-ti-šu
 he caused to be taken. The path of his prefects
7. ina MĀT Kar \rightarrow Dun-ya-aš iš-kun. SIBĪT šANĀTI
 in the land of Kar-Duniaš he made. 7 years
 Υ TUKUL-ti \rightarrow NINIP Kar \rightarrow Dun-ya-aš
 Tukulti-Ninip Kar-Duniaš

8. u-ma'-ir. ARKIŠ ⇒ RABŪTE ša MÂT AKKADĪ 𒂗
had governed. Afterwards the great men of Akkad
ša MÂT Kar→𒂗 Dun-ya-aš IBBALKITU-ma
(and) of Kar-Duniaš revolted and
9. 𒂗→𒂗 RAMMĀNU-NADIN-ĀḪI INA KUSSĪ ABI-ŠU u-še-ši-bu.
Rammānu-nadin-āḫi on the throne of his father they set.
𒂗 TUKUL-ti →𒂗 NINIP ša BĀBĪLI 𒂗 ANA LIMUT-tu
Tukulti-Ninip, who Babylon to evil
10. [lu]-u-bil-la 𒂗→𒂗 AŠŠUR-na-šir-ĀPLI MĀR-ŠU u
had brought, Aššur-našir-apli, his son, and
⇒ RABŪTI ša MÂT Aššur 𒂗 IBBALKITU-šu-ma
the great men of Assyria revolted against him and
11. [ina] KUSSĪ-ŠU id-ku-šu-ma INA ĀL Kar-TUKUL-ti-
from his throne they threw him and in Kar-Tukulti-
→𒂗 NINIP INA BĪTI i-si-ru-šu-ma INA KAKKI
Ninip in the house they imprisoned him and killed
IDŪKU-ŠU
him with the sword
12. [Ana] šiššIT šANĀTI, a-di 𒂗 TUKUL-ti→𒂗 AŠŠUR-BĒL
For 6 years, until Tukulti-Aššur-Bêl
INA MÂT Aššur 𒂗 a-šib—ANA tar-ši 𒂗 TUKUL-ti-
in Assyria he dwelt—in the time of Tukulti-
→𒂗 AŠŠUR-BĒL a-na
Aššur-Bêl to
13. [BĀBĪ]LI it-tal-kam.
[Baby]lon went.
-
14. . . . 𒂗 BĒL-na-din-šUMI šARRI it-ba-am-ma
[In the time of] Bêl-nadin-šumi, the king, came also
𒂗 Ki-din→𒂗 HU-ut-ru-diš šAR MÂT ELAMMAT 𒂗
Kidin-Ḫutrudiš, king of the land of Elam.
15. [u-m]al (?)-la KĀT-su a-na NIPPURI 𒂗 nišē-šu is-pu-uḫ.
he filled (?) his hand, at Niffer his people he overthrew.
DŪR-fLI 𒂗 u Ê-tim-gal-kalam-ma
Dûr-ili and Ê-timgal-kalama

FREE RENDERING.

COL. I.

..... who the king of Kar-Duniaš and Aššur-uballiṭ made covenants together, and fixed their common boundary he prepared and made and restored to its place. Kadišman-Muruš, son of Kar-indaš, son of Muballiṭat-Šerūa, daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, sent bands of the numerous Suti from east to west until there were no more. As they went, he banded together the fortresses in the midst of Phœnicia, opened the keeps, and they were strengthened for the watch (*i.e.* in the service of the Babylonian king). The men in their midst (that is, in the midst of the fortresses) he settled comfortably. Afterwards, some Kassites revolted against him and killed him; they raised Šu-zigaš, a Kassite, the son of a nobody, to the dominion over them. Aššur-uballiṭ, [king] of Assyria, to avenge Kadišman-Muruš, his daughter's son, went [to] Babylonia; [he killed] Šu-zigaš, the Kassite. [Ka]dišman-Muruš [had sat] upon the throne [of Babylon for . . . years].¹

COL. II.

..... furniture (?) over them . . . and the cry the enemy held it. They trusted each other he caused [them] to be slain, all of them—he did not leave a soul, and . . . he [destroyed ?] life—the land

¹ The Assyrian version, as given in the "Synchronous History," reads as follows:—"In the time of Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, Kara-Murdaš (this should be *Kadišman-Muruš, son of Kara-indaš*), king of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia), son of Muballiṭat-Šerūa, daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ, soldiers of Kaššê revolted against him and killed him. Nazi-bugaš, a Kassite, son of a nobody, they raised to the dominion over them." "[Aššur-uballiṭ king of Assyria, to avenge [Kara]-indaš (this should be *Kadišman-Muruš*), [his daughter's] son, went to Kar-Duniaš. He killed [Na]zi-bugaš, king of Kar-Duniaš. Kuri-galsu, a youth, son of Burna-buriaš, he appointed [to] the kingdom; [he seated him ?] on the throne of [his] father."

of Tām^{ti} (P) [was covered P] with blood—a great sea
 he sent forth an agreement (P). We honoured his army,
 we proclaimed the army rested, they gathered (P)
 the extensive property of the enemy he caused to
 be raised to heaps (P). They returned, and with the benefit
 we knew not, and Kuri-galzu as all the men of
 ba[ttle P] we had not a rival among the people.
 Again the countries we took, we held (P) thy
 place, we took away (P) our reward (P) . . . we caused to
 be captured, thy hand restored and set (P)
 them and thou

COL. III.

. a penitential
 psalm then Šêltu (P)
 1000 many-coloured horses he gave to them . . . who
 accepted the language and brought offspring, he
 he caused the watch to be kept, he completed the time . . .
 . . the return of your path. I brought silver, gold, precious
 stones [I] then [made] glorious ceilings of gold for
 Merodach my lord then I caused Babylon and
 Borsippa to be added to my country. Ĥurba-tila, king of
 Elam, [sent] to Kuri-galzu the king (P) thus: "Come, I and
 thou will [make battle] together at Dûr-Dungi." Kuri-
 galzu heard, and went to Elam to conquer (it),
 and Ĥu[rba-tila], king of Elam, [made] battle [with him]
 in the midst of Dûr-Dungi. [His soldiers] revolted against
 him, and Kuri-galzu overthrew them; his hand captured
 [Ĥurba-tila], king of Elam. The whole of the land of
 Elam was apportioned (P). Among his portions (P)
 Ĥurba-tila, king of Elam then knew. The king,
 Kuri-galzu, when this [happened, levied P] tribute with the
 kings of all the lands, [and went] against Rammānu-nirari,
 king of Assyria, to capture [him]. In the city Sugaga,
 which is upon the river Zalzallat, [he fought with him],

he killed his army, he his great men.¹

Nazi-Murutaš, son of the
king of Assyria in (?)

COL. IV.

. kings
. he set before Ninip and
. . . . [Tukulti]-Ninip returned to Babylon and approached
. . . . , he cap[tured] the fortress of Babylon, [he slew]
the Babylonians with the sword, he caused the property
of Ê-saggil and Babylon to be brought forth into the
highway, he gathered the taxes of the great lord Merodach,
and caused them to be taken to Assyria. He settled
the policy of his prefects in Babylonia. Tukulti-
Ninip governed Babylonia seven years. Afterwards the
great men of Akkad and Babylonia revolted against him
and set Rammānu-nadin-âhi on his father's throne. As
for Tukulti-Ninip, who had brought Babylon to evil, Aššur-
našir-apli, his son, and the great men of Assyria revolted
against him and deposed him, and in Kar-Tukulti-Ninip,
in the palace, they imprisoned him, and slew him with
the sword. For six years, until (the time of) Tukulti-
Aššur-Bêl, he dwelt in Assyria—he went to Babylon in
the time of Tukulti-Aššur-Bêl.


¹ The Assyrian version is as follows:—"In the time of Êa-nirari, king of Assyria, Kuri-galzu, a youth, [was king of Babylonia]. Êa-nirari, king of Assyria, fought with him at the city of Sugagi, which is upon the river [Zalzall]at—he accomplished his overthrow, his soldiers [he sle]w, he captured his camp. From the road of Šubari [to] Kar-Duniaš the fields they divided equally, they fixed the boundary, the frontier-line they fixed." "Rammānu-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Nazi-Murutaš, king of Kar-Duniaš, fought with each other at Kar-Ištar of Agarsallu. Rammānu-nirari accomplished the defeat of Nazi-Murutaš—he smote his forces (?), his camp and his standards (?) he took. With regard to the boundary, the frontier-line, the line (?) of their boundary from before the land of Pilaški, which was like the windings (?) of the Tigris (at) Arman of Agarsallu, they made and fixed as far as Lulumê."

[In the time of] Bêl-nadin-šumi, the king, there came also Kidin-Ĥutrudiš, king of Elam—he filled (?) his hand, and overthrew his (Bêl-nadin-šumi's?) people at Niffer. [He captured] Dûr-îli and Ê-timgal-kalama, spoiled its people, drove away also Bel-nadin-šumi, the king, his [opponent?].

..... Rammānu-šarra-iddina returned and Kidin-Ĥutrudiš, in his second advance, [attacked?] the land of Akkad. He removed, he entered the city of Isin. The river Tigris, the whole [in] Marad [he] evilly [accomplished] the overthrow of the numerous people him, and upon the oxen he made a claim took and caused to be removed to a distance. The weapons (?) him also.

..... governed
 him ..

COL. I.

Lines 6-7.  *kamari Sutt rabbātu*. The rest of the phrase, "until there were no more" (*adi lâ baše*), seems to demand some such translation as "troops" or "bands" for *kamari*. The word is not a frequent one, and its meaning has given a certain amount of trouble even to the best-equipped of translators. The root seems to mean "to set down," then "to set apart," "separate." Compare Aššurbaniapli, Cyl. Rm. 1, col. i., line 57: *ina palta nuḥṣu dahdu, ina šanātia kummuru hegallu*^m, "in my reign fruitfulness overflowed, in my years fertility (=plenty) was constant." *Kumurrū* is given in K. 56, iii., line 12, as translating

𐎶 𐎶, *gargara*, which is a synonym of *šakunnū*, from *šakānu*, "to set," "make"; and in W.A.I. ii., pl. 15, line 43, the word *kimri* translates 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *gar-gar-ra* (*gargara*), in connection with *šinipāt suluppē*, the probable meaning of *kimri šinipāt suluppē* being "a fixed amount of two-thirds of dates" (to be measured to the lord of the field). This general meaning of "to set apart" is supported by W.A.I. ii. 22, lines 30-32, where *kamaru* follows "net of a fowler" and "of a fisherman," "sack of corn" (*sakku ša šeim*), also "cage of a lion" (*nabaru* or *nabartu^m ša nēši*), and seems to be a synonym of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *parru*, which is probably connected with 𐎶𐎶, *bara* or *parakku* "sanctuary" (see Aššurb. Rm. 1, col. i., l. 24, *paru naklu, markas šarrūti* "an artistic room—the royal chamber"). It is apparently from the word *kamaru* that the Akkadian 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *kamar*, probably meaning "partitioned room," is borrowed. The meaning of "division" for *kamaru* may therefore be regarded as fairly well proven, and "division" in English means also a band or troop, thus forming a good parallel to the usage of the Assyrian word in this text.

The word *rabbātu* apparently comes from *rabābu*, Heb. רבב, and not from *rabū*, Heb. רבה. The use of the feminine plural form is probably due to the word 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *nīšē* "people" being understood (see col. iv., line 19, where *nīšē rabbātu* "numerous people" occurs—*nīšē* being always construed as feminine, notwithstanding its masculine form). *Sutt*, with its long final vowel, implies that the preceding *t* belongs to the root of the word, and that it could therefore hardly be regarded as feminine.

In *adi lā bašē* we have a series of ideographs—𐎶𐎶, here not *bēlu* "lord," but *adi* "up to," "until"; 𐎶 = *lā* "not"; and 𐎶𐎶, *bašū* "to be," in the text written with the phonetic complement, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *BAŠ-e*

(*bašé*) indicating the oblique case after the preposition *adi*. *Lá bašé* "not being" is, in fact, almost, if not quite, a compound word in Assyro-Babylonian. The phrase *adi lá bašé*, lit. "until the not-being," apparently means "until there were no more."

The words which I have translated "in their goings" are written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$. The first word is the common preposition 𒀭 , *ina* "in." The second word is the character 𒀭 , followed by the plural sign 𒀭 . 𒀭 is not the usual ideograph for *álaku* "to go," that being generally expressed by 𒀭 , of which, however, 𒀭 is dialectic representative. Besides *álaku* "to go," 𒀭 (in Akkadian *ir* or *er*) also stands for *ábahu* "to bring," *éréšu* "to plant" (*ir* or *er* is, in this case, a totally different root), *habātu* "to plunder," *šalāhu* "to spoil," *kamú* and *lekú* "to take," etc. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to read *ina tabali-šunu* "on their transportation." The other meanings naturally do not fit the sense of the passage.

Line 8. $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$, D.P. *bi-ra-a-tu*, is probably not the name of a city, but the plural of *birtu* "fortress" or "stronghold."

The word $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$, D.P. *ku-up-pu*, I have translated as "keeps," though the word has really a singular form. The construct case, *kup*, occurs in the expression *kup iššuri* "cage of a bird," in the syllabary S^b, No. 132, and the word is met with also in the cylinder of Sennacherib, where he says that he shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem, his capital city, "like a caged bird" (*kima iššur kuppī*). *Kuppu* therefore means a place to keep either men or animals—a den or keep—and that it is, in this passage, an underground place, is shown by the rare determinative prefix 𒀭 , which stands for a well or similar excavated place (*būru*, *būrtu*, *hubbu*; see Brünnow, "Classified List,"

10267-10269). Besides the meanings given by Brünnow, the tablets 80-11-12, 9 and 81-4-28, 861 give the following:—

I 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵	Tu-ul	𐎶𐎵	bur-tu ^m	well
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	is-su-u	hole (?)
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	mi-iḫ-ṣu	pond
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	tam-tu ^m	sea
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	tu-ul-tu ^m	well, etc.
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ṣit-nu ^m	(?)
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ḫi-ri-tu ^m	ditch
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ka-lak-ki	
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ku-ub-lu	
		I 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵	Ub	𐎶𐎵
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	mi-iḫ-ṣu	pond
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	tam-tu ^m	sea
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	up-pu	} sea-shore (?)
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	ḫu-up-pu	
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	ḫu-pal-lu ^m	
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	ku-ub-lu	
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	ṣu-ut-ta-tu ^m	
𐎶𐎵				𐎶𐎵	ḫa-ab-bu ⁶	
I 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵			𐎶𐎵(?)	Ha-ab	𐎶𐎵
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	[bi]-i-ṣu ⁷	
		𐎶𐎵(?)		𐎶𐎵	bu(?)-'-ša-nu	
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ṣi-e-nu ⁸	
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ig-ru	
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ḫa-tu-u	
		𐎶𐎵		𐎶𐎵	ḫa-ap-[pu] ⁹	

¹ 80-11-12, 9: 𐎶𐎵.

