CONTENTS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Anniversary Meeting, 584) ...

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals ...

III. Obituary Notice—

HENRY SAUVRAIRE ...

IV. Notes and News ...

V. Notices of Books—

SERGE D'OLDENBOURG. Notes on Buddhist Bas-reliefs. Reviewed by Rh. D. ...

Guru-pūjā-kaumudi. By Rh. D. ...

DR. WILHELM GRUBE. Die Sprache und Schrift der Jüchen. By T. W. ...

Inscriptions de l'Orkhon dechiffrées par Vilh. Thomsen. By T. W. ...

(1) MANILÂL N. DVivedi: The Imitation of Sankara; (2) The Māndūkya Upanishad. (3) The Theosophy of the Upanishads. (4) G. R. S. MEAD and T. C. CHATTOPADHYAYA: The Upanishads ...

LOUIS FIXOT. Les Lapidaires Indiens ...

HENRI CORNIER. Description d'un Atlas Sino-Coréen. By T. W. ...

A. MERX. Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe. By M. G. ...

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Buddhism, its History and Literature. By J. E. C. ...

S. SCHECHTER and REV. S. SINGER. Talmudical Fragments in the Bodleian Library. By M. G. ...

TH. W. JUYNBOLLE. Le Livre de l'impôt foncier de l'Adam. By H. H. ...

G. BUDGE. The Life and Exploits of Néfer the Great. By M. G. ...

A. BAHNSTEIN, Ph.D. The Targum of Onkelos of Genesis. By Prof. G. DALMAN ...

Additions to the Library ...

583

616

617

619

623

628

630

632

636

637

639

640

641

644

646

647

649

652
# ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beames</td>
<td>Notes on Akbar's Súbahs, with reference to the &quot;Ain-i Akbari.&quot; No. I: Bengal</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. II: Orissa</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendall</td>
<td>An Inscription of Madanapáladeva of Kanauj</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On a system of Letter-numerals used in South India</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beveridge</td>
<td>Note on the Panjmana Inscription sent by Mr. Ney Elias</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deane</td>
<td>Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias</td>
<td>An Apocryphal Inscription in Khorāsān</td>
<td>767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaster</td>
<td>&quot;The Sword of Moses&quot;: an ancient book of Magic</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remarks on the Etymology of &quot;Sabbath&quot;</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirth</td>
<td>Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Mediaeval Geography</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography: Table of Contents and Extracts regarding Ceylon and India, and some Articles of Trade</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houghton</td>
<td>Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palaeontology</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irvine</td>
<td>The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay</td>
<td>Arabic Inscriptions in Egypt. Part II</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Strange</td>
<td>Al-Abrik, Tephrık, the Capital of the Paulicians</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsigliouth</td>
<td>The Liturgy of the Nile</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips</td>
<td>Mahuan's Account of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross</td>
<td>The Early Years of Shāh Isma'il, Founder of the Šāfavi Dynasty</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>Vidhūra Jātaka</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takakusu</td>
<td>Chinese Translations of the &quot;Milinda Panhō&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ART. I.—Chinese Translations of the Milinda Panho.
By J. Takakusu.

I. The number of the Chinese translations in existence.
   With a translation of the introduction contained in one translation.

II. The date of the two translations.
   With an examination of the existing catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist Books.

III. The story of the discussions between the King (Milinda) and Bhikshu Nāgasena found in a Buddhist sūtra called "Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka."

The above has been written to clear up the doubtful points concerning the Chinese translation as mentioned by Prof. Rhys Davids in his Introduction to the "Milinda" II, pp. xi–xvii.

The Story of King Milinda and Nāgasena the Sage.

The "Questions of Milinda" is, according to Professor Rhys Davids, to whose labour the production of an authentic translation of the work is due, of its kind (that is, as a book...
of apologetic controversy), the best in point of style that had
then been written in any country, and it is the masterpiece
of Indian prose. This interesting book, originally written
in Northern India, at or a little after the beginning of the
Christian era,\(^1\) has been entirely lost in the land of its
origin, but it has been translated into Pāli and Chinese,\(^2\) and
from Pāli into Sinhalese, and much commented in Burma
and Siam. For a study of the history of the “Questions of
King Milinda” it is important to gather all the information
about the work itself, about King Milinda, or Bhikshu
Nāgasena, and to inquire as to how early the memory of
the king goes back, or how long the same has survived
in India. We have been very fortunate to have that
interesting paper\(^3\) of MM. Sylvain Lévi and Ed. Specht
on the Chinese translations of the Milinda. M. S. Lévi
has further discovered that a reference to the Milinda was
not only in the commentary,\(^4\) but also in the text of the
Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā of Vasubandhu.\(^5\) The actual
words of the reference have been published by M. Léon
Feer in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1891,
p. 476. Mr. Schiefner has found a statement in a Tibetan
work that a schism took place under a Thera Nāgasena
137 years after the Buddha’s death.\(^6\) But it is not certain
whether he is our Nāgasena.

Professor Serge d’Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, has
pointed out that the two Cambridge MSS. of Kashemendra’s
Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalata mention incidentally the name
Milinda (not “Millinda,” as given by Rājendra Lāl Mitra).

---

\(^1\) See Rhys Davids, Introduction to Milinda I, p. xi, “Sacred Books of the
East,” vol. xxxv; compare the same, pp. xxii, xxiii, “Milinda must have
reigned for a considerable time in the latter half of the second century B.C.,
probably from about 140 to about 115, or even 110 B.C.”

\(^2\) The Chinese may represent a different original, as MM. S. Lévi and E.
Specht think, or a portion of a text of Pāli recension mixed with a comment
or notes made in Siam or somewhere else. These points will become clear when
the promised translation of the above two scholars has been laid before us.

\(^3\) See the Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Congress, 1892, vol. i, pp.
520–529.

\(^4\) That a reference is in the commentary has been pointed out by Burnouf in
his “Introduction,” etc., p. 570.

\(^5\) See Milinda, part i, p. xxvi, and part ii, p. xvii.

\(^6\) Note to his translation of Tāranātha, p. 298.
Some other important references by Buddhaghosa and others, and the relation of our work to the Kathā Vatthu, Brahma-jāla sutta, and other books, have been minutely discussed by Professor Rhys Davids himself, and all are found well put together in his two introductions to the Milinda, parts i and ii.

Several points, however, remain still to be cleared up. All those points relating to the Chinese translation of the work will, I hope, be further discussed by MM. S. Lévi and Specht in their forthcoming translation of the Chinese text, i.e. "Nā-Sien-Bhikshu King."1

It is true that Bunyu Nanjio says in his catalogue, as pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids, that it was "translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, A.D. 317–420"; while MM. S. Lévi and E. Specht tell us that one of the two translations was inserted in the Korean collection made in that country A.D. 1010, and the other was printed in the Collection of Buddhist Books, published under the Sung, A.D. 1239.2 The difference of these statements, though it may seem very great, is not, after all, very difficult to be accounted for. But before we try to speak about the date of the translation we must decide how many translations now exist in Chinese.

I. It is certain that we have two distinct translations of the Milinda among Chinese Buddhist Books. But have we a third?

Professor Rhys Davids has pointed out that there seems to be a third Chinese translation besides the two mentioned in the paper above referred to, and further doubts whether there must not be a fourth to explain all the different statements of Nanjio and Specht.

Now as to the first two. The new Japanese edition (published in Tokyo, 1883—Bodleian Jap. 65) of Chinese Buddhist Books contains two translations of the Milinda,

---

1 Bunyu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of Buddhist Books, No. 1358.
2 Milinda, part ii, p. xii (S.B.E. xxxvi).
one in two volumes, the other in three. These two are, in all probability, the same as those mentioned in the paper of MM. S. Lévi and Specht. This edition was based on the Korean edition of A.D. 1010, and collated from five different editions published in China and Japan. The Japanese editors have recognized that these two translations were distinct works, and inserted the two together in their new edition. Whether the two texts in the Japanese edition are the same as those in Paris\(^1\) or not, it is certain that we have two different translations of the work in question.

Now, have we a third translation, besides these two contained in the Japanese edition?

Professor Serge d’Oldenbourg told Professor Rhys Davids that the introduction contained in the Chinese translation of the Milinda, which was further translated into Russian by Mr. Ivanovsky, was a sort of Jātaka story, in which the Buddha appeared as a white elephant.\(^2\) The copy in the India Office Collection (Chinese Miscellaneous, Case 67\(^r\)) consists of three volumes, the first of which has an introduction relating to the former births of Milinda and Nāgasena.

In this introduction we have something about an Elephant-king representing Milinda’s former birth, but not the Buddha’s. As it is important to identify the India Office copy with one of the texts in Paris, or with the Russian translation just referred to, I have thought it best to give the introduction in question in the following pages, by means of which, perhaps, Professor Serge d’Oldenbourg or M. Ed. Specht will be able to see from a comparison with their own books whether or no the India Office copy is identical with one of theirs.\(^3\)

In any case, it would be very interesting to decide to which class the India Office copy belongs.

---

\(^1\) Very likely they are the same; see below.

\(^2\) See Rhys Davids, Introduction, Milinda II, p. xi. He thinks that, as there is nothing about this curious introduction in either of M. Specht’s papers, it seems possible that there are really three Chinese books on the “Milinda.”

\(^3\) The importance of this identification has been emphasized by Professor Rhys Davids, Milinda II, p. xii, note.
I here give a translation of the introduction contained in the India Office text of the Milinda.