² 80-11-12, 9: 𐎶𐎵.

³ 80-11-12, 9: 𐎶𐎵.

⁴ 80-11-12, 9: 𐎶𐎵.





⁵ 80-11-12, 9: 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.



⁶ 80-11-12, 9: ḫa-ab-bi-lu.


⁷ 80-11-12, 9: [bi]-i-ṣu.

⁸ 80-11-12, 9: ṣi-i-nu.


⁹ 80-11-12, 9: ḫa-ap-pu-pu.

















There are also meanings when the character  has the value of *pu—burtu^m, šitpu, aširu^m, kub[lu]* (P) or *kup[pu], kubbulu*, etc. With the meaning of *kalakka*, it was also pronounced *game*, as were likewise the compound characters , , and .

The above words (the meanings of which, in most cases, will not be made out with certainty until they are found with a context at least once) mostly contain the idea of an excavation or natural depression¹ in the ground ( means an enclosure, < a depression), and determine the meaning of  *kuppu*, with which the Heb. חָבֵה, “hollow (of the hand),” “hollow vessel (pan, bowl),” may be compared. Nevertheless, the exact meaning of the phrase must be regarded as doubtful.



















Line 12. , *ana tūru gimir*. These words evidently stand for *ana tūr gimilli*, meaning “to avenge”—lit. “to bring back the benefit” or “re-compense.”

COL. II.

Line 9. , *ana gurunē* “to heaps.” Cf. Lotz, Tiglathpileser, p. 123. The root is *garānu* “to heap up,” with which the Heb. תְּרִיחַ, “threshing-floor” may be connected. Compare also the following from 80–11–12, 9:—

							Ga-rin		ga[rinnu ?]
							Da-ag-rin		ta[garinnu]

with

					Gu-ru-un		in-bi, fruit
							
					Ditto		ditto. Il-lu-ru.

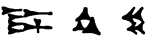
¹ I have purposely omitted the more doubtful meanings, as well as those which do not seem to illustrate the sense required.


From the above, there would seem to be some connection with *gurunū* "heap," and the Akkadian *gurun* "fruit," and *garin* or *dagrin* "threshing-floor (?)." The above also indicates that the Assyro-Babylonian *inbu* "fruit" and *illuru* are synonyms.

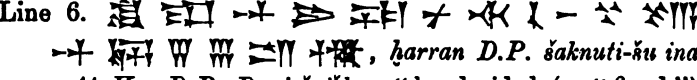
COL. III.





- Line 8. The expression 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *šamē ḫuraši elliūti* "glorious skies of gold," is interesting. The word *šamē* "skies" here is probably used similarly to the French *ciels*.
- Line 9. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *lū-ušattir* "then I added." This word, from its form, should be the Aorist Shuphul or Shaphel of *šaṭāru* "to write," with the prefix *lū*; nevertheless, one cannot help thinking of the word *lū-ušātir*, from *ātāru*, which occurs very often with the meaning of "to add."
- Line 11. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *Dūr-Dungi* "the fortress of (King) Dungi," is mentioned on the tablet K. 2617, rev., l. 11, in connection with *Dūr-karaši* (line 8), and some interesting names of men.
- Line 14. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *māt Elammat*. This is apparently the usual way of writing the name of Elam in this text and others of a similar nature and style. The form 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *māt Elamat*, occurs elsewhere. The name of Elam is commonly written ideographically as in line 13.
- Line 17. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *kimiš*, and 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *kinši*, seem to be connected, by the common change from *m* to *n* which frequently takes place before sibilants, etc. (*šun-šu* for *šum-šu*, "his name"; *hanšu* for *hamšu*, "fifth"; *šalintu* for *šalimtu*, "peace"). I have regarded both words as being for *kimiš* and *kinši* respectively (the former probably a permansive form), and have compared the Heb. 𐤎𐤍𐤑 and 𐤎𐤍𐤑, "a hand-ful," "bundle," etc.

COL. IV.

Line 4. The word "Babylonians" is expressed by means of the ideographs , *mār Bābīli* D.S., "the son of Babylon," without the plural sign.

Line 5. The words , *ina sūk māti*, "into the street of the land," are apparently equivalent to "into the highway." To bring the property of the great temple E-saggil out and place it in the street was, of course, a great indignity.

Line 6. , *ḥarran D.P. šaknuti-šu ina māt Kar-D.P. Duniaš iškun* "he decided (or "fixed") the policy of his prefects in Kar-Duniaš." The phrase *šakānu ša ḥarranu*, "to set, of a road," seems to mean "to map out a course of action," "to decide upon a policy." It is a frequent phrase in Babylonian letter-tablets, often in combination with *šēpā* "feet," when it seems to mean "to fix one's route," as in the following: *Nabū-ušallim ana pāni-ka ki illiku, ḥarrana ana šēpi-šu ul taškunu*, "When Nabū-ušallim went to thy presence, thou settest not the road for his feet¹"; *kapdu ḥarrana ana šēpi-šunu šukun*, "set the plan of the road for their feet.¹" See also the *New York Independent*, Aug. 23rd, 1888, p. 15.

Line 18. , *dī Isin*. This may also be read *Isin*, but whether in that case it would indicate the same place or not is uncertain. Other ways of writing *Isin* are , *I-si-in* (D.S.), and (apparently) , which was pronounced either *Isin* or *Izin* (, 80-6-17, 1051), the latter apparently being the Akkadian pronunciation.

¹ Lit. "foot."

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE BENARES PANDIT.

SIR,—Just a word on Colonel Jacob's interesting paper reproduced from the *Academy* in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society, 1894, p. 650 :—The “decided muddle” of the valuable Benares Pandit, published by Mr. Lazarus, is, after all, not so great as appears on the surface. The separate pagination begins with vol. xiv.; but on the bottom of the pages we find a continuous numbering, just as in the preceding volumes.

TH. AUFRECHT.

2. SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN CHINA.

[The following letter appeared in the *Academy* of June the 16th :—]

Göttingen.

In a paper on “Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan,” published in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society (N.S., Vol. XII., pp. 153 ff.), Prof. Max Müller has told us that during the Middle Ages innumerable MSS. were taken from India to China, but that every effort to discover any of these MSS. in the temples or monasteries of China, up to 1880, had proved futile. “Being myself convinced,” he writes, “of the existence of old Indian MSS. in China, I lost no opportunity, during the last five and twenty years, of asking any friends of mine who went to China to look out for these treasures, but—with no result!”

By a piece of good fortune, I now have before me photographs and tracings of a few leaves of two or three Sanskrit MSS. or portions of MSS. which are preserved in one of the Chinese monasteries. In themselves these fragments may be considered to be of slight value; but they prove that Indian MSS. do exist in China, and encourage us to hope that more may in time be forthcoming.

What I possess at present, I owe to the exertions of my friend and former pupil Dr. A. O. Franke, of Shanghai, to whom the thanks of Sanskrit scholars are due for the trouble which he has taken in this matter. When Dr. Franke, six years ago, went to China, I also urged him to look out for Indian MSS.; and I now have had the pleasure of receiving from him, on April 30th, a letter in which he writes as follows:—

“When, some years ago, I said good-bye to you at Göttingen, I promised to write about any Sanskrit MSS. which I might come across in China. I am rather late in fulfilling my promise, and even now can do so to a very modest extent only. But it is not my fault that such should be the case, for Sanskrit MSS. are indeed a rare article here. . . . The only old MS. which has yet been found is in a small dilapidated Buddhist monastery in the mountainous wilds of the T'ien t'ai shan, in the province of Chekiang, about 125 English miles south-west of the port of Ningpo, where it was seen by Dr. Edkins about thirty years ago. Last autumn I set out to have a look at the MS. myself, and I am sending you now a few results of my expedition. I have photographed a portion of the MS., which consists of twenty palm-leaves, and is evidently incomplete, and have copied other parts; and what I am sending are photographs of both sides of the first and second leaves, and tracings of the concluding lines on page 24, as well as of the writing on a leaf which is not numbered.”

Dr. Franke adds that by the people on the spot the MS. is believed to be 1300 or 1400 years old.

In what follows I shall call the two palm-leaves, of which

Dr. Franke has sent photographs, A and B, and shall denote the concluding lines of page 24, spoken of by him, by the letter C, and the unnumbered leaf by the letter D.

Of the two palm-leaves which have been photographed, B is in a perfect state of preservation. In the middle it has the usual hole for the string by which the leaves were held together; and it is marked on the proper right of the back with the figure 2, and on the left with the letter numeral *dvi*. On either side of the leaf there are five lines of writing, each of which contains from fifty-five to sixty *aksharas*. The leaf A is similar to B, but on the proper right a portion of it is broken away, so that at the commencement of each line from five to six *aksharas* are missing. This leaf also is marked, on the proper right margin of the back, with the figure 2, showing at once that A and B belong to two different MSS.; and it contains six lines of writing on the first side and five on the second, also with from fifty-five to sixty *aksharas* in each line. C presents two lines of well-preserved writing; and D contains six lines, which cover a space of about eleven and three-quarter inches broad, by two and three-quarter inches high, and of which the beginning of the first line and the end of the last line are broken away, while the rest is well preserved.

The writing on these fragments proves that the MSS. to which they belong, so far from being 1300 or 1400 years old, were not written before the twelfth century A.D., and may possibly belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. For A, B, and C exhibit the distinctly Nepalese characters, characterized by the addition of a curve or hook to the top of each letter, of which we find the earliest specimens in the Nepalese MSS. of the second half of the twelfth century; and the writing of D differs little from the ordinary Nāgarī, and may be described as that particular variety of the Nāgarī alphabet which was current in parts of Bengal about the thirteenth century A.D. On these points there can be no doubt whatever, and it is, therefore, quite certain that the MSS., or fragments of MSS., which are now preserved in the T'ien t'ai shan monastery, were brought to

China from Northern India or Nepal not earlier than 1200 A.D.

I give below an exact transcript of the texts of the four fragments. Although the writing of A and B is very neat and distinct, it is quite possible that, owing to the small size of the photographs, I may have misread one or two letters; and the texts contain a number of clerical blunders, which it would hardly be worth while attempting to correct here. Even with these faults what I give will probably enable others to tell us to what works these fragments belong. The text of A is throughout in the Upajâti metre, and is in praise of Buddha, the true teacher, who is contrasted with false teachers. B apparently is a commentary on a work composed in Anushtubh verses, probably, as my friend Prof. Cowell suggests to me, a Tântic work connected with the *Kâlachakra-tantra*. And the exact title of this work and the name of its author, or of the author of the commentary, may be given in C (*Paramârthasevâ* or *Tattvâvalôkanasevâ*, composed by Pundarika or Srîpundarika). Of D I do not know what to make, and will only point out that it gives us the initial verses of Kâlidâsa's three Mahâkâvyas, the *Kumârasambhava*, *Meghadûta*, and *Raghuvamsa*.

F. KIELHORN.

3. THE SAINT PIR BADAR.

Netherclay House, Taunton,
21st July, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—Perhaps the following particulars about Pir Badar, concerning whom Major Temple writes at p. 565 of the *Journal* for July, may be interesting. They are taken partly from Dr. Wise's unpublished work on Dacca, and partly from my own notes.

This saint is well known all over Bengal and Upper India. His full name was *Badru'ddin*, i.e. "full moon of the Faith." He is also called *Badr-i 'Alam*, or "full moon of the world." Born at Mirat in the N.W. Provinces, he led

the wandering life of a fakír, and was probably attracted to Bengal by the outburst of Muslim propagandism under the renegade Hindu king Jalaluddin (1414—1430). He lived for a long time at Chatgánw (Chittagong), where his Dargáh, or shrine, is still one of the most conspicuous and venerated places of pilgrimage in the district. With the usual tolerance or superstition, or whatever the sentiment may be called, so prevalent in Bengal, Hindus and Musulmans alike worship at his shrine. Even Maghs, who are, if anything, Buddhists, pay their vows to him. He is said to have left Chittagong shortly before his death, and settled in Bihár, where he died, in A.H. 844, or A.D. 1440.

How the idea of his dominion over rivers and the sea arose it is difficult to determine. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to my article on the "Musulmans of Bengal," in the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, in which I have pointed out how the primitive nature worship of the Non-Aryan aborigines of India, with its local *daimonia* and tutelary spirits, has survived the introduction first of Hinduism, and subsequently of Islam, and how the numerous Pírs, or saints, whom Hindu and Musulman alike reverence, are in all probability only the old animistic spirits transformed. One step in this process of transformation was to appropriate the name of some Musulman saint of great local celebrity, around whose name there would soon grow up a mass of wild legends, varying in the different districts. A spirit who ruled the waters and controlled the storms was a natural and inevitable member of the animistic Pantheon of a land of seas and rivers. In Eastern Bengal we have not only Pir Badar, but Zinda Ghazi, Ghazi Miyan, the Pánch Pir, and many others wielding similar powers. If, as is highly probable, some Badru'ddin or other came to Chittagong by river and sea from Dacca, almost the only practicable route in his days; and if, as is also highly probable, he was shipwrecked on the dangerous sandspit at the mouth of the Chittagong River, where so many ships have been wrecked since; and if, again most probable, he swam and waded ashore, and if (to add just

one more probable "if") he came in one of the numerous Portuguese ships which in those days frequented the waters of Eastern Bengal—we have all the materials necessary for building up the whole fabric of legend which has grown around his name. One Chittagong legend, for instance, is that he was a Portuguese sailor, whose name Dr. Wise gives in the somewhat corrupt shape of "Pas Gual Peeris Botheilo," in which we may without difficulty recognise Pascual Perez Botelho. Perhaps Badru'ddin and Botelho came ashore together, only in that case the Badru'ddin in question could not well have been the man who died in 1440, as there were no Portuguese in India till fifty years later than that date. But how and when the various legends arose, it is, I think, useless to enquire. It is of the essence of a legend that no man may tell whence it sprung. That the worship of the Chittagong saint should spread all down the Burmah coast is, as Major Temple points out, the most natural thing in the world.—Yours truly,

JOHN BEAMES.

4.

Pitfold, Shottesmill, Surrey.

24th July, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—I see that Major Temple asks, in the current number of our Society's *Journal*, for further information about the saint known as Pír Badr. Perhaps he has not seen the enclosed extract from Dr. Wise's "Notes on the Races of Eastern Bengal" (privately printed). At p. 17, under the heading Páñch Pír, Dr. Wise also quotes the song which the Muhammadan boatmen sing on the Ganges, and which ends with the words—

Sar-i-Ganga, Páñch Pír, Badr! Badr! Badr!

Dr. Wise was at one time Civil Surgeon of Chittagong.

Yours faithfully,

H. BEVERIDGE.

Extract from "Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal," p. 14.—J. Wise, M.D.

"PÍR BADR.

"Besides Khwájah Khizr, Bengal supplies other animistic ideas regarding water; and Pír Badr shares with him the dominion of the rivers. This spirit is invoked by every sailor and fisherman when starting on a cruise or when overtaken by a squall or storm. All Muhammadans agree that he resides at Chittagong, but his history does not disclose the reason why the attributes of a water-demon were conferred on him. According to one account, he was a shipwrecked Portuguese sailor, named 'Pas Gual Peeris Botheilo,' who reached the shore by clinging to a piece of wreck. The guardians of his shrine, moreover, say that about 150 years ago, Pír Badr arrived at Chittagong, 'floating on a rock,' and informed the terror-stricken inhabitants that he had come all the way from Akyab on this novel craft! The neighbourhood of Chittagong being then infested by Jins, or evil spirits, he exterminated them and took possession of the whole country. The modern Dargáh or cenotaph of Pír Badr stands in the centre of Chittagong, and is regarded as the palladium of the city. Faqírs are the custodians, and the mosque, with its rooms for pilgrims, is kept scrupulously clean. On the walls of the cenotaph are ten niches for oil-lamps, which are lighted every evening and burn all night. Pilgrims from all parts of Bengal visit the Dargáh in fulfilment of vows, or to obtain the favour and intercession of the saint, while Hindu fishermen regard him with as much awe as the Muhammadans. His 'Urs, or festival, is celebrated annually on the 25th of Ramazán, the anniversary of his death. There can, however, be little doubt that Pír Badr is no other than Badruddín Badr-i-'Alam, for many years a resident of Chittagong, who died A.H. 844 (1440), and was buried in the Chhotá Dargáh of Bihár, but about whom we possess no further particulars."¹

¹ J.A.S. of Bengal, part i. No. 3, p. 302 (1873).

5. THE SAṆSĀRA-MANḌALAM.

Je trouve dans un ouvrage qui expose les théories et les pratiques du yoga, un passage qui n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt après l'étude qui a paru dans le *Journal* sur le Bhavacakra et les citations du Divyāvādāna que Miss Foley a ingénieusement rappelées. Ces citations établissent, on s'en souvient, que le Bhavacakra, entouré d'emblèmes qui représentent le Pratītyasamutpāda, servait de motif de décoration aux vestibules des monastères bouddhiques.

La Haṭhayogapradīpikā de Svātmārāma (published, 1891, for the Bombay Theosophical Publication Fund) donne (I. 13) une description du yogamaṭha, que le commentateur complète par un extrait du Nandikeṣvarapurāṇa. J'en détache les lignes suivantes :—

Kuryād yogagrhaṁ dhīmān suramyam çubhavartmanā
 Dṛṣṭvā citragatāmç chāntān munīn yāti manaḥ çamam
 Siddhān dṛṣṭvā citragatān matir abhyudyame bhavet
 Madhye yogagrhasyātha likhet saṁsāramaṇḍalam
 Smaçānam ca mahāghoraṁ narakamç ca likhet kvacit
 Tān dṛṣṭvā bhīṣaṇākārān saṁsāre sāravarjite
 Anavasādo bhavati yogī siddhyabhilāṣukaḥ
 Paçyamç ca vyādhitān jantūn natān mattāmç caladvrapān.

C'est une occasion de plus d'affirmer l'étroite parenté de tous les systèmes hindous, philosophiques et moraux, qui reposent tous sur les mêmes idées, et, dans la pratique, s'empruntent mutuellement les mots et les symboles.

À propos du Rhavacakra rappelons encore le passage suivant de la Brajūā: paripūrnatrīparivartadvādaçākāra-dharmacakrapravartanī prajūāpāramitā. [p. 171.]

LOUIS G. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S.

Gand, Université Belgique,
 15 Juillet, 1894.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1894.)

I. OBITUARY NOTICE.

Brian Houghton Hodgson, F.R.S., Corresponding Member of French Institute, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and late Resident at the Court of Nipál, British India.

He was born at Lower Beech, near Macclesfield, Feb. 1st, 1800, the eldest son of Brian Hodgson, Banker, of that city, by Katharine, daughter of William Houghton, of Manchester and Newton Park, Lancashire. Educated at the Grammar School of Macclesfield, and the school of Dr. Delafosse at Richmond, and at the East India College, Haileybury, he entered the India Civil Service in 1818; he became Assistant to the Commission of Kumaon, North-West Provinces, in 1819, and Secretary to the Resident of Nipál in 1820, which post he occupied until 1829; he was Officiating Resident for two years, and in 1833 was confirmed in that post, which he held until December, 1843, when he was superseded, and returned to England in 1844, eventually taking his pension and resigning the Service. Thus he had completed his service, and residence, of twenty-five years, and twenty-three of those years in the independent kingdom of Nipál, into which no European, save the Staff of the Residency, was allowed to penetrate. He did not marry until after he had left the Service.

Thrown thus very much on his own resources he devoted himself to the Study of the Religion, Language, Literature, Ethnology, and Zoology of the kingdom of Nipál, and the then totally unknown Region of Tibet, which forms part of the Empire of China. In 1845, after an absence

of a year-and-a-half in England, he returned, as a private individual, to India to continue his scientific researches, and settled at Darjiling in the Himaláya, within the limits of British India, but on the frontier. With the exception of an interval of one year in England he resided there until 1858, when he finally left India after a residence of thirty-seven years. These facts have been stated in detail, that a right appreciation of Mr. Hodgson's experience may be formed : he published a series of more than 170 monographs in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and other periodicals, between 1824 and 1857, the result of personal inquiry, and based on original material. Of the rest of India he knew nothing, except from hearsay, or the study of books.

It is outside the sphere of this Society to touch upon his official life as Resident of Nipál, and the same remark applies to his contributions to Zoology. I restrict myself to his contributions to Linguistic, Ethnic, and Religious, knowledge, which rank among the highest. He was indeed a labourer in a virgin-soil, and he had the advantages of a high official position during his first period, and of learned leisure in his second. His life in full detail is now being written by one of the most accomplished Biographers of the time, Sir William Hunter. There is only space in our pages for a mere concise indication, rather than description, of the result of his labours. To secure accuracy I quote the words of one, who had the best opportunity of being informed: "Burnouf well described Brian Hodgson as the " 'founder of the true study of Buddhism.' To him the " world still owes the materials for a knowledge of the great " proselytizing faith, which was the one civilizing influence " in Central Asia. As early as 1824 the ardent young " student announced the discovery of the ancient Buddhist " Scriptures in Nipál. At his own expense he had over " 400 manuscripts copied in his Himalayan retreat, and " distributed to the learned societies of Europe. In 1835 " the Grand Lama of Tibet, stirred by Hodgson's splendid " example, presented to him complete copies of the two " great cyclopædias of the northern Buddhist literature and

“religion, the Kahgyur and Stangyur, printed in 1731 on fine Tibetan paper. Each set comprised 334 volumes, and Hodgson, with his usual munificence, gave one to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the other to the East India Company. They are unique in Europe. The Russian Government lately paid £2000 for a copy of one-half the series. At the same time he was amassing an unrivalled collection of Himalayan plants and animals. To the British Museum alone he presented more than 10,000 zoological specimens (which have attained the honour of separate catalogues), and there is scarcely a national museum in Europe which has not some token of his splendid munificence.”

“A bare enumeration of his writings during the seventy years of labour, since his discoveries in 1824, would occupy a column of *The Times*. Philology and Buddhism formed the staple work of his life; but he published 123 articles on zoological subjects alone. Every mark of distinction, which the learned societies of Europe could give, was showered upon him. The last thirty years of his life he spent in a delightful home in Gloucestershire. In spite of bad accidents, he hunted with two packs of hounds till between sixty and seventy. He was a man of a noble presence and of singular refinement of features. The marble busts of him in the Royal Asiatic Society, and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, are among the handsomest in their possession. Five years ago, when Oxford conferred on him the too tardy degree of D.C.L., at the age of eighty-nine, the whole Sheldonian rang with welcome to the beautiful white-haired scholar, who had come forth from a bygone world.”

Another subject, which he made his own, was the duty of educating the people of India in their own Vernacular. When I entered the Service, in 1842, there were three parties: the Oriental party, which insisted on the cultivation of the dead learned languages of India; the English party, which insisted on making the English language the vehicle of instruction. Representing the third party, in 1837 Mr.

Hodgson argued with power for the pre-eminence of the Vernacular of each Province, and this policy was with some hesitation adopted; and half a century's experience has confirmed the wisdom of the new departure thus made. Mr. Hodgson's letters were published in a collective form in 1837.

In 1841 appeared his "Literature and Religion of the Buddhists of the North," and "The Aborigines of India" in 1847.

I again quote a competent authority: "How these writings were, and are, appreciated by the most competent judges, may best be shown by the reference to what has been said of them by Dr. Hooker in the Preface to his *Himalayan Journals*; by Eugene Burnouf in his *Introduction to his 'History of Buddhism,'* dedicated to Mr. Hodgson; by St. Hilaire in his *'Life of Buddha'*; by Adrian Regnier in the *'Revue des deux Mondes,'* February, March, 1860; by Max Müller in his *Turanian Chapter of Bunsen's 'Egypt'*; and by Caomo de Coros in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal.*"

Some of his writings have been brought together in a collective form for convenience of reference.

- (1). Selections from the Records of the Government of India. No. xxvii. in 1857.
- (2). *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nipál and Tibet.* Trübner: London. 1874.
- (3). *Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects.* Two vols. Trübner's Oriental Series. 1880.

It may safely be stated, that no one would presume to write on the subjects, covered by these volumes, without consulting them. They could not be described as light literature, to be casually read, but they supply the solid bricks, on which the foundation of our Linguistic, Ethnic, and Ethical, knowledge of these regions are based. I am, myself, most deeply indebted to them. It has been asserted by some, that Mr. Hodgson was not an "original discoverer"; if he were not, it would be difficult to define what is the meaning

of those two words, for no one can get behind the communication made from the field by Mr. Hodgson; the information supplied to us was gathered from the lips of men, previously inaccessible to the scholar, and during Mr. Hodgson's long residence in their midst. His sympathetic manner, and kind and cordial treatment of barbarous tribes, enabled him to tap sources of linguistic knowledge absolutely sealed to the European scholar on his hasty tour through India, and ignorant of the vernaculars. Learned leisure is unknown to the hard-worked Indian official. I can truly say, that in all my experience of linguistic pioneers I never knew any parallel. Some may have desired to do the same work in different parts of the world, but were out off early in their career by disease or death; others, equally desirous, may not have had the opportunity or leisure: no doubt Mr. Hodgson's official position greatly helped him.

On the 6th Feb., 1844, there was a special meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to welcome their correspondent from Nipál, known to most of those present by name only; it was desired to express the sentiments of the Society to their valued and talented associate, who was to embark that evening for England; the word "old" was applied to him in the Official Report of that period; he lived more than half a century after that meeting. I had the privilege in my youth of being present, and then saw my honoured friend for the first time. I find an entry in my journal to that effect: by unanimous vote of the Society it was determined to have a bust in their room, and a copy of that bust was, forty years later, entrusted to me by Mrs. Hodgson to place in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

England is chary of the honours conferred on Englishmen for peaceful and scientific services. I enumerate such honours as he received:

- (1) He was in 1832 (sixty-two years ago) elected Corresponding Member of the Zoological Society of London, and received their silver medal in 1859.
- (2) He was in the same year made Corresponding

- Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and later on was one of the vice-presidents.
- (3) He was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science, Turin, in 1834.
 - (4) He received the gold medal from the Société Asiatique of Paris, and was made Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1838.
 - (5) He was elected in 1845 Honorary Member of the Natural History Society of Manchester and Frankfort.
 - (6) He was made Honorary Fellow of the Ethnological Society, London, in 1846.
 - (7) He was elected Corresponding Member of the Institute of France in the Department of Natural Science, and in the Department des Belles Lettres in 1850.
 - (8) He was elected Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1855.
 - (9) He was elected Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, New York, in 1858.
 - (10) He was elected Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society, Leipsig, in 1862.
 - (11) He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1877.
 - (12) He was elected D.C.L. of the University of Oxford in 1889.