---

**The Sūtra on the Bhikshu Nā-Sien.**

(No. 1358 in Nanjio’s Catalogue—Chinese Miscellaneous, Case 67 [26].)

"The translator’s name is lost, and we register this work as belonging to the Easter Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317–420)."

The Buddha (once) dwelt in Śrāvastī, in the grove of Jeta, in the gardens of Anātha-piṇḍada. At that time all the Bhikshu Saṅgha, Bhikshunīs, Upāsakas, Upāsikās, all the kings of heaven, great ministers, rich men and other people, and also those who pursue the (heretic) doctrines of 96 varieties, altogether to the number of more than 10,000, daily attended the Buddha to hear his religious discourse (sūtrānta). It occurred to the Buddha: "The assembly of men here is great from day to day, and my body cannot be at ease." The Buddha’s wish was to forsake the assembly of men and retire into a quiet place, where he could sit down, contemplate, and meditate on the path. The Buddha then deserted the assembly of men, and retired to a mountain in the thicket of Kiao-lo trees. These trees

---

1 Three vols. in all—
Vol. i consists of 23 leaves, the first word being 善哉.
Vol. ii 21 王 善哉.
Vol. iii 15 王復 作禮.

The division of the collection is marked at the edge, 聚五六七.

Though the India Office text is an old Japanese edition (1681), yet it is practically a reproduction of the Chinese edition of the Ming dynasty (1600).

2 失譯人名附東晉錄. This is the editor’s remark.

3 Mark that this book does not begin with "evaṃ mayā gṛutaṃ," though it pretends to be a sūtra.

4 Anātha-piṇḍika in Pāli, another name of Sudatta.

5 Kolaka, "black pepper"? Or do the three characters stand for a name something like Karanja, pongamia glabra.
had a spirit; and the Buddha seated himself under one of the trees and was meditating on the path of purity. Not far from the forest there were elephants to the number of more than 500. The elephant-king was wise and good, and able to judge what is good or bad; their manners resembling those of men. All the elephants used to surround the king; among them there were male and female, long-toothed, middle-toothed, and small-toothed. Whenever the elephant-king, being thirsty, wished to go and drink water, all the smaller elephants ran before the king and entered the water and drank it. After that, they would sport with water, running about, stirring up, or fishing in, the water, and make it turbid and impure, and the result was that the king could not drink any pure water. Whenever the king, being hungry, wanted to go and eat grass, all the smaller elephants used to run before him and eat all the beautiful grass, and sport, running about, jumping, treading on the grass, and the king himself could not eat fresh grass at all. The elephant-king thereupon thought to himself: “My companions are too many, and I regret that all the elephants and their young ones would stir up water (before I drink), thereby making it turbid, or eat grass before me, making it impure (by treading on); and I have always to drink impure water and eat trodden-down grass. What if I abandoned all the elephants and retired to a quiet place where I can be happy?” Thereupon the king abandoned the assembly, went to a mountain, and came to the thicket of the Kiao-lo trees. (As it happened to be the place where the Buddha was) he saw the Buddha there sitting under a tree. Then, greatly rejoicing in his heart, he came before the Buddha, bowed, knelt down, and worshipped the Buddha; and retired to one side and remained there. The Buddha then thought to himself: “I have abandoned my companions and have come here in the forest; the elephant has also forsaken his retinue and is come here in the same place. Thus we have come here for exactly the same purpose.”

1 These may be “advanced in age,” “middle-aged,” and “young.”
The Buddha then gave a religious discourse (sūtrānta) for the sake of the elephant-king, and said: "A Buddha is the most honoured among men, and the elephant-king is the most honoured among elephants." Further: "My intention is similar to that of (you) the elephant-king; I shall be happy being together with the elephant in the forest."

When the elephant heard the religious discourse his mind was enlightened, and he understood what the Buddha meant, and, looking towards the Buddha, he wandered about the Buddha's walking-place (Cañkrama). Now he would draw water with his nose and water the ground, then he would pluck some grass with his nose and sweep the place, or he would make the ground flat and good by treading on it. The elephant-king served the Buddha in this way every day from morning till evening. Some time afterwards the Buddha took the quiet path of Nirvāṇa and disappeared.

The elephant did not know where the Buddha was, and, therefore, he wandered about to look for the Buddha, but without success. Thereupon he wept, cried, and was full of sorrow, without any enjoyment; he did not even eat or drink.

At that time there was a Buddhist monastery on a mountain in the country. It was called "Ka-la-yūan," and had 500 Śramaṇas living in it, who all were Arhats. They used to recite sūtras on the six fast-days, every month. (One day) at dawn the elephant-king was also on the mountain, and came near the monastery. He noticed that there was a recitation of sūtras on the six fast-days, and

---

1 Cañkrama here, of course, cannot be a "covered walk." I-ťing, a Chinese traveller in India (A.D. 671-695), mentions "Cañkrama" of the Nālandā monastery in his "Record of Buddhist Practices in India and the Islands of the Southern Sea," a translation of which will soon be published by the Clarendon Press in the Anecdota Oxoniensia series. For "Cañkrama," see also Mahāvagga v, 1, 14, note 2; "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xvii.

2 無為泥洹道, lit. "Actionless Nirvāṇa Path."

3 Kālavana?
came to the monastery every fast-day in order to hear sūtras recited.

All the Śramaṇas knew that the elephant was glad to hear the rehearsal, and waited each time until he came among them.

While hearing the recitation of sūtras he would not sleep, or lie, or move, or tremble all the night. As the elephant often heard the exposition of the sūtras and served the Buddha, he was born, as a man, afterwards when his long life as elephant had come to an end. He was born in the family of a Brāhmaṇa; he did not hear of the Buddha or of a sūtra, nor did he see any Śramaṇas. He left his family, went in a deep forest, and lived there learning the path of a Brāhmaṇa. At about the same time there was another hermit Brāhmaṇ in the same forest; and the two visited each other and made acquaintance.

One of the two thought to himself: "I am disgusted with the human life, with the district magistrate, with the conditions of sorrow, suffering, old age, sickness, and death; after death we are to fall into hell, or become a hungry spirit (preta), or an animal, or live a poor and miserable life when born as a man. Therefore, I will shave my hair and beard, and become a Śramaṇa, wearing a Kāśāya (yellow robe), and seek after the quiet path (Nirvāṇa), which is (the means of) saving the world." The other Brāhmaṇ also thought to himself: "I wish to be a sovereign, possessed of might and power, and to let all the people under heaven follow me and obey my command and instruction."

Some time after they both made these vows they died, and were reborn again in the world as men. The one, who had wished to become a sovereign in his former life, was born as the crown-prince to a king (in a country) bordering on the sea. His parents named him "Mi-lan." The

---

1 This is very curious; 眾官 may be for 眾空 "lodged in mid-air," as an adjective to the "human life."

2 "Lan" is never used for "lin" in transcribing a Sanskrit word, but used almost exclusively for "lan" or "ran." This shows that the original had
other, who had wished to pursue the quiet path of Nirvāṇa, which is (the means of) saving the world, was born in Tien-chu (Sindhu as a name for India), in the district of Kaśmīra. His parents named him “Da-la” (Dhūra?). He was born wearing a Kūshāya (yellow robe), in consequence of his vow made in his former life. In his house there was an elephant which was born on the same day as he. As elephant is called nā (for nāga) in Tien-chu (Sindhu, India), the parents again named their son “Nā-sien” (Nāga-sena).

So far about the former births of Milinda and Nāgasena. Then the introduction goes on relating something about Nāgasena’s uncle “Lo-han” (Rohana). Nāgasena goes to his uncle and asks to be made a Śramaṇa. He becomes a Śrāmaṇera, and receives the ten precepts (śīla). In his 20th year he goes to a temple called “Ho-shan” (probably Vattaniya), and receives the great precepts (śīla) from the head of the 500 Arhats, the venerable O-pei (or A-pī). The assembly points out that Nāgasena alone among them is not yet an Arhat, and, therefore, Nāgasena intends to leave the assembly. O-pei exhorts him. Another teacher of Nāgasena, Ka-vi by name, 80 years old, orders the latter to go with water full in his mouth to the house of an Upāsaka, who asks him to preach a sermon. Nāgasena preaches the Law, having emptied his mouth against his teacher’s order. As a result of his sermon, the Upāsaka as well as Nāgasena himself obtain the fruition of Sotāpanna (Srotāpanna, the first of the four stages of the Path). His teacher, Ka-vi, wants to expel him on the ground of his

Mi-lan or Me-lan as its first part, not Mi-lin or Me-lin. St. Julien’s “Méthode pour Transcrire les Noms Sanscrits en Chinoise” also does not give any instance of “lan” being used for any Skt. syllable, but “lap,” “lan,” or “ran” (including “la” or “ra”): see p. 135.

1 For Rohana, see Rhys Davids, Milinda I, p. 13 seq.

2 The four grades are—(1) Sotāpanna, (2) Sakatāgāmin, (3) Anāgāmin, (4) Arhat. See Childers, s.v. nibbāna, p. 268, and Max Müller’s “Diamond Cutter,” IX (S.B.E. vol. xlix, part ii), p. 120, note 2.
disobedience to his teacher; the head of the assembly, O-peï (or A-pï), protests against the proposal, but in vain. Nāgasena, being sad, retires to a mountain and finally becomes an Arhat. He then appears once again before the 500 Arhats, who have expelled him, and apologizes for his former fault, but does not stay there. He makes a preaching excursion, and his fame spreads all over India. He comes to Sā-ga (Sāgala), of Tien-chu (Sindhu), and remains at the temple of I-ti-ka.