On the occasion of a great triumph in the streets of Rome in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the busts of all the great Romans of the preceding forty years were carried in procession, but the thoughts of the people are described by a contemporary historian as going back to the memory of Brutus, "*because he was not there.*" So, in looking down the list of Indian decorations, worn so worthily by those, who have contributed to our knowledge of Indian Wisdom and the great Indian Nation, such as Sir Walter Elliot, Sir Henry Yule, Sir George Campbell, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Sir William Hunter, a feeling of wonder comes over those, who know what he did, to think that the name of Brian Hodgson is absent; honoured by the French nation, ignored by his own Government! It is a comfort to reflect

on the wise remark of Metternich at the Congress of Vienna, 1814, who, when he saw the Ambassador of England, Lord Castlereagh, standing undecorated in the midst of the representatives of Continental Powers covered with decorations, remarked, "le moins décorée, le plus distinguée." At any rate the Royal Asiatic Society did its duty, for ten years ago, under the presidency of Sir Bartle Frere, on my motion, the Council memorialized Lord Ripon, then Viceroy, to confer upon Brian Hodgson the same honour so worthily conferred on Walter Elliot; but nothing came of it. Perhaps to have been publicly called the "founder of the true study of Buddhism" by such a scholar as Eugene Burnouf is a greater honour than any which the India Office could have conferred.

After his final return to England he lived a quiet and happy life of thirty-six years: having had the misfortune of losing his wife, the daughter of General Alexander Scott, in 1868, he remarried in 1869 the daughter of C. C. Townsend, Esq., of Derry, County Cork. The society of this sweet and charming lady added to the attractions of his domestic circle, and his genial hospitality, and her care and devotion accompanied him to his last hour. By me, personally, the society of these two valued friends was fully appreciated, and it so happened, that when I called on the 20th of May, 1894 (Sunday), to welcome them back to England, according to my custom of many years, I found that Mr. Hodgson was slightly indisposed, and his medical adviser was opposed to visits being paid. On the Wednesday following he passed quietly away, and within a few hours after the event I stood by his bedside, and gazed, with sorrow and admiration, on his noble features.

Sympathetic notices of this great scholar have appeared in foreign periodicals. At the next meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, the usual eulogium was passed on receiving the news of the death of their oldest corresponding Member. We shall never see his like again.

August 5th, 1894.

R. N. C.

II. NOTES AND NEWS.

The Gayā Temple.—A native correspondent says: "On Tuesday, May 29th last, a *sabha* of distinguished pandits of Benares assembled at the Maharaja of Benares' house, and decided by an elaborate reference to sacred and religious books that the Buddha Gayā Temple belongs to the Mahant, and is a Hindoo Temple of Buddhadeva. The ninth incarnation of Vishnu Mahabodhi and Bodhidruma are holy objects of Hindoo worship. His Highness contradicted and denied his rumoured sympathy with opponents, and has given acquiescence in this decision. The reason why the Hindoo Mahant of the Temple of Buddha Gayā disallowed the Buddhist priests to set up an image of Buddha in the Temple was, we are informed by a Hindoo gentleman, who knows the facts, that his advisers came to the conclusion that the fact of the Mahant complying with the wishes of the Buddhist priests would go against him in the decision of the question, whether the temple was considered so sacred by the Hindoos as to justify its control to be continued to be exercised by the Hindoo Mahant. The Mahant is anxious to establish his legal claim to the temple on several grounds, one of which is that the Hindoos consider the shrine as one of their most cherished places for pilgrimage."—*Homeward Mail.*

Cyprus.—Mr. Claude Delaval Cobham, Commissioner of Larnaka, has issued a third edition of his modestly entitled "Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus" (Nikosia). His first list (1886) contained only 152 titles, which has now been augmented to 497, though he does not pretend to include ephemeral articles in periodicals, and he has deliberately excluded the productions of the local press since 1887, when the new Book Law came into operation. The arrangement is in the main chronological, the subsequent works of each author being recorded under the date of his first. Numismatics, Epigraphy, Language, and Cartography are classified separately; Consular Reports (1856 to 1887) and Parliamentary Papers (1878 to 1893) have also a special

heading for themselves. There is a list of newspapers, from which we learn that the *Owl* still continues to exist, and that two new journals appeared last year. Finally, we have a Bibliography of the Cesnola Controversy, which has recently been again fanned into flame by the visit of Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter to America.

Mr. Charles J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, has lately made some rare finds of both gold and silver coins of Central Asia; amongst them many unhoped-for novelties have come to light. Unfortunately his health at present prevents him from attending to them.

III. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SOCIETY IN CHINA. By ROBERT K. DOUGLAS, Keeper of the Oriental Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum, Professor of Chinese at King's College. London: A. D. Innes and Co., Bedford Street.

The title of this work is perplexing; but the author instructs his readers in the first sentence that "it is not to be taken to imply that there is a distinct difference between society of the present day in China and that of an earlier period." He thinks that, "speaking generally, everything in China that is modern is ancient, and all that is ancient is modern."

According to his preface, "the object of the book is to picture the Chinese as they are, and not necessarily as they profess to be," for "there is no country in the world where practice and profession are more widely separated than in China. The empire is pre-eminently one of make-believe." Evidently, Professor Douglas is possessed with a conviction that the empire of China is very much, if not altogether, *a sham*; that "from the Emperor to the meanest of his subjects a system of high-sounding pretension to lofty principles of morality holds sway, while the life of the nation is in direct contradiction to these

assumptions." We are sorry he should have such a conviction. It appears more or less in every chapter. He is well versed in the history of China, and has written not a little on its systems of morals and belief. Much information about it is conveyed in the chapters of this, his latest, production, but the conviction in question everywhere asserts its presence, and is like the "dead flies which cause the ointment of the perfumer to send forth a stinking savour."

The nature of the principal authority on which he relies for his statements might have made him pause in the use which he has made of it. It is the *Peking Gazette*, "the oldest journal in the world." It may well be said to be so, for its publication must have gone on for nearly a thousand years. Though we call it the "Peking Gazette," Peking being, under the present dynasty, the capital of the empire, its title is *King Páo*, which would be more exactly represented by "Metropolitan Reporter." As described by the late Dr. Williams, vol. ii. p. 420, "it is compiled from the papers presented before the General Council, and constitutes the principal source of information available to the people for ascertaining what is going on in the empire It is simply a record of official acts, promotions, decrees, and sentences, *without any editorial comments or explanations*, and, as such, of great value in understanding the policy of government." In it, indeed, the Emperor and his Council take the people into their confidence on their own proceedings and on the state of things throughout the nation. As Williams says again, "It is very generally read and discussed by educated people in cities, and tends to keep them more acquainted with the character and proceedings of their rulers than ever the Romans were of their sovereigns and senate."

Sir Rutherford Alcock, in two articles on it in "Frazer's Magazine" (for February and March, 1873), shows how it performs three parts: that of a Court Journal; that of a Reporter of Imperial Decrees; and that of a Record of Memorials from High Officers. Among those memorials

there are many from members of the Censorate, distributed over the provinces of the empire, and whose duty it is "to inform the sovereign upon all subjects connected with the welfare of the people." One of these officers, of the surname Sü, having presented a memorial in 1833 to the then Emperor, whom we are accustomed to call Tào-Kwang, that sovereign ordered it to be remitted to the proper Board with the following judgment:—"These censors are allowed to tell me the reports they hear, to inform me concerning courtiers and governors who pervert the laws, and to speak plainly about any defect or impropriety which they may observe in the monarch himself; but they are not permitted to employ their pencils in writing memorials which are filled with vague surmises and mere probabilities or suppositions. This would only fill my mind with doubts and uncertainty, and I would not know what men to employ; were this spirit indulged, the detriment to Government would be most serious. Let Sü be subjected to a court of inquiry" (Williams, vol. i p. 432).

Such being the nature of the *King Páo*, I must hold that the use which Professor Douglas has made of it in his indictment of the Government and people of China is unjustifiable. It savours neither of despotism nor of hypocrisy. Of the other sources of his materials it does not seem necessary to speak. As he has given his adverse opinion, however, so roundly and confidently, this may be the best place to interject the judgment of a few writers who take an opposite view. From Mr. Dyer Ball's very valuable compilation, styled "Things Chinese," I take the following:—Mr. G. F. Seward says: "I find here a steady adherence to the traditions of the past, a sober devotion to the calls arising in the various relations of life, an absence of shiftlessness, an honest and, at least, somewhat earnest grappling with the necessities and difficulties which beset men in their humbler stages of progress, a capacity to moralise withal, and an enduring sense of right and wrong. These all furnish what must be considered an

essentially satisfactory basis and groundwork of national character. Among the people there is practical sense; among the gentry scholarly instincts, the desire for advancement, the disposition to work for it with earnestness and constancy; amongst the rulers a sense of dignity, breadth of view considering their information, and patriotic feeling. Who will say that such a people have not a future more wonderful even than their past?" I take also the following from Dr. F. G. Rennie ("Peking and the Pekingese," etc., 1865, Preface):—"One of the most remarkable national peculiarities of the Chinese is their extraordinary addiction to letters, the general prevalence of literary habits among the middling and higher orders, and the very honourable pre-eminence which from the most remote period has been universally conceded to that class which is exclusively devoted to literary pursuits . . . I have left the country with the conviction that the Chinese nation, as a whole, is a much less vicious one than, as a consequence of opinions formed from a limited and unfair field of observation, it has been customary to represent it; further, that the lower orders of the people generally are better conducted, more sober and industrious, and, taken altogether, intellectually superior to the corresponding class of our own countrymen."

In the *Nouvelle Revue* for 1883 (vol. xxi.), there is a long and able article, called "La Famille Chinoise," in which the writer, M. G. Eug. Simon, formerly a Consul of France in China, argues favourably the case of Chinese civilization against what we find in European countries from several points of view. The smallness of the space at my command obliges me to content myself with quoting the last sentence of his article:—"Enfin, dans un temps, ou tous les esprits en France sont préoccupés de la nécessité et des difficultés d'une réforme judiciaire, on aura certainement remarqué le système chinois, cette self-jurisdiction si sûre, si rapide, si économique, si supérieure à tous les régimes européens; et plus d'un lecteur se sera pris à regretter que l'état de nos mœurs nous en mette si

soin que l'on ne puisse pas même rêver de lui rien emprunter."

Similar testimonies might be multiplied indefinitely. We do not suppose that they would lead to any modification of Professor Douglas's opinion, for has he not said (on p. 288) that "what poison is to the snake, what the claws are to a cat, what the ink is to the cuttle-fish, craft and dissimulation are to the Chinese?" Others, however, will not be prepared to pooh-pooh the government and social condition of China as is done by him. In one of his articles, already referred to, Sir Rutherford Alcock says:—"Despite frequently recurring insurrections and the prevalence of great abuses everywhere, patent and known to the multitude, the Chinese have been held together in the bonds of a common nationality, rich in industrial power and resources, happy and contented, and with a command of material comfort beyond the usual average of European populations, and all this under one supreme and central authority."

We by no means wish to affirm that there are not many abuses in the administration of affairs in China, yet the government which has kept its vast population happy and contented, with a great amount of material comfort, more than most of the peoples of Europe enjoy, ought not to be summarily described as one of "make-believe." We cannot but assent to what the late Archdeacon Gray of Canton has said:—"Were a native of China, with a view of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English people, to make himself familiar with the records of our police and other law courts, the transactions that take place in what we call 'the Commercial world,' and the scandals of what we term 'Society,' he would probably give his countrymen at home a very one-sided and depreciatory account of this nation." The most recent statement, not quite a year old, to which my attention has been called is in a letter from a resident in Peking to his old teacher in England. It says:—"Here I find a morality, or at worst a most excellent substitute, free from all trammels of faith or

dogma, and, as far as I can see, a real living power amongst 400 millions of people. For all their self-complacent ignorance and for all their dirtiness, the Chinese, as a moral people, compare favourably with most European nations."

We have said enough on what we consider the great defect of "Society in China," and cannot go into much detail on the subject-matter of its twenty-six chapters. We have read them all. General readers will derive from them much information; only let them be on their guard against the remarks condemnatory of the people and government, or of some other subject, even where the greatest amount of approval is allowed. For instance, the seventh chapter is devoted to "Mechanics and Merchants." The author says:—"The merchants and traders of China have gained the respect and won the admiration of all those who have been brought into contact with them. For honesty and integrity they have earned universal praise A Shanghai banking manager lately bore the following testimony to them:—"I have referred to the high commercial standing of the foreign community. The Chinese are in no way behind us; in fact, I know of no people in the world I would sooner trust than the Chinese merchant and banker I may mention that for the last twenty-five years the bank has been doing a very large business with Chinese at Shanghai, amounting, I should say, to hundreds of millions of taels, and we have never yet met with a defaulting Chinaman." Professor Douglas willingly allows the praise thus given to the merchants and traders of China; and yet he finds occasion in it for one of his gibes against the structure of Chinese society. "It is characteristic," he says, "of Chinese topsy-turvydom that that class of Chinese society which has done most to promote the material prosperity of the nation should, in theory at least, be placed on the lowest rung of the social ladder." "The four classes of the people" was a very old description of the constituents of the nation. An account of it, with the reasons for the classification, may be

found in Dr. Medhurst's "China: Its State and Prospects," on pp. 32, 33. Merchants form the lowest class. That by their intelligence and honesty they have gained a higher position shows that the relations of Society change in China as they do in other countries with changed times.

The writer does not know that all bank managers at the different open ports in China have had an equally happy experience with the gentleman whose words Professor Douglas quotes. But he has known instances of what he may well call in one case *magnificent* honesty, and in many other cases of faithful service, among Chinese employés of a lower rank than merchants. And he will here quote two sentences from the protest of a Mrs. E. E. Baldwin, an American lady, in 1882, against the measure which was being meted to Chinese immigrants in the United States. She says: "For years in this my native land I had an experience—yea, *many experiences*—with American, Irish, and coloured servants. For *twenty* years I have had Chinese servants in China; and if I could now choose my servants or employés of any kind from all the world I would take the Chinese *every time*, for faithfulness, *courtesy*, *honesty*, neatness, and everything else that makes a servant valuable, not forgetting gratitude and affection in return for kindness received."

Professor Douglas has several references to Confucius, but they are made with somewhat "bated breath." It is as if he were, to use the words of Pope descriptive of Addison's attitude towards himself,

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike."

He speaks, p. 30, of "the inestimable advantages which Confucius has, by his moral system, conferred on his countrymen"; but, on p. 141, this is somewhat qualified. We read there: "Wise as many of his sayings were, it is a fact that 'his dicta on practical affairs were for the most part either platitudes or fallacies';" and, in proof of this, he adduces a short paragraph, which he does not appear to understand fully, from the last chapter of "The Great

Learning." In his own last chapter, which has for its subject "The Religions of China," our author gives a brief sketch of the sage's life and opinions. He tells us that at the age of 19 "he married a lady who, like the wives of many other celebrated men, was a thorn in the flesh to her husband"; that "Confucius endured the burden without complaint until his wife had borne him a son, when he sought release from his bondage at the hands of the very complaisant marital laws of the country." But it is, to say the least, very questionable if the sage ever divorced his wife. The evidence in the case is against, rather than for, such a conclusion. In what follows about Confucius' career, various incorrect and derogatory statements are made, but we pass them over. "In Confucius' system," it is said, "there is no room for a personal Deity, and he withheld all sanction to the idea of such a Being." But did not he mean the Divine Being when he used the name "Heaven" as he did more than once? And did he not say expressly that "the fathers of the Châu dynasty, by the ceremonies of their sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, served God," or, if we translate the characters used for the name, "served the Supreme Ruler?" I wish that the name had been more frequent on his lips, and that it had been his habit to think of it as a Strong Tower, into which, when the princes of his time disowned him, he could run and be safe. But we must consider it strange in Professor Douglas to say that "Confucius withheld all sanction to the idea of the existence of a personal Deity."

One other point.—Our author says: "Once, and once only, he reaches to the high level of perfect Christianity, and in the enunciation of the command 'to do unto others as you would they should do unto you' he surpassed himself." To rise to this height, even *once only*, was an extraordinary achievement; we would ask Professor Douglas how often he finds the command in our New Testament. In the Confucian books it occurs three times (D. M. xiii. 3; Ana. V. xi. and XV. xxiii.); in "The Great Learning" (Comm. x. 2) we have also an exhaustive expansion of it as

“the Principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one’s conduct.” When one of his favourite disciples asserted that he observed it, Confucius simply replied to him: “Ts’ze, you have not attained to that;” he even acknowledged that there were four applications of the rule, in not one of which was he himself as yet able to take the initiative (D. M. xiii. 4). After having allowed his enunciation of “the golden rule,” our author goes on to say that “from his limited standpoint he had no future bliss to offer to his followers as a reward for virtue, nor any punishments after death with which to awe those who were inclined to depart from the paths of rectitude.” Be it so: in the scheme of Providence it was reserved for One greater than Confucius to bring life and immortality to light.

In his 6th chapter, on “The Literati and Farmers,” the author first approaches the “vexed subject of the Opium question—a question surrounded with sentimental enthusiasm.” In refutation of “what is commonly said by the opponents of the trade, that the habit of smoking acquires such a pernicious hold over those who indulge in it that only by a use of palliatives can a confirmed smoker be weaned from the habit without endangering his life,” he calls attention to “one fact which disposes of this assertion.” The fact is, that “in the Hong-Kong gaol, where opium-smokers of every degree of habituation are constantly imprisoned, no notice is taken of their craving for the drug, and no remedies are found necessary to relieve their sufferings. By deprivation they are cured for the time being of the habit, and in no instance have fatal consequences resulted from this Spartan method.” The writer was well acquainted with the Hong-Kong gaol. For well on to twenty years he visited it every Sunday, and conducted a religious service with the Chinese prisoners; often also, when there were a dozen or more English prisoners in it, conducting another service with them. He does not recollect the subject of the cure of opium-smokers coming up during all that long time; but he remembers

distinctly the case of an English prisoner, a man of good education and very considerable ability, but, unfortunately, an inveterate tippler, who told him, when his time was up, that he was better in health through his imprisonment than he had been for years, so good had the regular habits, abstinence, and the sufficient, though not luxurious, diet been for him; and I can well believe that the cleanliness, order, and diet of the English gaol has been equally beneficial to many Chinese prisoners, and even to the opium-smokers among them.

As to the opium trade itself Professor Douglas does not express his opinion very definitely. He is not a "sentimentalist" about it, but we find it difficult to give the antithetic term, which would clearly indicate his feeling and place. On page 129 he says that "the practice of smoking opium had become confirmed among the people before the Indian drug was first imported." It is satisfactory to know that they were not Englishmen who first introduced the habit; but, when the drug came to be carried from India in English vessels, both the importation and the smoking were strictly forbidden by severe penalties; the trade was a smuggling one, of which fact the East India Company and the Indian Government were well aware. The trade was prosecuted notwithstanding, and had grown from a few thousand chests to more than 34,000 chests in 1840-42, when our first treaty with China was concluded. Opium was not mentioned in that treaty; and the smuggling continued and increased till the import of the drug was legalized by the tariff which was agreed to shortly after the conclusion of our second treaty at T'ien-tsin in June, 1858.

The eighth article of the T'ien-tsin treaty secured the toleration of the Christian religion in China, on the ground that it "inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by." We have understood that Lord Elgin demurred in his own mind to the introduction of this article, but was overborne by his counsellors. We have always felt that the introduction of it was a piece of sublime irony while Great Britain was

supporting the opium trade against the wishes of the Chinese Government. However, it was introduced. The opium trade was legalized, and, under the conditions of the tariff agreed on, it continued till 1885, when an additional article to the Convention between our Minister, Sir Thomas F. Wade, and the Grand Secretary, Li Hung-chang, made at Chi-fû in 1876, and which was proposed by the late Marquis Tsang, Chinese Minister in England, was accepted by Earl Granville. Its ratification in 1886 brought the controversy on the import of opium to an end for the time. That import reached its highest figure, and was over 80,000 piculs (a picul = $133\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. av.), in 1888, since which time it has gradually fallen, and last year amounted to 68,108 piculs. Professor Douglas (p. 317) says: "This will bring a welcome balm of consolation to the anti-opiumists; but they would be living in a fool's paradise if they flattered themselves that this decline was due to the diminution of the habit. The real factor which is driving the Indian opium out of the field is the opium grown and manufactured in China itself." In this reason for the decreasing import we sorrowfully agree with him. It is to be deplored that the growth of the poppy has been winked at, allowed, or even encouraged (it matters little what verb is employed), by the Chinese authorities themselves. We do not think, however, with our author that they have had their own profit in view in allowing the native growth. They have thought that their own opium would be so much cheaper than the Indian, that foreigners would no more find it worth their while to bring the commodity to the Chinese market; and that then they could put down the native production. This is the reason, it would appear, why the native, though inferior, article is ousting the Indian and superior article from the market; but the demoralization of the people must meanwhile be proceeding in an ever-increasing ratio. The policy appears to us to be the measure of a merely childish political economy; and the hope to be a baseless delusion. We wait anxiously to learn what the Chinese Ministers have

to say for themselves, both in their proceeding and as to their hope. There is some ground for believing that about 3000 years ago the ruin of the country was threatened by drunkenness. We have a proclamation, in the *Shû-ching*, by the king of that day on the subject; and we have the fact that there is so little drunkenness in the China of to-day. Was the proclamation effectual to produce this latter condition? Or ought we rather to attribute the result to the gradual establishment of tea as the beverage of the country? Some have ascribed it, with less reason as we think, to the spread of Buddhism. But we dare not hope that China, opiumized under the present condition, will be redeemed from the opium habit by any measures of the rulers who have in the first place flooded the nation with the drug. We did, and are doing, wrong in sending the thing there for our own gain, and our first duty is to cease to do the evil. The future that rises up before our view is gloomy. We may be pardoned if we conclude what we have to say on the subject with the trite Vergilian quotation:—

“*Facilis descensus Averni;*

Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras

Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos æquus amavit

Jupiter, aut ardens evezit ad Æthera virtus,

Dis geniti, potuere. Tenent Media omnia sylvæ,

Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.”

There are but two other subjects in “Society in China” on which we can here offer some remarks.

The one of them is the “Outrages on Missionaries,” occupying chapter xvi. With the outrages along the course of the Yang-tze river in 1891, to which reference is specially made, unfortunately many literary men were connected, and our author says (p. 119) that “China has become possessed of a race of scholars who for ignorance, bigotry, violence, and corruption are probably unsurpassed by educated men in any country calling itself civilized.” This description is certainly not applicable to the scholars

of the present day in China, as a class. We have known, in many cases intimately, hundreds of them, and have found them gentlemanly, courteous, and generally well-behaved; but, no doubt, there are in the provinces of China many disappointed students, "stickit mandarins," more or less approximating to the description given by Professor Douglas. Missionaries come more in contact with them than other foreigners. Disputes arise. Actions and words are misinterpreted. The ignorant mob misunderstands the men, and may proceed even to kill them. We know of no men who require such careful and extensive training, and so much patience and power of self-restraint, as missionaries in China. We have seen most, if not all, of the inflammatory pictures which were circulated against Christianity in 1891, and were violently moved by them to detestation of their publishers. The representatives of Christian nations at the Court of Peking ought to insist on strict inquisition for the movers and agents of such offences, and that the persons whose guilt is proved should be punished as their crimes deserve; but there should be no recourse to the "gunboat" or other hostilities of war, in which the guilty are likely to escape and many innocent parties are sure to be victims.

We then can thus say, with our author, that it is to be hoped that our present Minister in China, Mr. O'Connor, will be able to "give all necessary support to his countrymen, *even* though they may be missionaries." Life for life, where the taking of life has been brought home; disgrace also where official neglect has been proved; and sufficient compensation, which will be the most effectual security for the performance of treaty engagements by the general government.

The other subject is "the Audience Question," discussed in chapter xvii. Our words on it, however, will be few, for, after reading all that Professor Douglas has written, we are not convinced that any disrespect was intended or done to the foreign Ministers in 1873 or 1893, on which two occasions only has audience been given to them as a

body. Other receptions of individual Ministers there may have been, as of the American envoy, the Hon. H. P. Avery, in 1874, and of our own Minister, Mr. O'Connor, in the present year. Dr. Williams, who accompanied Mr. Avery into the Imperial presence in 1874, has expressed his perfect satisfaction with the ceremony on that occasion. Our author says that a hall, or "temple" as he calls it, outside the palace enclosure was the place where Mr. O'Connor was received. To us it appears that the presence of the sovereign is the essential thing in an audience. On the locality of the receptions there is some confusion in the accounts of them, and the statement (on p. 247) that "the pavilion outside the precincts of the palace is the counterpart of the warehouse where Yeh proposed to meet Sir John Bowring" only moves us to a smile.

It would lengthen our notice too much if we were to enter on a description of half the changes which show how China has advanced towards a better and more Western style of civilization since the conclusion of the Treaty of T'ien-tsin. The most important article in that treaty was that stipulating that between the courts of China and other nations there should be a reciprocal accrediting of Ministers. Now, on the table before us, there lies a copy of "Instructions to Ministers and Consuls in other countries" (*Hsing yáo chih chang*), published in 1876. On other signs of progress we shall not touch; but while writing this notice our eye lighted on a paragraph in the *Daily News*, of the 26th June, with which we conclude our notice:—"China, so long the most stationary of all countries, is decidedly moving on. The Viceroy Li Hung-chang's medical school at T'ien-tsin is already in active operation, and it is stated by a Chinese paper that the army and navy will in future depend on it for their supplies of medicines, as well as for the appointment of efficient medical men for both services. The same authority states that the Chinese druggists are totally ignorant of medical chemistry, all prescriptions are filled with raw drugs, and the patients take the medicines in decoctions. Chinese surgery is based on a brass model

representing the structure and the locality of the internal organs in the human body. The model is vague and unfit to be used by students of such an important subject; whereas (says the writer) the anatomical works of the West are written upon the exact knowledge of the human body: there are no guessing works done in the West; every tissue of the body is minutely described and located."

The illustrations in the volume are mostly all very good; we have been particularly struck with the Frontispiece, and with those facing pages 5 and 411. The latter structure always impressed us as the finest piece of architecture in all China. It is not, however, the "Entrance to the Lama Temple," but is found within the grounds of that temple—a most lovely cenotaph over the clothes of a *Panshan Lama*, who died of small-pox in 1780 on a visit to the capital. His body was, of course, sent back to Thibet to be buried, while this beautiful monument was raised over his clothes. The structure facing page 5 was burnt down a few years ago, and we do not know whether it has been rebuilt in the same style. Its proper name is "Altar of Prayer for Grain," or "Hall of Prayer for a good year."

J. L.

ON THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF BHARATAVARSA OR INDIA. By GUSTAV OPPERT, Ph.D. (Archibald Constable and Co.)

In collecting and arranging our too scanty knowledge of these tribes, whom we may conveniently call non-Aryan, Dr. Oppert has adopted an artificial rather than a natural classification. Tracing the names of most of these people to two words meaning "mountain," Dr. Oppert has decided to "call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko* Gaudians."¹ The "Dravidians," thus defined, include the Mallas, Mâis, Mhârs, Mahârs, Mhairs or Mers, Pallar, Pallavas, Pulayar, Ballas, Bhils, and many others; while

¹ Page 13.

Dr. Oppert classes as "Gaudian" such tribes as the Kolis, Kôlas, Kôis, Konds, Kands, Gonds, Koḍagas, Kôtas, Todas, and Kurumbas.

Dr. Oppert regards these tribes as the original inhabitants of India; the foes of the invading "Aryans." But it is by no means clear what precise ethnical significance Dr. Oppert gives to the word "Aryan"; hence his belief that Vishvâmitra,¹ the Rshi of the Third Maṇḍala of the Ṛg Veda, and Gautama Buddha² were not "Aryans," is somewhat vague and indefinite.