Mi-lan (Milinda), on the other hand, studies with diligence sūtras and also heretic systems, and afterwards succeeds to the throne, in a country bordering on the sea, and asks publicly if there is anyone who can discuss the doctrines of the sūtras with him. The ministers tell him that in the North there are Śramaṇas who are wise and learned, and can discuss with him. One of his courtiers, Chan-mi-li-wang-chun, introduces a Śramaṇa, Ya-ho-la (Āyupāla). Milinda begins his question with the comparative merit of homeless life, and the life of a layman, as to the final result, *i.e.* Nirvāṇa. As the Śramaṇa has answered that both can produce one and the same result, the king further questions why then he (Āyupāla) has become a Śramaṇa, seeing that a Śramaṇa is not different from an Upāsaka so far as the final result is concerned. Ya-ho-la (Āyupāla) is silenced after one or two questions. Chan-mi-li again introduces Nā-sien (Nāgasena), whose knowledge included the twelve divisions of the Sacred Books and the ninety-six systems of heretics.

When the two meet, the “Questions of Milinda” proper begin at folio 9b of the India Office text, so that the introduction occupies really nine leaves of the Chinese book.

This India Office copy has in all fifty-nine leaves, 22,651

---

1 See Milinda, part i, p. 30.
2 Ibid., p. 31.
3 Heretic doctrines are said to be ninety-six or ninety-five. In the Brahma-jàla sūtra sixty-two views are enumerated, as can be seen in Rhys Davids' Milinda II, pp. xxiii–xxv. Of its two Chinese translations, the one made in A.D. 222–289 (Nanjio's Catal. 554) is called “Brahma-jàla sūtra on the 62 views”; but the other, of A.D. 406 (Nanjio’s Catal. 1687), is called simply Brahma-jàla sūtra. The latter belongs to the Mahāyāna and the former to the Hinayāna.
(besides the title and the editor's remarks) Chinese characters, and it is pretty clear that it is the same text as that in the Sung collection in Paris, which has, according to MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht, 22,657 characters.\(^1\) If this be the case, we can only reasonably assume that there are only two different texts among the five copies in France and England, two in Paris, two in Oxford, and one in London, as shown in the following table:

A.  
1. The longer text in Paris, 22,657 characters, the Sung edition of A.D. 1239, mentioned by MM. Lévi and Specht. This would be the same as the following, if the above introduction and other points agree.

2. The India Office copy (the old Japanese edition of 1681), the introduction of which is translated above, 22,651 characters, in three volumes. This copy is the same as the following.


B.  
1. The shorter text in Paris, 13,752 characters, the Korean edition of A.D. 1010, mentioned by MM. Lévi and Specht. As the new Japanese edition is based on the same Korean edition of A.D. 1010, this will in all probability be the same as the following.


Thus we have two different translations of the Milinda, though the originals may have been one and the same text. There only remains the Chinese original of the Russian translation of Professor Ivanovsky, which has something about a "white elephant" representing the Buddha's former

\(^1\) See Rhys Davids' Introduction, Milinda II, p. xii.
birth, as told by Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg (Sergej fedorovič Oldenburg).

It is to be hoped that Professor d'Oldenbourg himself will clear up this point by comparing the text he has seen with the above translation of the Introduction contained in the India Office copy, and decide whether we have a third copy or not.

II. The date of the existing Chinese translations of the “Questions of Milinda.”

Generally speaking, Chinese translators are very particular about the date of their translations; at least they give their own names, stating also to which dynasty they belong. And a subsequent collector of the Sacred Books will register exactly in which year and in what place the translations have been made, so far as he can ascertain. But the translation of the “Milinda” is unfortunately an exception. No authors of the fourteen or fifteen Catalogues of Chinese Buddhist Books, which have come down to us, know who has been the translator of the “Milinda.” When the first catalogue, whether Chinese or Korean, which inserted the translation, was made, the memory of the date of its production must have already been vague, and the authors of that catalogue must have stated that the translator's name had been lost. But as some catalogues seem to have been lost, we cannot say with certainty which catalogue inserted it for the first time. All the existing catalogues, in which the “Milinda” is mentioned, do not know the translator or the date of the translation, and all state that the translator’s name has been lost, or omit the translator’s name; and as the authors were not certain of the date, they “registered it as belonging to the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317–420).” The authors of the earliest catalogue, in which the “Milinda” is inserted, may have had some ground in believing that it belonged to the Eastern Tsin dynasty. Mr. Bunyu Nanjio simply gives the above date
without any remarks. But in any case this date is very questionable, for the first existing catalogue, made in A.D. 520, does not mention any translation of the Milinda, as may be seen from the following table, which has been made from my cursory inspection of all those catalogues in the new Japanese edition (1883) of the Buddhist Books.¹

**CATALOGUES OF CHINESE BUDDHIST BOOKS.**

The *Questions of Milinda.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Catalogues</th>
<th>Date of their Compilation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Record of the Translations of the Tripi-țaka²</td>
<td>A.D. 520.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this earliest catalogue in existence we do not find any 'Milinda' which is said to have been translated in A.D. 317–420. Had it then existed, it must have escaped from the compiler's notice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this it is said: &quot;Nā-sien-Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols. It is sometimes called 'Nā-sien Sūtra'; it is sometimes said to be 'three vols.'&quot;⁴ (See Bodleian, Jap. 65³⁰, No. 1485, vol. xx, p. 53ᵇ.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It says: &quot;Nā-sien Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols., or simply called 'Nā-sien Sūtra'; sometimes said to be '3 vols.' The translator's name is lost, and we register it as belonging to the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317–420).&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Bodleian Library, Japanese, 65³⁰.
² Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (1). All the contents of this Catalogue have been given by Nanjio in his Catalogue, pp. xiii–xvii.
³ Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (8).
⁴ There seems to have been two translations, and the compiler of the catalogue may have taken them to be one and the same translation (the difference not being very great).
4. The Chi-yuen-fâ-pão-chien-thun-tsun-lu\textsuperscript{1} . \textit{A.D. 1285–7.}

The same as the last. See Bodl. Jap. 65\textsuperscript{dpn}, No. 1612, p. 77\textsuperscript{b}.

5. The Tâ-tsăn-shan-chiao-fâ-pão-piao-mu\textsuperscript{2} . \textit{A.D. 1306.}

It says: "Nâ-sien Bhikshu Sūtra, two vols." (and an extract from the text is given). See Bodl. Jap. 65\textsuperscript{dpn}, No. 1611, p. 34\textsuperscript{b}.

6. Two other catalogues\textsuperscript{3}, the date of which is not at present certain, mention the 'Milinda,' one as 'two vols,' the other as 'three vols.' The two catalogues are not found in the India Office collection.

7. In all the remaining catalogues I have not seen the 'Milinda' mentioned.

The result of the above examination is only this, that we possessed a translation of the 'Milinda' in \textit{A.D. 730}, when the catalogue (above 2) was made. The catalogue of \textit{A.D. 520} does not know of the book, and the subsequent writers of the catalogues of \textit{A.D. 594, 597, 602, 664, and 695},\textsuperscript{4} do not seem to have had any translation of the 'Milinda.'

As I have left Oxford for some time I cannot make a further examination of the Japanese edition of Buddhist books. At present we can only state with certainty that a translation of the 'Milinda,' either the one in two vols., or the other in three vols., must have been made before \textit{A.D. 730}.

So far about the catalogues. Now we must examine those different editions of Buddhist books themselves.

The Chinese Buddhist Books (so-called 'Tripiṭaka,' though they contain a number of books outside the Tripiṭaka) existed

\textsuperscript{1} Nanjio's Catal., p. xxvii (11).
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. (12).
\textsuperscript{3} 大藏目録卷中, Jap. p. 91\textsuperscript{a} (Tâ-tsăn mu-lu), and 大普寧寺大藏目録第三, Jap. p. 104\textsuperscript{a} (Tâ-pu-ning-shih Tâ-tsăn mu-lu).
\textsuperscript{4} All these are included in above 7 in my table.
in MSS. for many centuries (A.D. 67–972), and were printed for the first time in A.D. 972 under the later Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–975). This first edition very likely contained a 'Milinda,' for an earlier catalogue mentions a translation of the 'Milinda' (as we have seen above).

The second printed publication was made in Korea in A.D. 1010, in which a translation of the 'Milinda' in a shorter form (13,752 characters in two vols.) was inserted, as M. Specht told us.\(^1\) The third edition of the Sacred Books was completed in A.D. 1239 in China under the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127–1280). In this there is a translation of the 'Milinda' in a longer form (22,657 characters, in three vols.).\(^2\)

An old Japanese edition (the tenth publication, in A.D. 1678–1681), which is the India Office copy, has the 'Milinda' in three vols. (22,651 characters, in three vols.). This edition was copied from a Chinese edition of A.D. 1586–1606 (the eighth publication), which had also been copied from a still earlier Chinese edition of A.D. 1403–1424 (the sixth publication). All these must have had the same copy of the 'Milinda.'

The new Japanese edition (the thirteenth edition) of 1883,\(^3\) which can be read in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has two copies of the 'Milinda,' one in two vols., the other in three, as we have seen before.

Thus we can see that not only the two editions which MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht mention, but also all the existing editions of the Chinese Buddhist Books published in China, Korea, or Japan, have a copy of the 'Milinda,' either short or long.

All I have given above may have come under the notice of the two able scholars of Paris. But as I know that we are often hampered by the inconvenience of not having all

---

\(^1\) See Milinda, part ii, p. xii.
\(^2\) See the same as above.
\(^3\) For the thirteenth edition of Buddhist Books, see Nanjio's Catalogue, p. xxviii.
the existing texts before us, and as I happened to see the two Japanese editions existing in England, I thought it best to notice chiefly the point which Prof. Rhys Davids desired to be decided. Though I have often been tempted to go into the matters contained in the discussions of Milinda and Nāgasena themselves, I have nevertheless refrained from doing so, wishing not to encroach upon the work promised by MM. S. Lévi and Ed. Specht, whose fruitful research will soon be laid before us.

In conclusion, may I notice that there is a sūtra called "Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra," or "Tsā-pāo-Tsāṅg-King" (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1329), which gives a tale (avadāna) about the King interlocutor and Bhikshu Nāgasena. This sūtra contains 121 different stories of every description, and is divided into eight volumes. Some of the avadānas are like Jātaka stories, while others are a curtailed form of the traditions relating to Buddha and his disciples.

The Avadāna CXI in vol. viii gives the story of Milinda. The king is, however, called "Nanda"¹ there, not Milinda; the Bhikshu, "Nā-ka-ssū-na."² We have seen above that in the Chinese translation of the Milinda, the king is Milan, and the Bhikshu, Nā-sien. If the introduction in Chinese had not mentioned that in India an elephant is called nā (for nāga), we might have hesitated to identify nā with nāga (and nā-sien with nāgasena). But this avadāna which I am now speaking of has an exact transcription, "Nā-ka-ssū-na," the identification of which no one can doubt. As to the king's name, it is very interesting to see its form represented in many ways. The original is Menander, and we have "Mi-lan," "Milinda," and here in our case "Nanda," which, I think, represents "Menander" in its disguised form, or at any rate a part of the syllables "Menander." In any case the variety of the representation of the name shows that the original was not a native name. Dr. Trenckner³

¹ 難陀.
² 那伽斯那.
³ Pāli Miscellany, part i, p. 55.
and Professor Rhys Davids\(^1\) have discussed the transition of Menander to Milinda, and the identification of the two names is now "as clear as that of Candagutta with Sandrokottas."

"Nanda," of our book, again confirms the identification representing the original in quite a different way. This sūtra, having a comparatively early date, shows us that the memory of the story of the King Nanda-Milinda and the sage Nāgasena still survived in the time of the author of the Original Avadānas (which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472), and induced him to bring their famous discussion in his tales.

I give in the following pages a translation of the Avadāna in question. The date of the Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka sūtra is, as we have just seen, as early as A.D. 472, and may be much earlier than the Chinese translations of parts of the "Milinda" itself.

---

III.—The Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka sūtra.

Translated by Ki-kia-ye (Kiṅkara), an Indian śramaṇa, and Thân-yáo, a Chinese priest of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 386–534). The date of its translation, A.D. 472. The number in Nanjio’s Catalogue, 1329.

Vol. viii. Avadāna CXI.

THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN KING NANDA AND NĀGASENA.

The King Nanda of old was an intelligent and well-informed man, and there was nothing in which he was not skilled. He thought to himself that what he knew was (so wide that) no one could surpass. Thereupon he asked his ministers if there were a man of great wisdom, intelligence, and eloquence, who could answer any question that might be asked by him.

\(^1\) Milinda, part i, pp. xviii, xix.
At that time there was a minister\(^1\) who was accommodating and supporting an old Bhikshu\(^2\) for some time. The Bhikshu was not of wide learning, but his conduct was very pure. He had then an interview with the king.

The King asked: Can one find out the truth (lit. “win the way”) while living at home, or is it necessary to become a homeless one?

The Old Bhikshu answered: Yes, both can obtain the same path.

The King: If so, why have you left your home?

The Old Bhikshu was silent, for he did not know how to answer.\(^3\)

Thereupon Nanda became more proud and conceited than ever.

Then the ministers told the king that there was a Bhikshu named Nāgasena, who was endowed with an unequalled intelligence and wisdom, who was at that time living in a forest. The king wished to try him. Accordingly he sent a messenger to him and presented him a jug which was “full” of ghee. The king meant that his own wisdom was so “full” that no one could add to it or excel him. Nāgasena on receiving the ghee understood what was meant by it. He then collected 500 needles from his disciples and put them into the ghee, without causing it to overflow. He sent the jug (with both ghee and needles in) back to the king, who also understood what was meant by the action. Again the king sent a messenger to invite Nāgasena, who soon came to the king according to his command. Nāgasena was tall and fat, and was above the average height, and consequently noticeable.

The king was proud and haughty (he would not receive the Bhikshu at home), and falsely declared that he would see him on the way, as he would be going a-hunting. But when he saw from afar that Nāgasena was gentle and tall, the king took another way (and shunned him). So he did not speak

---

\(^1\) Chan-mi-li-wang-shun by name, according to the Chinese text of Milinda.
\(^2\) Ayupāla by name, according to the Pāli text, and Ya-ho-la (Ayupāla) in the Chinese text.
\(^3\) Compare Rhys Davids, Milinda, part i, p. 32 (S.B.E. vol. xxxv).
with the Bhikshu, and wished to defeat him by silence. No one (lit. "no householder") knew what was meant by him (in so avoiding the meeting). Nāgasena, however, said to himself, pointing to his own breast with his finger: "I alone know it."

Now King Nanda was about to call Nāgasena to his palace, and prepared a small room, and made its door very small and low so that Sena might, he hoped, bend his body and throw himself prostrate before the throne.1 But this Sena knew the king's wish of ensnaring him (and making him bow before the throne); and (to avoid this) Sena entered the room back wards.

King Nanda next prepared food and drink for him. First he gave him a roughly cooked food. Sena ate three or five spoonfuls of each course, and said: "I had enough." Afterwards the king gave him a fine and delicious food, and Nāgasena ate it. The king thereupon questioned him, saying: "You said that you had enough; why is it that you eat again as before?" "I had enough of the rough food, but not of the fine food," was the answer. Further, he illustrated his meaning to the king in this wise: "Now let all the men in the Court come to the hall, so that no room is left there for anyone." So all the men in the Court were called together, the hall was filled by them, and there was no more room left for anyone. The king came afterwards and wanted to enter the hall. All those present were afraid of the king and made room for him by pressing one another (lit. "by contracting their bodies"); and then there was room for many more.

Sena said to the king: "The rough food is like the subjects, and the fine food like the king: who among the subjects would not keep out of the way when they see the king coming?"

The king then questioned: Which of the two, i.e. he who had gone forth from his home (pravrajita) and he who remains at home (upāsaka), will reach the path?

1 Perhaps Nāgasena did not like to submit himself to the king.
Sena answered: Both can obtain the object.

The King: If so, why have you left your home?

The King: If so, why have you left your home?

Sena: Suppose we are going to a place 3,000 miles away from here. Can a young and strong man, on horseback, with provision and with all the necessary instruments and weapons, reach the place very quickly?

The King: Yes, he will.

Sena: What if an old man were to go there riding an old horse without provision?

The King: Even if he had provision, it would be difficult to reach the place of destination; how much less without provision.

Sena: Well, to reach the path by leaving one's home is like that young man's journey (easy), while to seek the path by remaining at home is like that old man's travel (difficult).

The King: I now turn to the matter concerning our bodies. Am "I" permanent, or am "I" impermanent? Answer me satisfactorily.

In reply Sena raised another question: If there were an an-ba-la (āmra, mango) tree in the Royal Palace, would the fruit be sweet or sour?

The King: There is no such tree in my garden: how can you ask me if the fruit is sweet or sour?

Sena: Even so is your own question. None of the five skandhas (form, sensation, perception, discrimination, and consciousness) is "I"; there is no "I": then how can you ask me if "I" am (you are) permanent or impermanent?

The King: As to all the hells, we hear that the body of the dead is torn asunder by swords and thrown away here and there, and yet the soul lives. Is this possible or impossible?

Sena: Let us take a woman as an example. She eats cakes, meat, melon, vegetables, and also drink, but she assimilates them all. When she becomes pregnant, the embryo, while called "kalalam" (immediately after conception), is as minute as dust. Why does it grow large without being assimilated?

The King: That is the power of Karma.
Sena: So it is with the hells; the soul lives through the influence of Karma.

The King: The sun shines above, and its body is one. Why is it that the summer is so hot and the winter is so cold? And further, why is the summer day so long and the winter day so short?

Sena: The Mount Sumeru has two ways, above and below. In summer-time the sun passes through the higher way, which is longer than the lower, and therefore goes slow (i.e. the day is long). Moreover, it shines against the “Gold Mountain,” and therefore the summer day is so hot, besides being long. In winter-time the sun passes through the lower way, which is shorter, and therefore it goes down soon. Besides, it shines against the water of the “Great Ocean,” and therefore the winter day is so cold, besides being short.¹

¹ Compare Rhys Davida, part ii, v, 7, 24 (S.B.E. xxxvi, p. 112), where there is no such answer as this given.

[The following note arrived from the author just as we were going to press.—Rh.D.]

_Krausnickstr. 4 iv,_
_Nov. 22, 1895._

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—Professor d’Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, answered me as to the Russian translation of the Chinese text of Milinda as follows:

“Sir,—I am only a few days back to St. Petersburg, and have asked my friend, Prof. Iwanowsky (the Russian translator), to compare our Chinese Milinda with your translation*—it is the same text, etc.—Yours truly,

S. D’OLDENBOURG.”

This shows again that we have no third text in existence.—Yours faithfully,

J. TAKAKUSU.

* This is a translation of the Introductory part of Milinda.
Art. II.—Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Paleontology.