The Section on Indian Theogony is extremely valuable; yet it is doubtful whether Dr. Oppert's derivation of *Umd* from *Amma*,³ the Earth-Mother of the Dravidians, will be found to hold good. The fact that *Amma* is sometimes spelt *Uma* or *Umma*, is no evidence at all; it is simply due to the old Indian habit which spelt Amritsar,—Umritsar, and does not change the pronunciation of the first vowel. I should like to suggest that *Umd* is really a pure Aryan word, at the present day in use among a hundred million speakers of Aryan languages, including the whole Slavonic family. In Russian, for instance, we have *Um* (in compounds *Umo*), and in Bohemian *Uma*, meaning "knowledge," or "wisdom," exactly the meaning which Shaṅkara and Sâyana give to *Umâ*.⁴ The same word *Um* or *Uma*, meaning "wisdom," or "knowledge," with a number of verbal and adjectival compounds, is found in Polish, Croatian, Dalmatian, and Slovenish, as well as in the three Russian dialects, and in Bohemian. I hope to enforce this derivation at a future date by a series of tables showing the very close phonetic relations between Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages.

There are two sentences in Dr. Oppert's book which we cannot pass over without remark.

¹ Pp. 51, 578, 581, 582-98, 600, 605, 606.

² Pp. 19, 20, 102, etc.

³ Pp. 418-421.

⁴ *Kena Upanishad* iii. 2, Comm. "Vidyâ Umâ-rûpiṇī"; and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* x. 1, 150, Comm. "Umâ brahmavidyâ."

Speaking of the Babylonian and Biblical deluges, Dr. Oppert writes: "As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the Ark have landed on the Himálaya, or elsewhere in this country."¹ Now this implies that we know, as we certainly do not, what date the "Aryans" did enter India; an event really as little ascertained as the date of the Glacial epoch.

Then, again, Dr. Oppert tells us that "the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans"²; but we ought to remember that this statement is purely hypothetical; as, up to the present, we have no ethnical evidence to show what race the Chaldeans and Akkadians did belong to.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,
Bengal Civil Service (ret.), M.R.A.S.

MANUEL DE LA LANGUE FOULE (ANGLICÉ FULAH), PARLÉE
DANS LA SENEGAMBIE ET LE SOUDAN. Par T. G. DE
GUIRAUDON. Grammaire, Textes, Vocabulaires. London:
Luzac and Co., 1894.

The learned author sent some months back an essay on this language for the pages of our *Journal*. After careful consideration it was decided by the Council that, though it was undoubtedly an important work, it was hardly of sufficient interest to the general public to publish in the French language in our *Journal*, our space being limited. The MS. was accordingly posted in a case addressed to the author, but it disappeared "en route," and though the officials of the General Post Office at my request sent a special agent to make enquiries, it has never been found. The indefatigable author at once set to work to rewrite his work in an enlarged form, as an independent volume, and it has appeared.

¹ Page 336.

² Page 284.

In my "Modern Languages of Africa," 1881, p. 157, following Fredk. Müller of Vienna, "Algemeine Ethnographie," I class the Fulah language in the Nuba-Fulah group, between the Hamitic and the Negro groups; no doubt this is provisional. There are several dialects of this language, and a certain amount of literature. The name has appeared in several forms in French and English, being even called Pul, or Foule, as the present author has entitled it. It is a language of importance and with a future.

The present volume of 144 pages comprises a grammar of 77 pages, texts of 11 pages, and a vocabulary of French and Fulah of 54 pages. It seems to leave nothing to be desired, and is a most important contribution to our knowledge.

July, 1894.

R. N. C.

BENGAL MS. RECORDS, 1782-1807, WITH A DISSERTATION ON LANDED PROPERTY, AND LAND RIGHTS, IN BENGAL AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., 1894.

These four volumes comprise a selected list of no less than 14,136 letters in the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 1782-1807, a very critical period in the history of British India, as a system was forming, which for good or evil would be binding ever after on future generations. It is quite exceptional to discuss subjects of purely economic and political interest in the pages of this *Journal*, which are reserved to linguistic, ethnic, and archæological topics; if an exception be made in this case, it is out of respect to the exceptional grandeur of the subject, and to the author of the treatise, who is one, to whom India is so much indebted for his statistical and descriptive works, and who is a valued member of our Society, and has been on our Council, ever ready to render the Society assistance.

Just one Century ago, in 1793, the Permanent Settlement of the Province of Bengal was passed into law; attempts have been made to set it aside, and attempts have been

made to extend its leading principle of permanency to other Provinces; both attempts have failed, and it is devoutly to be hoped, that they ever will fail. No doubt such a policy, as a Permanent Settlement, would not in this Century (at least since 1840) have been carried out, unless preceded by a survey of the land, a discovery of the area cultivated, and culturable, a record of existing rights, whether of proprietor, something less than proprietor, and cultivator in its many varieties, and a settlement on some certain basis of the assessment of the Rent payable by the cultivator to the proprietor, as well as the Revenue payable by the proprietor to the State. Besides, the great Pax Britannica of nearly one Century in this Province has altered the problem; the population has increased almost up to the limits of sustenance; vast tracts of culturable land, which had become a waste, occupied by wild beasts, during the unsettled political state of last Century, have come under culture, and agricultural export beyond sea has come into existence; the great promoters of the Perpetual Settlement in 1793 would not recognise the Province, with which they had to deal, and deal at once, in the guise under which it appears in 1893.

In the "History of British India," by James Mill, published in 1840, at page 486 of vol. v., appear the following words:

"The raiyats (cultivators) were therefore handed over to the zamindars (proprietors) in gross." "The legislators were English aristocrats, and aristocratical prejudices prevailed." These expressions have always appeared to me to have been unjustifiable, not through the ignorance, for this great policy had not been carried out in a corner for selfish purposes by low-minded men, but *from deliberate prejudice* of the writer. The task, which Sir W. Hunter has undertaken, is, by an elaborate examination of the Records of that period, to prove this fact. I admit that the subject will not interest many; science is more captivating than provincial administration; the investigation of a Buddhist Stupa, or the deciphering of a Cave-Inscription, or the interpretation

of Sanskrit manuscripts, have more attraction than the discussion of measures honestly undertaken to alleviate the heavy burdens of millions, who had suffered cruelly, their unhappy lot, in the words of a Statesman of the time, being cast "in a perpetual conflict of two forces, the force of oppression (on the part of the Collector of the Revenue of the land), and the force of evasion, exhibiting an intricate scheme of collusion opposed to exaction."

To me who half a century later had the same problems placed before me, in 1846, when the Province of the Panjáb after a series of tremendous battles had been annexed, the introductory chapter is peculiarly interesting and instructive; but half a century had, in 1846, supplied the Government of British India with a body of trained Revenue officials, English and Native; an overwhelming military power, close at hand, enabled the Divisional and District Officers, on their arrival in districts, where an Englishman had never been seen previously, to act deliberately, and with a certainty that their orders would be carried into execution. In 1793 these advantages were wanting.

Sir W. Hunter treats the subject coldly, impartially, with all the *sang froid* of a philosophic historian, but still in every page it is self-evident, that he knows the region and the people, whose good and bad fortunes he is describing. He quotes chapter and verse to show how the idea of a Permanent Settlement arose, for it was a new and a bold one; what were the exact position of State-rights, Landholders' obligations, and the Customs of Cultivators, before this great measure was passed. Those, who have had the same problems to solve in other Provinces, can sympathise with those wise, kind-hearted, and thoughtful Statesmen, who a Century ago were watching by the cradle of the great Empire of British India. No doubt mistakes were made: some arose from over-caution, some from their being too sanguine, and they were totally deficient in that knowledge of the tenures and customs of the land in India, which are familiar to the present generation. British India, as they knew it, was in a weak childhood; it has now arrived

at a strong manhood, and yet it is encompassed with dangers of a totally different character. Sir William reminds us, that the conciliatory policy was dictated by the British Parliament in Pitt's Act of 1784, that it was pressed in long and able despatches by the Court of Directors. It was solemnly and laboriously discussed by the men on the spot; they acted to the best of their light; no unworthy motives, no desire of personal aggrandisement or gain, influenced them. They could not have dreamt in 1793 what British India would develop into in 1893. Circumstances, which they could scarcely anticipate, have made many to doubt as to the wisdom of the policy, but it is a *fait accompli*. To cancel it for the sake of administrative symmetry would be a blunder, to tamper with it under the influence of short-sighted cupidity for more Revenue, would be a crime. Sir W. Hunter's judicial dissertation, supported by the long array of correspondence, will, I trust, render this impossible. He places the conduct of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and his colleague Sir John Shore, in the most favourable light; if they could have had the grace conceded to them of moving slowly, and allowing the decennial period to run out, it would have been well; but no official in India has a tenure of office for more than one lustrum. Lord Cornwallis went on the maxim of "Bis dat, qui cito dat," instead of "Festina lenté." It seems strange to Revenue officials of the modern school, that the *via media* of a settlement of thirty or forty years was never suggested. It is remarkable, that the policy of all concerned in those days was that of generous limitation of the State-demand, recognition of the rights of property, both in the proprietor and cultivator, and in those days India was little known or cared for. In these days the current thought of the Socialist is to declare the land to be the property of the State, and practically in this last year the annexation of a country in South Africa, Matabele-land, has been accompanied by a confiscation, not only of the rights of the Sovereign, but of the land and chattels of the proprietors and cultivators of the soil. The Collection of Revenue was the sole idea of the Native

Ruler ; it was the sole object of the Ruler of a State, as this supplied the sinews of war, and the material of luxury : when in 1765 the "Diwani" was transferred to the East India Company, it meant the annexation of the Province. We must not forget that the Native process of collecting Revenue was based on every kind of cruelty to the defaulter, even personal chastisement ; yet still, owing to the sparseness of population, the Revenue, nominally asserted, was never realized : the existing system, derived from the Mogul Empire, had broken down as regards the State, the proprietor, the cultivator. In 1765 the East India Company inherited a system, from the cruelty of which it revolted : the problem had to be solved ; the proposed panacea was fixity of tenure, a statutory title, and sale of land in case of default. Sir John Shore was in favour of a transition-period of ten years. Lord Cornwallis believed honestly that the time for experiments had passed, that something must be done at once. No doubt Anglo-Indian administrators of this generation would have sided with Sir John Shore, but in those days there was no supply of skilled officials, Native or English ; the only ideas of the latter were commercial : their first object was to provide the Annual Investment of a Commercial Company of Traders : the officials of this Century are of a different type, and are Statesmen.

In spite of its defects there are advantages in the Permanent Settlement of this great Province : the fortunate Proprietors know well that, though the British Government is bound by its word, there is nothing to bind the invading Russian, or French, or the Native Rulers, who might come to the front. The great landowners know that their existence is tied up with British Rule : it has enabled a rich, fat, residentiary class to come into existence : the Income-Tax, and Succession-Duties, may bleed them hereafter. One of the misfortunes of the Village-Settlements of Northern India is, that the agricultural class is without resources for bad years, as there is no margin of accumulated profit : they can only just pay their way.

I congratulate Sir William Hunter in having added this noble disquisition to his other useful, instructive, and interesting, publications: it is a satisfaction to me personally, that he has not consecrated his leisure-hours and literary talents to the description of military campaigns, and victories purchased with the blood of thousands of poor creatures, who had no conception of the cause for which they were slaughtered. His pages tell us of the peaceful triumphs and failures of wise, and conscientious, and honest (let us remember that last characteristic) administrators of the affairs of a *great people for their benefit*. During the Century, which has elapsed since the days of Lord Cornwallis, such has been the good fortune of India, and the proud boast of her administrators.

“Peace has her victories no less renowned than War.”

Not all attempts to benefit the people have been successful. Sir William Hunter's eloquent pages show how hard it is to do good on a great scale without running the risk of doing much greater evil in an entirely unexpected way. This Act was passed in 1793 for the *benefit* of the great Land-owners: it has been the ruin of nearly all: a new class has taken their place, and enjoy their privileges. The rights of Cultivators, resident and hereditary, were to be protected by interchange of written documents: all this has utterly failed, but subsequent legislation has done much to protect the weaker against the stronger. But the amazing increase of the population, no longer decimated by War, Pestilence, and Famine, has reduced the Cultivator to a dead level of abject poverty, and the outlook of the next half-century is very depressing. Such is the lesson forced by experience on all Anglo-Indian Administrators, so complicated is the problem, so multiform the phenomena, and so difficult it is to arrive at the actual facts.

The style of this work leaves nothing to desire, and the subject is fascinating. It seems like returning to one's old love to leave the field of Language, and Religious Conceptions, to which for many years I have been exclusively devoted, and bring my thoughts once more to

the subjects which occupied them for the quarter of a century which ended sadly in 1867.

August 7th, 1894.

ROBERT N. CUST.

THE POPULAR RELIGION OF NORTHERN INDIA.¹

This is a fascinating book. To one who has lived the best years of his life in the East, and who has learned how crude are the ideas of many of those who, in Europe, claim to be experts in the religion of India, it is doubly fascinating. May it be as useful as it deserves to be, in teaching that the Vēdas, the Upaniṣads, the code of Manu, or the Purāṇas, have no more than a nominal influence over the lives of the mass of the inhabitants of Āryavartta. The ancient Ṛṣis have as little to do with the practical every-day religion of Northern India as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Perhaps they have less, for he has his missionaries. Yet there are still people who think and even teach that the belief of the Indian cultivator is founded on the Vēdas, and that, though perhaps it has been corrupted, it can still be traced up to its ancient so-called source.

Mr. Crooke's first words give the key-note to the whole of his work—

“ Many books have been written on Brahmanism, or the official religion of the Hindus; but, so far as I am aware, this is the first attempt to bring together some of the information available on the popular beliefs of the races of Northern India. . . . I believe that the more we explore these popular superstitions and usages, the nearer we are likely to attain to the discovery of the basis on which Hinduism has been founded. The official creed has always been characterised by extreme catholicism and receptivity, and many of its principles and legends have undoubtedly been derived from that stratum of the people which

¹ An Introduction | to the | Popular Religion and Folklore | of | Northern India. | By W. Crooke, B.A., | Bengal Civil Service, | Honorary Director of the Ethnographical Survey, North-Western | Provinces and Oudh. | Allahabad: | Printed at the Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. | 1894. | Price, Rs. 2 4 0. |

it is convenient to call non-Aryan or Dravidian. The necessity, then, of investigating these beliefs before they have become absorbed in Brahmanism, one of the most active missionary religions of the world, is obvious."