By Bernard Houghton, B.A., M.R.A.S.

It is proposed in the present essay to give a brief outline, based on linguistic evidence only, of the state of civilization attained by the Tibeto-Burman race previous to the migration of the great Southern branch, and also to throw some light on the probable time of that migration. Of course, in all such inquiries anthropological evidence is now, and rightly, held to be a much more trustworthy guide than facts derived from the comparison of two or more languages, but results obtained from philological data alone are by no means to be altogether condemned. In the present case the geological exploration of the two countries is practically in its infancy, whilst even in Burma physical measurements of the population have not yet been systematically undertaken. It is clear, therefore, that we shall have to wait a quite indefinite time before any anthropological data are forthcoming. So far as is known, however, both the physical type and the idio- synerasy of the two peoples are remarkably similar, and thus there is little fear that in comparing their languages we shall be trespassing against the canons of ethnology, for language and race are here, I think, nearly coterminus. All Tibetan or Burmese speaking people are not, of course, ethnically Tibetans or Burmans, but there can be no doubt that the bulk of them are, and that formerly they constituted but one race on the high plateau north of the Himalaya. The anthropological evidence, so far as it goes,
points that way, whilst the linguistic evidence is overwhelming. I shall, therefore, take this conclusion for granted, regarding the Burmese tradition of descent from Indian Kshatriyas as either a myth pure and simple, like the corresponding one of the Manipuris, or at most, as being based on some small immigrations of warrior Hindus, who, after perhaps conquering the local tribes, became altogether absorbed in them.

As is well known, the pronunciation of Tibetan now differs considerably from the written character, phonetic decay having very much simplified, throughout a large portion of the country, the former harsh utterances so plentifully besprinkled with consonants. The researches of Jaeschke, however, make it probable that the words as spelt render accurately enough the sounds of the Tibetan language at the period it was reduced to writing (A.D. 632), though at the same time I am inclined to think that the vowels had formerly, as now, more gradations of sound than would appear from the alphabet.

The Burmese language, which was, I apprehend, first written about the same time, had then already suffered much from phonetic decay; indeed, in some cases the sounds had become remarkably similar to those of modern Tibetan. There is no reason to doubt that the written words represent truly their pronunciation at that time, except that final *ach* and *añ* were pronounced as *ats* and *aṅ*, the vowel sound approximating closely to *i*, as not infrequently happens before a palatal; and that the vowel pronounced now as *ō* when final and as *ai* otherwise, then represented the modified vowel *ū*. The arguments in support of these suppositions are rather elaborate, and would be out of place here. I must ask the reader, therefore, to take them for granted, as also the following table showing equivalent Tibetan and Burmese consonants. It is, perhaps, needless to state that in comparing the two languages the written character, as representing the oldest known pronunciation, is alone followed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>k, k', g</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>k, k', h</em></td>
<td><em>k' sometimes disappears</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>ig=ats sometimes</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n, ŋ, n</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>n, ŋ, n</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>n, ŋ, n</em></td>
<td><em>in=aŋ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ch, ch', j, ts, t's, dz, z</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>ch, ch', j</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t, t', d</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>t, t', d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>d</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p, p', b</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>p, p', b, b', w</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>b</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>p', t</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>m, n, ŋ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>z, ś, s</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>s</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>s</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>ats, or disappears</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y, r, l</em> (initial)</td>
<td><em>y, r, l</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>r</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>ar=ē sometimes</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l</em> (final)</td>
<td><em>y, n</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>h</em></td>
<td><em>h</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>b</em> (before <em>r</em>), <em>db</em>,</td>
<td><em>nil</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k'y, kr, kl, k'ry, k'r, k'l</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gy, kry, k'ry, k'r</em></td>
<td><em>hy, hr, hl</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gr, gl, dr, kr, sr</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed consonants, as a rule, are not represented in Burmese, but occasionally they survive as an aspiration of the initial letter.\(^2\) S following a consonant is unrepresented. Initial *k'*, besides being frequently softened to *h*, in some cases has disappeared altogether. It will be noticed that the final sonants *g, d*, and *b* had already become surds, just as they now have in modern Tibetan, whilst the palatais and sibilants had suffered considerable diminution in number. There is undoubtedly a connection

---

1 Final *p* is now pronounced as *t* or *k*.
2 Especially when this is a nasal.
between these two series both in Tibetan and Burmese, that is, in both languages there are allied stems, one commencing with a palatal and the other with a sibilant, whilst a palatal in one language is sometimes represented by a sibilant in the other. I have hesitated, however, to use herein as identical any such words, as the possibilities of error are considerable. Occasionally a final consonant has disappeared altogether in Burmese, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened, and the word takes one or other of the tones.

Where the form of the word differs dialectically in Tibetan, the Burmese almost invariably follow that in use in Western Tibet, and, as in that district, the perfect root of the verb is evidently the one utilized. These, together with several minor peculiarities, show that the home of the Burmese was in the western part of Tibet, supposing that the present inhabitants of that district were at the time of the departure southward in their present location, which was probably the case. It may be also noticed that of the sub-Himalayan dialects, those of the Gurung, Magar, and Murmi, who live immediately south of Western Tibet, present the closest resemblances to Burmese.

As regards the time of this migration, the Burmese and Arakanese historians, of course, place it in an altogether fanciful antiquity. However, after making every allowance for exaggeration, and disregarding as such those lists of supposititious kings who are supposed to have reigned in untold ages B.C., and in the early centuries of our era, it seems hardly probable the period was subsequent to that (A.D. 632) when the Tibetan language was reduced to writing. A powerful argument against this is the fact that dr, šr, and sr in Tibetan are equivalent to ky, kr, etc., in Burmese. The existence of this equation shows that d, š, and s in these combinations are softenings of original gutturals, and that the Burmans must have left the

1 In modern Burmese the old palatals have now become sibilants, whilst ky, k'y are becoming palatals.
2 The tendency to soften kr, etc., to šr still continues, in W. Tibet at least.
country at a time anterior to their phonetic corruption, and therefore à fortiori to the reduction of Tibetan to writing. For the whole life-history of Burmese shows that it would have been impossible for gutturals in these combinations to have been evolved from sibilants ordentals. It is worthy of note, also, that since the separation, apart from grammatical peculiarities, Burmese has developed very considerably certain stems or has made an extended use of them. Thus the stem tan; tan or tan (T. γtan), with the original meaning of 'a bar,' appears in a very large number of compounds, whilst in the Northern language it has shown little or no power of growth. Again, the single Tibetan word ſug, 'to project,' is represented in Burmese by ſũ, ſo, ſok, ſo, ſã, ſyon, ſεn, in all of which that signification is apparent. It is evident that a considerable lapse of time must be assumed for the development of growths such as these. And the same remark applies to the grammatical divergences, though here the subject becomes very intricate, as the influence of the different foreign languages with which Burmese has come into contact must be considered. It is right, however, to place in evidence one or two curious facts on the other side. The word for 'book' is the same (T. dpe, B. pe) in the two languages, though in the first it means originally a 'form,' whilst in the second it signifies also a certain kind of palm, the leaves of which are used for writing on. (It is not clear whether the palm was named from 'book' or vice-versâ.) The analogy is carried so far as the compounds, T. dpe-chá, B. pe-chá, meaning 'book' or 'writings.' The word 'to write' (T. brí, B. rč:) is also the same, but as in each case it means originally 'to draw,' this proves nothing, whilst 'paper' (T. W. ſuggu, B. chakku) seems to have been independently introduced into the two countries.2

There is only one Burmese word which begins with a

1 It is, of course, open to doubt whether chá here is chá = 'writing,' or chá (T. chā') 'a thing.'

2 This is also probably the case with 'plaster' (T. 'arka, B. aŋgu-te).
lingual, *te* 'to have abundantly,' 'be rich.' Supposing this to be an indigenous word, it certainly tallies most curiously with the corresponding Central Tibetan word *ti*, (old pronunciation, *k’sigs*).

The above two coincidences may, however, be subsequently explained away, and by themselves they are certainly insufficient to prove anything. It is not impossible, however, from other facts, that there may have been two migrations into Burma, the first and principal from Western and the second from Central Tibet. The evidence as to the latter being very slight its possibility will be disregarded in the following essay, nor does it seem probable that, even granting its existence, the conclusions obtained would be modified to any extent.

Before discussing the Tibeto-Burman palæontology proper, I propose to show briefly how much light is thrown by Tibetan on questions of Burmese etymology and grammar.

*False etymologies.*—In no respect, perhaps, is a comparison of the Tibetan and Burmese languages more instructive than in showing the exceeding danger which exists in attempting any deductions, either as regards etymology or sematology, in a tonic language like the latter, which has suffered much from phonetic decay. Nothing seems easier than to deduce connections between words which are spelt identically or, at most, differ only in tone, more especially when they have all the appearance of representing primitive roots. If many such exist in Burmese, where phonetic decay is comparatively moderate, how much more must it be the case in extreme cases like Chinese, (even the re-construction of the old sounds in this language barely brings it to the same stage as modern Burmese,) and Sgaw-Karen, in which latter every final consonant, even nasals, has been elided. In effect we must always remember that the modern smooth-sounding tonic languages were originally harsh and discordant, and, therefore, that the rule to go back to the earliest form of a word before making etymological deductions applies to them with especial force. It is true that comparisons of names of the commoner objects,
parts of the body, etc., are fairly safe, (e.g. Hodgson’s lists), but as regards anything beyond these we are on extremely treacherous ground. To what an excess fallacious comparisons, based on the modern sounds of words, can be pushed, may be easily seen in Latter’s “Burmese Grammar,” whilst many will know of similar attempts as regards the Chinese language.

Mr. Stevenson, in his new dictionary, has practically followed Dr. Judson as regards the classification of the different meanings and the sub-grouping of words, so that remarks in this respect will apply equally to both works.

Under the heading acha is the following: “From cha, to begin, a beginning . . . . ; . . . a piece; ability,” the evolution of the meanings from each other not being, on the face of it, very clear. A reference to Tibetan shows that in reality there are four distinct words grouped here from (1) ch'as=‘to begin,’ and rtsa=‘root,’ ‘beginning’; (2) ch'a=‘a piece’; and (3) rtsal=‘ability.’

It might seem a safe deduction to derive achā ‘chips’ from achā ‘food,’ as being ‘what is consumed in any operation’ (the italics are mine). Unfortunately the former meaning comes from zas=‘food,’ or za=‘to eat’ (probably the former), whilst the latter is the ordinary Tibetan word t'sal. Nor does this word (cha=‘to eat’) reappear, as alleged, in cha-yā=‘the anus,’ the first syllable being the Tibetan leha=‘excrement,’ which word may be seen also in the Burmese cha-mrañ.

To infer that lūn=‘to be all entire, as if in a ball,’ is a secondary meaning of lūn=‘round,’ might also seem a legitimate exercise in sematology, were it not that these really represent two quite different words, the first being from the Tibetan yongs, (which has got nothing to do with balls), and the second from zlum=‘round.’ Further, lūn: in the sense ‘to wrestle’ (lūn: tučë, napan: lūn:) has obviously nothing in common with the above meanings, and is probably

* The slight difference in the meaning of these two words is reproduced exactly in the Burmese, showing acha or cha in the first signification to be a coalescence of two roots.
derived from the Tibetan leu (pf. bloṅs or loṅs), in the sense 'to seize,' 'grasp.'

Under the heading of se we have again three distinct words, namely (1) 'to die,' (2) 'to be settled,' 'immovable,' 'slack,' (as water at the time the tides turn), and (3) in se-k'yā='be exact,' 'well finished,' the three corresponding Tibetan words being, respectively, si, zi, and žib.

Perhaps, however, the word arū: furnishes the best example of how totally different words have, through phonetic decay, come to be spelt and pronounced the same way, and consequently jumbled up together under the same heading. The meanings given are as follows, the corresponding Tibetan words being placed opposite:

| (1) A bone         | rus(-pa) |
| (2) A stalk        | ?        |
| (3) The handle of an instrument | yu |
| (4) A ridge        | ği       |
| (5) A range of hills | yur |
| (6) The course of a brook | rus |
| (7) A lineage      | ?        |
| (8) Customs        | ?        |

Spelling.—Owing to the ease with which consonants of the same class, or varga as the Sanskritists term it, inter-
change, a comparison with Tibetan affords but little help
in disputed spellings of Burmese words. In a few cases,
however, it can help us to a decision, though as regards
the most numerous class of cases, i.e. whether words should
be spelt with y or r,¹ it is unable to afford much assistance.

As an example may be mentioned aiañ or alay=‘middle,’
both of these words occurring, (though the latter is by far
the most common), and their pronunciation being the same.
The corresponding Tibetan word is briṅ, which coincides
with the first and not the second method of spelling, and
shows that the latter was probably introduced after the
sound of the word had been corrupted from aiañ to alé.

¹ When immediately preceded by k or k'.

OUTLINES OF TIBETO-BURMAN
The late Spelling Committee in Rangoon have thought fit to change ſan-ba (= 'to have a settled dread of') to ſyan-ba. The former of these spellings has, at least, good authority in support of it, and as the Tibetan equivalent is śenās=‘to fear,’ ‘dread,’ it is presumably the more correct. Similarly the Tibetan smin=‘ripe’ shows hmañ, the old spelling of the Burmese word, to be correct, not hmē, the new one ordered by the Committee.

The word for ‘body’ and ‘self’¹ is always spelt koy in Burmese, though pronounced kō as if derived from the Pali or Sanskrit kāya. Apart from the intrinsic improbability of Burmese having to borrow such words from the Pali, there are several equivalents in Tibetan and elsewhere of this root. In Tibetan we find both sku and sgo, in Chinese, kū or k’u, (old sound k’ō), in Kachin, kum, and in Sgaw-Karen, ſā-k’ō, all meaning ‘body.’² On the face of this it would seem highly improbable that the Burmese equivalent, (which was originally pronounced kū), should have been borrowed from the Pali, and that the sound should have been so corrupted as to harmonize with the Tibetan or Chinese.

In Mon there is tsā-ku, meaning indifferently ‘body’ or ‘self,’ (kāyya is added for the sake of cleanness in the first signification), which is curiously like the Tibetan. There are a sufficient number of such similarities in Mon to induce one to the belief that the Mons were formerly in juxtaposition with some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes, perhaps in Central Asia, as De Lacouperie’s investigations render probable.

Ko is, it may be remarked en passant, by no means the only word in Burmese which is misspelt owing to a supposed Pali or Sanskrit origin. In this connection

¹ It is difficult to know the reason why the two meanings are given separately as if from two different words. Both in S. Chin and in Kachin the words for ‘body’ and ‘self’ are the same, and I have no doubt many other instances could be given from allied languages.

² This word does not occur in B. H. Hodgson’s lists, the only information we have concerning many of the Tibeto-Burman dialects.
might it be suggested that the well-known Burmese exclamation *amay* or *amay-lê*:¹ is, after all, not an apostrophe to one's mother? At any rate, there is a Tibetan interjection, *é-ma*, which is suspiciously like the Burmese, and from the interpretations given in the dictionary certainly coincides exactly in its use with the latter. There is, indeed, no reason why the Burmese in particular should signalize them by calling in season and out of season on their maternal ancestor.

**Grammar and Etymology.**—It is not intended here to enter at length on these subjects, which would, indeed, be sufficient in themselves for a small treatise. As I have remarked elsewhere,² a really scientific grammar of the Burmese language has yet to be written. Such a grammar would presuppose a knowledge of Tibetan at least, because the different grammatical forms are so different from those in use amongst the Aryan languages, whence alone we get our nomenclature, that a person who has not studied the whole subject comparatively, is almost certain to fall into mistakes arising from the totally different ideology of the two systems. Even in the Dravidian languages, despite the magnificent work of the late Dr. Caldwell, there are not a few points of grammar, i.e. the correct way of classifying certain forms, which remain at present very open subjects. The unfortunate death of Professor de Lacouperie has deprived the languages of the Far East of the services of one whose logical insight and clear apprehension of the more salient points, were in no way hampered by a too slavish adherence to the grammatical terminology and theories of purely European scientists.

A few words in which Tibetan gives some elucidation of grammatical forms in Burmese are now given merely by way of example, as anything further would be out of place here.

*Bê* usually means, (with the negative *ma* prefixed to the

¹ Pronounced *umâ-lê*. *Le* is the Tibetan *ê*.
verb,) ‘without,’ as ma swā bē¹=‘without going,’ though Judson also gives a meaning ‘before.’ The usage in Tibetan is similar, e.g. ma 'ob-pai bar-du=‘as long as it has not been obtained,’ but in this language bar is still used without a negative, and, in fact, the evolution up to its present meaning in Burmese can be clearly traced.

The similar Burmese word me, which has now dwindled to a simple affix, meaning ‘without,’ is seen to be the Tibetan med, (a contraction of mi yod), which, though still used with the meaning ‘not to be,’ has also come to be applied in exactly the same way as the Burmese equivalent. The verb yod, by-the-bye, is not otherwise represented in the latter language.

The word lañ-koñ denotes when reduplicated ‘both—and,’ i.e. ‘also—also,’ and when alone ‘the aforesaid.’ A comparison with Tibetan shows that in the former case it possesses simply the meaning of its first syllable lañ (T. yañ), whilst in the latter the second syllable (T. goñ) has similarly usurped the pre-eminence to the exclusion of the first.

In the dictionary a-sū=‘who?’ is said to be merely a contraction of a-b'ay-sū. It seems more probable that it has retained its old meaning (T. sū), which in the modern Burmese sū has become altered to ‘he.’

The verbal affix ch'an=‘merely,’ ‘just,’ is the Tibetan tsam, meaning first ‘so much’ and then, inter alia, ‘only.’ Chok and ch'og mean now, both in Burmese and in W. Tibetan, ‘to be allowed,’ ‘suitable,’ but the original meaning is found to be ‘to suffice.’

The Burmese affix nük, which has no substantive meaning now, but when reduplicated denotes ‘probably,’ is evidently the same as the Tibetan mno, ‘to think,’ ‘fancy.’

It is needless, however, to enter further here on these exercises in sematology, and I must even refrain from that tempting subject, the origin of the Burmese aspiration of

¹ In reality it has almost become a merely euphonical affix, since the sense is complete in the two words ma swā.

the initial consonant of certain intransitive verbs in order to give them a transitive signification. A few specimens of etymology generally will suffice to conclude this part of the subject.