The work will, therefore, be pre-eminently useful to European students. It is the first general account of the actual religion of rural Hindūstān, which has been written by a competent scholar, who is at the same time an acute observer on the spot. If a selection had been made, no better writer on the subject could have been chosen than Mr. Crooke, who has long been known for his intimate acquaintance with rural habits and customs, and whose position as editor of *North Indian Notes and Queries* has admirably fitted him for the self-imposed task. As one who knows how difficult it is for an Indian official to find time for such a by-work, I must congratulate him upon its successful and admirable accomplishment.

The work will also be useful to his brother officers. The Indian cultivator lives in an atmosphere so different from that of an educated European, or even of one of his educated fellow-countrymen,¹ that the difficulties experienced in approaching him in a sympathetic spirit are sometimes incredible. It explains, for instance, why once no patients could be induced to stay in a female hospital, whose wards were longer east and west than north and south. Women would come to be treated readily enough, and would take away medicine, but no power on earth would induce them to sleep in so ill-omened a building. It will enable the District Collector, who is an enthusiast for sanitary improvement, to walk warily among the numerous pitfalls which surround him, in the shape of the godlings of disease, and may even induce him to wink at Government vaccinators (wise in their generation) taking fees not only

¹ It is extraordinary how ignorant some educated natives are of what goes on around them. I have known more than one highly trained Government servant, born and bred under the shadow of Calcutta University and the most advanced teaching of "New India," who had never even seen a growing rice-plant till he was made a Deputy Magistrate and sent into the *mufassil* to learn his work. This may sound extraordinary, but it is a literal fact.

for their operations, but also for performing every now and then a somewhat elaborate ceremony in honour of Sītālā, the dread goddess of small-pox. Only in this way do they succeed in persuading the superstitious villagers to allow their children to be vaccinated. It matters little to the sanitary reformer that the subsequent immunity from small-pox is ascribed, not to the operation, but to the accompanying rites.

The main portion of the work is divided into eleven chapters dealing respectively with the Godlings of Nature, the Heroic and Village Godlings, the Godlings of Disease, the Worship of the Sainted Dead, the Worship of the Malevolent Dead, the Evil Eye and the Scaring of Ghosts, Tree and Serpent Worship, Totemism and Fetishism, Animal Worship, the Black Art, and Rural Festivals and Ceremonies. To these are added a very complete Bibliography, and an Index.

Mr. Crooke devotes himself mainly to Central Northern India, or Hindūstān proper. He has also drawn much useful information from Major Temple's excellent work entitled *Legends of the Panjāb*, and from some book incidentally dealing with the superstitions and customs of Bihār and Bengal. The completeness of his work as regards Hindūstān (where the author has had his own intimate knowledge of the people to assist him), shows how much remains to be done by other observers in the remaining Provinces of India, especially in Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa. To a Collector of those Lower Provinces, Mr. Crooke's work is not only instructive but suggestive; he is at every page reminded of some custom different from, but similar to, a Hindustānī custom, which prevails in his own district. In the chapter on the Black Art he is reminded of the wild legends current about Lōnā Camārīn in her reputed birth country, Assam, that "land of witchcraft," and how the Musalmān invaders attributed their frequent repulses to the incantations of her disciples. Or again, the very first chapter will recall the fantastic folk-legends of Lōrik, of Cūhar Māl, of Dīnā Bhadrī (with

its were-jackal), of Bijai Mall, all with their strange introductory invocations, first to the Mother Earth, then to local Village Godling, then to the Mighty Ganges, then to the Sun,—“Suruj Mal, who gives his light every day”—and finally to Rājā Indra, who rules in heaven with his consort (*sic*) Dēvī Durgā,—the only two real gods of the official Hindū pantheon, who have not been entirely superseded by the wonderful crowd of miscellaneous divinities whom Mr. Crooke has endeavoured to reduce to a system.

Space does not allow me to give more than two extracts from this interesting book. I only give them as illustrating the curious elasticity of rural belief in India. We all know how the tomb of Nicholson is revered by the Pañjābīs. *À propos* of this custom Mr. Crooke remarks :—

“The primitive grave-heap grows into the cairn, and the cairn into the tope or stupa. In the way of a tomb, a Hindū will worship almost anything. The tomb of an English lady is worshipped at Bhaṇḍārā, in the Central Provinces; the tomb of an English officer near the fort of Bijaygarh, in the ‘Alīgarh district, was, when I visited it some years ago, revered as the shrine of the local village God. There is a similar case at Rāwalpiṇḍī” (p. 314).

Again, on p. 144, he says :—

“Most of these saints and godlings whom we have been considering are comparatively harmless, and even benevolent. Such is nearly always the case with the ghosts of the European dead, who are constantly deified. Perhaps because the Śāhīb is such a curiously incomprehensible personage to the rustic he is believed to retain his powers in the after world. But it is a remarkable and unconscious tribute to the foreign ruler, that his ghost should be beneficent. The gardener in charge of the station cemetery in Mirzapur recently informed me that he constantly sees the ghosts of the ladies and gentlemen buried there coming out for a walk in the hot summer nights, and that they never harm him.”

In conclusion, as one who has himself been condemned to years of hard labour at the hands of Indian compositors, I must condole with Mr. Crooke on the misprints which

have here and there disfigured his most careful and conscientious work. A perusal of his sixth chapter has induced me to believe that these have been deliberately introduced by the Printer's Devil in order to ward off the evil eye. At any rate, I am persuaded that the author is not responsible for them. A long experience of Indian printers and, to their shame be it spoken, some of the Government presses are the worst offenders in this respect, has taught me to expect a definite and large percentage of new mistakes to be introduced into a work after the final proofs have been carefully checked and returned without an error undetected to the printer.

G. A. G.

ARABIC.

As an appendix to Part 12 of the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* Prof. Steinschneider has published (in German) a treatise on the *Arabic translations from the Greek*.

Prof. G. Jahn, of Koenigsberg, has just published the first four parts of his translation of Sibawachi's *Book on Grammar* according to H. Derenbourg's edition of the original. The translation is largely annotated, and accompanied by extracts from Sirāfi's and other commentaries. This meritorious undertaking, which is supported by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences and the *Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft*, will, we hope, greatly further the study of the oldest and also obscurest of Arabic Grammarians.

Mr. E. Fagnan has published a detailed list of the MSS. of one Museum's library in Algiers.

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PL. I.

SINHANADA AVALOKITA

(The base contains 'the seven precious things'—*Sapta-ratna*.)



1. AMOGHAVAJRA MAHAKARUNA.

(a) TARA.

(b) BHRIKUTI TARA.



2. CHATURBHUJ AVALOKITA.

(a) MANIDHARA.

(b) MOTHER OF THE 6 SYLLABLES.



3. AMOGHABABRITHA-AVALOKITA.

(a) VASUDHARA DEVI.

(b) NAGA KING NANDA AND UPANANDA.

PL. II.



PL. III.

SRI KHECARA AVALOKITA.

- (a) VAJRA SATVA. (b) SITA TARA.
(c) TARA (green). (d) BHRIKUTI TARA.
(e) PITA VASUBHADRA.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE
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CORRECTED TO 1st JANUARY, 1894.

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TRANSLITERATION COMMITTEE.

(Adopted by Council, 8th May, 1894.)

At the General Meeting of this Society held on the 21st April, 1890, a resolution was passed, on the motion of Sir M. Monier-Williams, that this Society should, in co-operation with other Asiatic Societies, urge upon the next Congress the advisability of conferring on the possibility of formulating a uniform and international system of transliteration of Oriental alphabets. At the next meeting of the Council a committee (consisting of Sir M. Monier-Williams as Chairman, Professors Sayce, Bendall, and Rhys Davids, Dr. Rost, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Kay, and Mr. Lyon) was appointed to carry out this resolution. Owing, however, to the continued illness and absence from England of Sir M. Monier-Williams very little progress was made, and the work was not completed in time for the Ninth International Congress, held in London in the autumn of 1892.

In January, 1894, Col. Plunkett, R.E., and Dr. Gaster were added to the Committee. Col. Plunkett was elected Chairman, and frequent meetings have since been held in order to bring the matter before the consideration of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in Geneva in the autumn of 1894.

Dr. Thornton had been kind enough to procure official documents on the subject from India, and the following

letter had been despatched to the Secretaries of various foreign societies :—

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET,
LONDON, W.
21st Nov. 1890.

SIR,—In the present state of the comparative study of Philology, and of the history of religious beliefs and of institutions, it is becoming daily more and more important that the transliteration of Oriental proper names by scholars of different countries should become, as far as is possible, uniform. With a view of ascertaining how far this can be brought about this Society has it in contemplation to take some action at the next Congress of Orientalists. I have the honour, therefore, to ask you whether your Society would co-operate with our own in urging upon the Congress to take the matter into consideration.

The Committee appointed by the Council of this Society to deal with this question is quite aware of the difficulties which surround it. It proposes, therefore, in the first place to ascertain what the amount of divergence between the leading scholars of the various countries interested in Oriental research really is, and to confine the enquiry at present to two alphabets, the Sanskrit and the Arabic. With this object I have been requested to ask you to be so kind as to inform me whether your Society has adopted or recommended any system of transliteration for those alphabets,—if so, what that system is,—and if not, whether your Society, as a Society, could not go so far as to place on record, either in its own Journal or in a communication to this Society, the system which it regards as preferable.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,
Secretary.

To the Secretary of the

Society.

From the replies received from the American, French, German, and Italian Societies, it was clear that they were cordially in agreement that some action should be taken, and that while no unanimity of transliteration, especially as regards that of the Arabic alphabet, had been as yet arrived at in any one of the Societies' Journals, they would be willing to co-operate with our Society.

Your Committee therefore set to work to formulate such a scheme as might form the basis for argument at the next Congress.

I. SANSKRIT, PĀLI, ETC.

With regard to the transliteration of Sanskrit, Pāli, and the allied alphabets, their task was a comparatively easy one. A scheme for the transliteration of Sanskrit was adopted, on the proposal of the first President of this Society, Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, by the Bengal Asiatic Society so long ago as 1867. This scheme, with only one or two changes, has been very universally adopted by leading Sanskritists since that time, and it was adopted with very slight modifications by the Indian Government, by the Pāli Text Society, and also by this Society for use in the Catalogue of its Library (published only last year). The Committee would recommend, therefore, the following scheme for use in the Society's Journal. They have appended a few notes on the two or three symbols as to which they venture now to differ, for the reasons stated, from Prof. Wilson.

Indian Alphabets.

Scheme for the transliteration of all the alphabets in use in India, Ceylon, and Further India which are derived from the so-called Pāli Alphabet of Aṣoka's Inscriptions.

Vowels.					
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū
ṛ ¹	ṛ	ḷ	ḷ		
e	ē	ai	o	ō	au

Consonants.

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ ³
c ³	ch	j ³	jh	ñ
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m
y	r	l	v	
ç ⁴	ṣ ⁴	s	h	

Specialities for Sanskrit—

The cerebral l consonant (ळ) is to be represented by ḷ.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सी ऽपि sô 'pi. *Visarga* is represented by ḥ, *Jihvāmūliya* by ḥ, *Upadhmanīya* by ḥ. *Anusvāra* is represented by ṁ, thus संसर्गं *samsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus ञँ ā, ञँँ d, and so on. The *udatta* accent is represented by the sign ' and the *scarita* by ^. Thus, अग्निः *agnih*, अग्निता *janitā*, क्वी kvā, कन्या *kanyā*. The *anudatta* accent may be represented by ` . Thus, ते अवधन्ते *tē avardhanta*.

Specialities for Pāli—

The cerebral l is ḷ. *Anuggahita* is ṅ.

NOTES.

¹ Wilson has ṛi, ri, ḷri, ḷri for these four letters. But we ought not to have misleading compound symbols to represent the simple symbols of the native alphabets. The only practical objection to ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ is that the ḹ may be preferred for the cerebral ḷ, and that it is impossible to write a long mark over ḹ. But ḹ will do well enough for the few cases in which it is necessary to write the lengthened ḹ. And for the cerebral ḷ, though ḹ would be the most appropriate, ḹ would be sufficient.

As to the long mark being throughout $\bar{\quad}$, and not ' or ` or $\hat{\quad}$, we trust it is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of reserving the European accents as symbols for accents, and adopting as the symbol for length a symbol used in European works on prosody to signify length.

² The representation of the symbol for the sound expressed in English by *ng* (as in 'sing') is open to doubt, as the symbols used in Europe for it are all either double symbols or letters used also as symbols for other sounds. A new symbol might be proposed (such as the η adopted by Prof. Rhys Davids), or \varkappa might be used with some mark. If the latter course be chosen $\underset{\cdot}{\eta}$ or $\underset{\cdot}{\varkappa}$ would do. But those who have corrected much transliteration for the Press know too well how often the $\underset{\cdot}{\varkappa}$, unless very carefully written, appears in the proof as *i* ($\underset{\cdot}{\varkappa}g$ as *irg* or *rig*, etc.). An additional reason for preferring $\underset{\cdot}{\eta}$ to $\underset{\cdot}{\varkappa}$ is that the diacritical mark is then under the line, as it is throughout the scheme for consonants. But the new sign η has the great advantage that it would obviate all difficulties and would avoid another diacritical mark; and being really an abbreviated *ng* would be at once easily intelligible. It would also be available for the new character which the Malays introduced into the Arabic alphabet ($\hat{\xi}$) to represent this sound, so frequently occurring in their own language. [Since this note was written, the scheme of the Bengal Asiatic Society, in which the η has been adopted, has been received from Calcutta.]