The three Burmese words an, an, and āː; meaning ‘strength,’ ‘force,’ all come from one stem, the Tibetan dбаṅ, which in the colloquial has now reached the same stage of corruption as the first of these words at the time that Burmese was reduced to writing. It is noteworthy that dбаṅ has also the same meaning of ‘regard,’ ‘consideration’ as āː in the phrase āː nā ‘to be deterred by feelings of courtesy.’

The only common name for a quarter of the compass in the two languages is ‘west’ (T. nub, B. nok), which, it appears, meant originally to ‘sink’ or ‘set’ (of the sun). In Burmese it also means ‘behind,’ thus bearing significant testimony to the general eastward movement of the race for a considerable period of time. It is natural also that they would particularly remember that direction from which they came.

The origin of the Burmese mak ‘to dream’ is T. .dmigs ‘to imagine’—a sufficiently obvious change of meaning.

A phrase for ‘early in the morning’ is mū sok, which is generally taken to be when ‘the sky is drinking.’ It is possible, however, that sok is the Tibetan žogs, with the former signification, though the change from зван to 냣 is irregular.

There seems little doubt that gold was practically unknown to the two races before they divided. The Burmese word hrwe is probably from the stem k’rol (T.), meaning ‘to glitter.’

Shame is said by the students of anthropology to be a simple development of the emotion of fear, and it

---

1 Tibetan shows that this uniform aspirate is really a coalescing or weakening of several different consonants.
2 The burial-grounds in Burma are placed on the west side of the villages, the original idea being doubtless to give the spirits of the departed a clear way to the home of their forefathers, without passing through the village and thus disturbing the living.
seems probable that the Burmese hrak has been evolved from the stem (T.) skrag 'to be frightened.'

Tó 'a wood' evidently meant originally 'a crowd,' i.e. of trees (T. du), though the two meanings have been carefully transposed in the dictionary. As regards changed meanings, it will suffice to notice T. lu, B. lu, which denotes in the first language 'a body' and in the second 'a man'; and le-na meaning 'downy goat's wool' in Tibetan, whilst the corresponding Burmese lé is applied to the downy wool of the silk cotton tree.

Perhaps the commonest words which differ entirely in the two languages are those for 'tree,' 'earth,' 'water,' 'sky,' and 'night'; but it is nevertheless true that none of the old Tibetan words for these have become entirely lost. Thus, the Tibetan sin appears as sañ in the names of several trees, and sa 'earth' in the Burmese sa-ruat 'mortar,' sa-taÁ: 'a crystal,' sa-lé 'sand,' and sa-luÁ: 'lead.' The Burmese chwat 'moistened' is probably the same as the Tibetan bhud, and certainly goes back to the same ultimate root chu='water'; whilst mfsan 'night' appears in the first syllable of the Burmese chaÁ:n-chÁ: 'twilight,' and dguÁ:n 'sky' in that of koÁ:n-kaÁ:n.

Natural Products, etc.—The flora and fauna of their former and present home differ so widely, that the comparative paucity of common names preserved in Burmese need afford no matter for surprise. The appearance of so many animals and plants, even when they belong to the same genera, differ largely in a tropical and in a cold climate, and thus emigrants from the latter to the former would, in many cases, naturally adopt the local names for them.

Of trees, by far the most familiar to them would be the pine or fir, which also occurs on the higher slopes of many of the mountains of Burma. This tree (T. tÁ:n, B. tÁ:n-rÁ:) is, in fact, almost the only one I have been

---

1 Cf. Forbes, "Languages of Further India." The words for 'liquid' generally (T. ran, B. arÁ:n) are the same.
able to identify in the two languages, though doubtless a few more names could be obtained by a skilled botanist. A plant far commoner in Burma than in Tibet is the bamboo (T. spa, sba, B. waː), its great utility serving, doubtless, to preserve the name, whilst another Tibetan word for 'bamboo,' smyig, occurs in the Burmese (hmyats) for its sprout. ‘Mushroom’ (T. samo, B. hmū) is the only other word I identify.

Of birds there is the goose (T. ɲān, B. ɲan), but not the duck, whilst as regards the ordinary domestic or jungle fowl, the Burmese seem to have used a word for it meaning 'grouse' or 'water-hen,' according to the word prefixed, (T. skyegs, B. krak). This, taken with the existence of radically different words for 'egg' (T. sgoṅ, B. ù), points to the conclusion that the domestic fowl was not kept by the Burmans in Tibet, since the fowl shares with the dog the distinction of being the most widely utilized of all beings in the Far East.

The Burmese chā=‘sparrow’ is probably the same as the Tibetan cha-chir=‘lark,’ and is connected with cha-cho=‘twittering,’ the bird thus being the ‘twitterer.’

The words both for ‘plover’ (T. tī-bo, B. ti-ti-tiwat), and ‘crane’ (T. krun-krun, B. kro-kra), though onomatopoeic in imitation of the cries of these birds, are probably the same, whilst, although the words for ‘owl’ are different, the Tibetan ti-t’ug=‘bad’ suggests an etymology for the ti: tut=‘the large horned owl,’ birds of this kind usually having an evil reputation, (cf. B. hūak-ch’ū).

Amongst animals we find, of course, the dog (T. k’yi, B. k’we), a word somewhat corrupted, the pig (T. p’ag, B. wak), and cattle, i.e. the genus Bos (T. nor, B. moa). The latter word has, as already remarked, now come to mean usually ‘wealth’ in Tibetan, just like the Latin pecunia came to mean ‘money.’

---

1 In point of fact the water-hen is still called in Burmese re-kra̱k, as is natural, its appearance in both countries being the same.

2 The Burmese, it may be noted, have, apparently, called the peacock (deā) after its tail feather (T. mdoa), leaving aside the regular word (rmo) for it.
More doubtful is the word for 'yak,' the tails of which animal are, or were, used in Burma as ornaments for certain spears. The Tibetan is ख्रोि, so that properly the Burmese should be रोि or गोि, instead of एि; the actual word, which, therefore, may either be slightly corrupted or else introduced afresh into Burmese, through the Northern hill-tribes. On the whole I think the former supposition more probable, the yak being the characteristic animal of Tibet.

It is possible that the Burmese kраि—'rhinoceros' is the same as the Tibetan ग्लाइ, a word of doubtful signification, meaning either an ox or an elephant; but this is by no means certain, as is also the case with the word for 'hare' (T. योि, B. यूि). There is a local word for 'otter' in parts of Burma, which is not met with in the dictionary, kраि or क्राण (the spelling is doubtful), and this is etymologically the same as the Tibetan त्राम. It is curious that the Burmese have completely lost the old word for 'horse' (र्ता), though retaining that for 'saddle' and perhaps 'bit.' Their present word म्राण: is probably a compound of the Chinese-Shan माः and some syllable राण. It is probable that, having to buy all their ponies from the Shan country, they have come by degrees to adopt a local word for them.

The ordinary word for insect in general (T. बुि, B. पुि), has been retained, as well as that for the common house-fly (T. ज्वराण, B. याण), whilst the word for 'butterfly,' though transposed, is still the same (T. झ्ये-मा-लेभ, B. लिप-प्या). (The derivation of this word is probably from प्याि—'to fly,' 'a flier,' and लेभ= 'flat'.)

Amongst reptiles the 'frog' (T. झल, B. प्डि:) is the only word recognizable in the two languages, unless सान:, which occurs as a prefix in two Burmese names of lizards, be, as seems probable, a corruption of T. र्ताः. It is difficult to understand why the Burmese should have preserved the word for 'soap-stone' (T. कारगोि, B. काणकु) in particular, except that its peculiar softness may have rendered it useful in times when proper graving tools were practically

1 A word of very rare occurrence.
unknown. Silver (T. ḏuṇal, B. ḍwe), so much used for ornaments, is the only mineral—excepting salt (T. rtsaṅa, B. ḍhā)—we find with a common name in both languages, for the words for ‘lead’ (T. ẑa-ṅe, B. sa-lwe ¹), though similar, are not the same.

The question, however, as to what metals were known by the Burmese on quitting Tibet is discussed in another part of this article.

Religion.—The worship of demons or fairies, (whichever we like to call them), is almost as intimate a part of the religious life of the Burmans as of their Northern congeners, though both profess the Buddhist faith. It has, indeed, been argued,² with some show of plausibility, that the latter, owing to its want of a controlling guardian, affords especial ground for the cult of the fairies, magic, etc.; but after seeing the marked manner in which this cult survived amongst the Celts and Iberians after many centuries of nominal Christianity, the vigour with which it still subsists in both Burma and Tibet at the present day need cause no surprise.

A careful and scientific study of fairy or demon worship amongst the Burmans and people of Western Tibet, (Waddell's papers apply principally to the parts on the Sikhim frontier), has, I believe, yet to be made. When done, many close parallels of belief, custom, and ritual will doubtless be discovered; it will suffice now to point out a few coincidences from the vocabulary. In the first place, there are the subaqueous beings who frequent wells and springs (T. klū, B. k'ru). They may be styled water-fairies, and are doubtless similar to the apocryphal mermaids of Europe. Other beings said to be allied to those are called in Tibetan sman, and in Burmese hmañ.

It is curious that, although the ordinary fairy or demon of Tibet (lha) coincides so closely to the Burmese nat, the names should be so radically different. The former word

¹ The probable (Tibetan) derivations are—sa = 'earth' + sūi = 'soft,' and sa = 'earth' + rud = 'rotten' (cf. B. k'ē-ma-pup).
² Campbell, "Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom."
seems in fact to have disappeared from Burmese, though possibly *kra* in *kra-hnan*, the name of a certain house-post, (these are all called after fairies), may be a survival of it. It would be interesting to ascertain in which, if any, of the Himalayan languages the term *nat* occurs for these spirits.