³ Wilson has here, as was natural to an Englishman, *ch*. The sound is really, at least now, a double one (the $\xi\eta$ of this scheme, *tsh* in English), but is always expressed in the Indian alphabets by a single symbol. When doubled as a symbol only the first letter, the *t*, of the compound $\xi\eta$ or *tsh* is doubled in pronunciation (*at-tsha*, *it-tsha*, etc.). Wilson, for the doubled symbol, had to use *chch*, and when the second letter was aspirated he had to use *chchh* (!). *c* (with its logical results *ch*, *j*, *jh*) has been widely used already, and is adopted and recommended by Prof. Bühler, Prof.

Whitney, Prof. Cowell, the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the Pāli Text Society. It seems the most practical way of meeting the difficulty.

4 There is a slight difference of opinion among scholars as to the representation of the three *s* symbols. The dental *s* (𑖀) should, of course, be represented by the simple *s*. The sound expressed in English by *sh* (𑖄) is pronounced in the same part of the mouth as the *ʃ* of this scheme; it is, therefore, the most systematic to represent it by *ʃ*. And probably *ʒ* or *ç* is the best symbol left for the third letter (𑖆). Of these two *ʒ* would be the more systematic, but *ç* is more familiar, and has been adopted by various scholars and by the Bengal Asiatic Society. Your Committee, therefore, would suggest *ç*.

In this scheme marks to consonants are placed, whenever possible, *under* the line, and long marks or accents to vowels *over* the line. This is of great practical importance in correcting proofs.

The sign *ś* would contravene this, and when used for transliterating accented words would certainly lead to confusion. The accent (') should be reserved as a symbol for accentuation. If the sign *ʒ* or *ç* be disliked the series *ʒ*, *sh*, *s* might be adopted were it not for the objection, theoretically well founded, which many scholars feel against the *sh*. This last is the solution the Committee might else have recommended as really the least liable to mistake, and as diminishing the number of diacritical marks required.

II. ARABIC.

The transliteration of the Arabic alphabet was found more difficult. Your Committee studied the schemes in use in India, in the Journals of the various Asiatic Societies, and in the Catalogues of Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, in the Society's Library, and elsewhere. They beg to express their very cordial thanks for the assistance they have received in this respect from Dr. Codrington,

from Mr. B. Dé, of the Indian Civil Service, from Prof. Darmesteter, of Paris, and from Prof. Socin, of Leipzig.

As a result of a very careful consideration of each symbol your Committee have drawn up the annexed scheme, to which they have appended suggestions for general rules, and also notes on the isolated letters. The Committee has made every effort to have the whole scheme quite ready for this meeting of Council, but there still remain a very few details in the wording of these notes which require consideration.

Your Committee do not think it advisable for this Society to attempt at present to take any steps with regard to any other alphabets than those referred to in this report.

Your Committee would recommend—

- (1) That this Report be adopted.
- (2) That the draft Report be circulated among the members of the Transliteration Committee with authority to them to settle the final draft of the appendices to the scheme for the transliteration of Arabic symbols.
- (3) That the Report, so settled, be printed in the Society's Journal for July, 1894.
- (4) That a printed copy of the Report be forwarded to the President of the Tenth International Congress, with a request from this Society that the Congress should appoint a Committee, to sit during the Congress, to consider the Report, and to take such steps as they may deem desirable for the establishment of schemes, officially recognised by the Congress, for the transliteration (1) of all the various alphabets used in Sanskrit and Pāli MSS. and (2) of the Arabic alphabet.
- (5) That the Secretary forward printed copies of the Report to the Asiatic Societies who replied to his previous letter, and request those Societies to support officially (by letter to the President of the Congress) the suggestion put forward by this Society.

APPENDIX.

The attached tabular form shows that system of transliterating the Arabic Alphabet which is now proposed to the Society as being the most suitable for use in its Journal, and also the variations found in other systems. In deciding upon it the Committee have been guided by the following considerations :—

- (a) That as the Indian system has been so generally adopted it is undesirable to depart from it without cogent reason.
- (b) That it is desirable to use a single letter or character to represent one character of the original, *i.e.* to avoid (if possible) such combinations as *sh*, *ph*, etc.
- (c) That sufficient diacritical marks should be used to render it easy to transliterate a passage back into the original character.
- (d) That such letters shall be used that in case of diacritical marks and other such symbols being omitted (as must occur in newspaper reports, maps, etc.) the pronunciation of the words will not, to European ears, be materially altered.

NOTES TO THE TABLE.

1. Taking first the consonants as shown in the accompanying table it will be seen that as regards the following letters there is no difference of opinion ب د ه ز ي (as
b d h z y
consonant) ت س ر ف ن م ل ك and the Persian پ.
k l m n f r s t p

In Malay writing ث is used for p. It is proposed, however, that the ط should always be transliterated, and not omitted when silent at the end of a word, as has been customary in India.

2. As regards the following there is no important difference of opinion, the only point that is open to

argument being whether it is best to place the dot below or above the letter ح ص .

h s

3. As regards the g and j sounds represented by ج and the Persian گ there is some difficulty in deciding what is most suitable for both the Arabic and the Hindustani countries. As in the former the ج is in some countries a hard and in others a soft g this letter is the only one which will represent it satisfactorily, while for Persia and India, where it is always soft like j and the hard g is always represented by the گ , it is necessary to use the j . In Malay writing the g is written گ .

4. As regards w , the w alone would suffice, except in Turkish, but, as in this language it is necessary to show the v sound as well, there is no objection to using both as required. This use of alternative Roman letters to represent one character of the original can evidently cause no confusion when retransliterating into the Arabic alphabet.

5. As regards ط ظ and the Hindi ट ड it would be

t z t d

natural to use the one dot with the Arabic letter which runs through all the languages and to give the second dot to the letter which is brought in for the Hindi words only. But as no question of principle is involved it seems better to keep to the symbols already used in India.

6. As regards ث ش ذ خ and the Persian ژ , which are

s t h d z

sometimes called h compounds, the compound forms sh , th , etc., are cumbersome, and, moreover, do not, except to an Englishman, express the sound required. The mark suggested is the usual cursive method of writing in Arabic the three dots which distinguish some of these letters. The same would apply to the ج , for which c is recommended, but, as the c is not employed in any

other way, if the < be omitted and the simple c employed it will not mislead. The intention of the < with the c is, of course, to remind readers that the letter has not the s or k sound usual in Europe.

7. As regards ç there seems no doubt that the q is ^q more convenient and expresses better the pronunciation of the original than a k with any diacritical mark.

8. The sound of ğ has been represented in very different ways by different nations: in the Irish by gh, in the Welsh by rh, and by others as g. The modern Egyptians use ğ to represent a European g, as for instance in writing the name Gordon غوردن , and the Hindoos pronounce it as a hard g. Therefore a ğ , distinguished as in the case of the h compounds, seems most convenient.

9. There is great difficulty as regards the ğ , which, according to the Arabs, is a consonant; the Indian system of omitting it whenever it is not a letter of prolongation is not satisfactory, and the German system of representing it by a ' seems better. The Committee have, therefore, recommended this.

10. For the ع , which is in Arabic a distinct and well-marked consonant, the Committee would have liked to suggest a regular letter to run with the others, but believe this to be impossible; the letter itself would answer satisfactorily, but there is the insuperable objection that printing it would be impossible without the oriental type. A reversed comma ع is therefore recommended.

11. As regards the Turkish soft sound of k, which is really y, the most convenient way of representing this seems to be the addition of a cedilla, and this, if omitted, will not alter the spelling.

12. For the other Turkish sound of ن (the nasal n) a differentiated n is desirable, and therefore ñ is recommended. The Malays use the character ڠ to represent this sound, and it should therefore be transliterated by the ñ .

13. The equivalents for the four letters peculiar to Pahtū, as adopted in works printed in this country, is somewhat cumbersome. This is of less importance because the literature in this language is not extensive; but the Committee would like to obtain further information as to the systems used in the most recently printed works on the Continent before recommending any change.

14. As regards the tašdid, or sign of reduplication of a letter, in the transliteration the letter should be doubled, as is the custom hitherto. When the Arabic article al is used with words beginning with certain consonants the l of the article is in pronunciation changed into the following letter, which thus becomes doubled; there is great difference of opinion whether in transliteration the l should be preserved or whether it should be changed into the initial letter of the following word as pronounced. The Committee consider that the most satisfactory system is to retain the l and to connect it by the sign of equality (=) with the following word.

15. As regards the hamzah; where this occurs with ' alif at the beginning of a word the sign for the alif ' will be used, but in the middle of a word it is proposed to put a hyphen (-) in place of the hamzah whatever be the so-called "seat of the hamzah"; for instance

	I write 'aktab اءكتب
a head ra-s راس	enclosure ħā-it حاءط
a wolf d-ib ذئب	wolves dī-āb ذئاب
a chief ra-īs رئيس	peacock tā-ūs طائوس

16. As regards the vowels the Committee consider it undesirable to try, as some have done, to indicate all

those variations of the vowel sounds which often depend on their proximity to certain consonants and on dialectical peculiarities. So far as Arabic alone is concerned the representation of the three Arabic vowel marks, fathah, kasrah, and dammah, by a, i, and u, and of the corresponding long vowels by ā, ī, and ū, will suffice; in Hindustani it is necessary to use e and o in addition to the two latter, and when writing these sounds in the Arabic character a distinction is often shown by omitting the vowel points, *i.e.* the kasrah when e is to be used in place of ī and the dammah when o is to be used in place of ū. If considered necessary there is no objection to using the e and o also in Arabic and Persian. The vowel sounds in Turkish present greater difficulties, and it seems necessary to use for the fathah e as well as a, and to adopt ö and ü in addition to the o and ū.

For the so-called diphthongs *اِي* and *اُو* the equivalents ai and au, which are generally used, seem the most suitable.

17. The Committee have carefully considered two suggestions made by Mr. Thomson-Lyon. The first of these is, in placing dots to distinguish letters which have to be represented by the same Roman letter, to use the same dots as are used with the Arabic letter, for instance to use for *ش* *š*, for *ذ* *ḏ*, and so on: the advantage of thus having the Oriental form of letter suggested to the European reader is obvious.

The other suggestion is to represent those vowel sounds which are indicated in the original by diacritical marks by minuscules as a, i, and u, and to represent every letter of the original by a capital, so that the consonants will be transliterated by B, G, D, etc., and the long vowels

by A, I, U, etc. By this system the necessity for accents is avoided.

The Committee have not thought it necessary to deal with these suggestions further, as it is hoped that Mr. Thomson-Lyon will read a paper on the subject at the Congress.

[In the annexed table only those letters are given in the other schemes which differ from the proposed scheme.]

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VOLS. I.-XX., 1834-1863;

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
New Series, 1865-1888.

LONDON:
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

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of a larger size. A great feature, moreover, is the introduction of explanatory Burmese sentences. Should not the next edition be called *Stevenson's Burmese Dictionary based on Judson* ?

Secondly, he gives us the pronunciation (in English characters) of many words. As there is no scheme of transliteration, European students will derive small help from this.

Thirdly, what will disappoint most scholars is an absence of all attempts to give derivations and correct popular errors.

At p. v. of the preface Mr. Stevenson says: "The compiler had hoped, in the course of the compilation of this work, to have been able to throw some light on the *etymology* of the Burmese language. In this he has been greatly disappointed. So far as the compiler's experience goes the Burmese appear to have no idea of, or take any interest in, the *etymology* of their *own* language. . . . In fact, it has often appeared to the compiler that the Burmese affect to despise their own language and unduly exalt Pali." This is very true, and the present writer has found on asking learned men to explain some of their own terms that they always offered their fanciful derivatives from that language. It is a great pity, however, that Mr. Stevenson has not made an attempt in this direction, for it would not be difficult to anyone on the spot. For instance, the names of the months, which are pure Burmese, would have been very interesting.

As regards spelling, too, Mr. Stevenson might have made an effort to correct modes which are clearly inaccurate, though generally used. Judson, in his preface, says: "Indeed, there is no writer in Burmese who has uniformly followed any mode of orthography."

Two instances strike me very forcibly. The word ခင်ဗျ် *Sir* or *Madam* is, he admits, derived from ဝဝခင် ဝုရ် (*thakin burā*), the *r* being pronounced as *y*; it ought, therefore, to be written ခင်(ဝု) according to its derivation.

The other is ၵြွး ၵြရာ *Mount Meru*. Judson gave the old spelling ၵြွ့ ၵြရာ, and this, I take it, is the true representation of မဟာမေရု *Mahāmeru*. The word ၵြွ့ is *lofty*, from ၵြွ to *see*, whereas ၵြွး is *a horse*, a totally different root. A little more research would have helped to correct various errors. ဓာမဒီ, *admari*, is said to be a fabulous beast or bird with a splendid tail, whereas it is, according to Childers, the Yak. ဘုဂ် ထ် is thought to be the Garuda, but it is probably the *Karaviko*, or Indian cuckoo. ခေတ်, denoting *excellence*, is said to be derived from ခေတ်ဗျှ, *a jogi*; but there is an old Bur. root ခေတ် found in ခေတ်ဏး *to be haughty*, ခေတ်ဗျှ *a Shan prince*, ခေတ်ကဲ *a Karen chief*, which is a more probable solution.

Mr. Stevenson has done excellent work, and will, I trust, when the present edition is exhausted, bring out another and also a grammar.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

4. THE BRHADDEVATĀ—CORRECTION.

SIR,—In the first of the two legends from the *Bṛhaddevatā* edited by me in the January number of this year's *Journal*, I misunderstood the point of verses 15 to 18 (p. 15), and accordingly mistranslated them. The passage is not an enumeration of what Agni received from the gods as his share of the sacrifice in return for his services. It states that he dismembered himself, and that his various parts

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

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UNDER this name the work of the Old Oriental Translation Fund (originally started in 1828) is now being carried on. One or two volumes are published annually, and the following works of this series are now for sale at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W.

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F. F. ARBUTHNOT,

22, ALBEMARLE STREET,
LONDON, W.

July, 1894.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

OCTOBER, 1894.

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