Witchcraft was and is practised, of course, by both peoples (cf. T. *rol* = 'practise sorcery,' and B. *rwa* = 'witchcraft,' etc.). The Burmese *apa* in *apa-hmi* 'to possess' is also probably the same word as the Tibetan *ba* = 'sorcerer' or 'witch,' whilst in both countries people can, with equal ease, be bewitched (T. *p'rol*, *sprul*, B. *pru-chā*). It would appear from the identity of the Burmese *ch'wan* with the Tibetan *mt'sun* that what was formerly food offered to the manes of the dead has now, amongst the former people, come to mean food offered to the (Buddhist) priests. Similar changes of signification are, of course, common enough amongst other peoples.

It is noteworthy that the stone cairns and rags, (the latter more rarely), found in many of the more outlying parts of Burma, invariably at one end of a bad bit of jungle path, occur similarly in Tibet at the tops of passes, etc. In the latter country, Buddhism being more impure and imperfect, it appears that there is no concealment as to their connection with spirit worship, but in Burma the people are rather ashamed of this practice, and usually prevaricate when asked concerning it.

War.—Although the words for 'bow,' 'arrow,' 'spear,' 'sword,' and 'shield,' the usual weapons of war in the East, are different in Burmese and Tibetan, there is by no means such a dearth of common military terms as to suggest that fighting was completely unknown before the emigration of the former people. At the same time it is unlikely that they were constantly in the habit of using these weapons, for were this the case, some, at least, of the names would have survived; in fact, few words would

---

1 Dr. Waddell's "Demonolatry in Sikhim Lamaism."
2 Burmese भ is 'bow' is probably corrupted from the Tibetan *ru*, but this is the respectful and not the ordinary term.
be more likely to do so amongst an essentially warrior race. Taken then with the state of civilization reached by the Burmese in their Northern home, this hiatus seems to point to the conclusion that they were there, on the whole, a fairly peaceful people, taking more interest in the culture of the ground and in petty commerce than in the fierce raid and counter-raid which fill up so large a part of the existence of the wilder hill-tribes.

The very first move south seems to have supplied them with the word for 'arrow' (hmra), which occurs in Murmi, Gurung, Magur, etc. (mya), and 'bow' (Chepaing lu-i'). These tribes, if not then inhabiting the southern slopes of the Himalaya as now, were probably on the northern parts of that range of mountains, and a glance at the map will show that it would be precisely with these hill-men that a tribe emigrating south-east from W. Tibet would first come in contact. The ordinary Burmese word for 'sword' or 'chopper,' (tā, pronounced dā), seems to be the Bengali dhao.

There is, in fact, every probability that the Burmese would, like most other emigrating tribes in those parts, have to make their way literally sword in hand, and that in their progress south-east they would have the fullest opportunity of investigating the make and effect of the different weapons used at that epoch. Sparsely peopled as the plains were then, it is probable that many a savage fight and massacre took place ere the advance-guard of the Mongoloid tribes, called Mramma, debouched on the Kubo Valley from the plateau of Manipur.

The Tibetan dmar= 'war' or 'army' occurs in Burmese only when conjoined with rē and chats (chats-mak), and thus forms one of those couplets known in Chinese as 'male and female words.' Chats, the usual word in everyday parlance, is perhaps the Tibetan rtsod, pf. brtsad, meaning 'to quarrel' or 'fight.' An allied word is ran=  

1 This word, as well as 'spear,' 'sword,' 'shield,' does not occur in most of Hodgson's lists.
‘enmity,’ ‘quarrel,’ which has the signification of ‘war’ in Lushai (ral), but only, I believe, occurs in the word for ‘sword’ (ral-gri=‘war-knife’) in Tibetan.

Although the Burmese have presumably abandoned their old word for ‘arrow,’ they have retained that for ‘quiver’ (toh, T. doh), not improbably for the reason that their quivers were of superior excellence to those possessed by the more savage tribes which they encountered.

Again, the Tibetan rmog=‘helmet’ is undoubtedly the same as the Burmese mok,1 which occurs in mok-tū and mok-rǔ, described as two kinds of ‘caps,’ and in k’a-mok, which is a hat similar to that worn by the Chinese peasantry, (hence san-k’enok=[iron] ‘helmet’).

Unless, however, it turns out that these ‘caps’ were originally in the form of or served for helmets, it would be unsafe to conclude that the emigrant Burmans wore helmets, as the Tibetan rmog may be merely a specialized meaning of a word for ‘hat’ or ‘cap.’ Similarly the words for ‘mail’ (B. k’yap, T. k’rab) are the same, but each word denotes originally a flat, thin thing or scale, and hence they come to mean ‘scale-armour.’ It is, of course, possible that this was possessed by the Burmans in Tibet, but, on the other hand, it is equally probable that the words have been applied independently on the introduction of this particular kind of armour, (? from China). The Tibetan rmā=‘a wound’ survives only in the Burmese ama-rwet=‘a scar,’ and the word ḳ’ab=‘to fight’ has lost its original signification, and come to mean first a body of fighting men, and thence a stockade (cf. Tib. C. ḳ’ab-rags=‘stockade’), the mode of alteration being sufficiently apparent.

It is possible that the Burmese chak=‘target’ may come from the Pali chakka=‘a wheel,’ as supposed, but it may, on the other hand, be allied to W. Tibetan tsag-ge, the black mark or bull’s-eye in a target, i.e. always supposing

1 Connected with amok=‘crest’ and mok=‘elevated in the centre,’ probably the original meaning of the word.
the latter to be an indigenous word. At any rate, it is curious that the Southern Chins still preserve their old word boin (T.  geçen) for a target.

Agriculture.—From the retention of two separate words, meaning ‘plough’ or ‘to plough’ in Burmese, it is evident that when the latter left Tibet they were no mere nomads or wild hill-men, but people who were acquainted with the art of agriculture. Amongst not a few of the related hill-tribes the plough is to this day either unknown or but a recently introduced instrument, implying as it does a fairly settled mode of life, so that this point is especially important in connection with the state of civilization reached at the above-mentioned time.

The first word is T. ဗြိ, B. ခော်. The latter instrument is generally a kind of a harrow, used instead of a plough, but it also means ‘to plough,’ being, in fact, the ordinary verb with that signification. The second word is the Tibetan run (B. ḡmunː), apparently used in the former country with the general sense of ‘ploughing,’ but in Burma merely ‘to plough a field of young plants in order to loosen the soil,’ etc.

Although the commonest words for ‘field’ (T. ဗြိ, B. လိ) are different in the two languages, we find the Tibetan klunès, another word with that meaning in the Burmese k’yōnː,¹ a word which occurs only in conjunction with လိ, just the same as မောင် with the meaning of ‘war’ only occurs now when in union with ချစ်.

As with animals so in the crops grown, the difference of species has been the cause of losing most of the old names. The Burmese for ‘radish,’ however (मन-ङ), I take to be the same as the Tibetan la-p’ung (in composition ङ). မောင် may either denote that it was the species cultivated by the people to the south of the Himalayas, called generally Mon in Tibetan, or that it was that cultivated by the Mons, or Talaings, who were undoubtedly in Burma.

¹ Spelling doubtful, as the word is not found in the dictionary. It usually occurs in the phrase လိ-k’yōn လိ-ချစ်-ဝန် = ‘I am a worker of the fields’ (i.e. an agriculturist).
at the time of the arrival of the Burmese. Although the former is the national appellation of these people, the Burmans have, so far as is known, always called them Talaings, so that the first of these two hypotheses seems the more probable. Similarly the Burmese for 'mustard' (mun-ñañ) is probably mun and T. yuins or ṇuń. It seems probable, however, that the same word occurs in 'turmeric' (B. nań-moan, sa-moan), ṇuń being admittedly often used for yuń in Tibetan, and this crop was probably better known to the undivided Tibeto-Burmans. I am inclined to think, therefore, that both radishes and turmeric were cultivated, and subsequently also mustard, before the departure of the Burmans. It is also possible that moan, in the Burmese kroak-soan='onion,' is a corruption from T. btsun, in which case this plant also must be added to the list.

The Burmese lu:, a certain kind of millet,1 would seem to be identical with the Tibetan bru, meaning grain in general; probably the only kind of grain grown in ancient times in Tibet being an inferior kind of millet or something similar.

That the Burmans in Tibet were accustomed to the cultivation of grain and the preparing of it for food is shown by the existence, in both languages, of common words for 'husks' or 'chaff' (T. sbur, B. p'ue), for 'tossing up,' or 'sifting' grain (T. p'yar, B. pya), for 'cleaning' (T. p'ad, B. p'wep), and for 'pounding' it (T. rduñ, B. lo). But it is probable that these operations were performed on millet alone, and that rice was, at that time, not cultivated in Tibet.

The common beast for cultivating was, of course, the bullock (T. nor, B. moa), but we may note that the Tibetan word, although still retaining its primitive signification in some contexts, has now come to mean 'wealth' or 'money,' affording thus a close parallel to the Latin pecunia.

The House, Domestic Articles, etc.—The number of common

---

1 Lū-nat-kōk is "the classic name for wheat."
words relating to the house (T. k'yim, B. im\(^1\)) and its appurtenances is not small, and they show a state of things very similar to what prevails in the less civilized parts of Burma at the present day. Before adverting to them it is worthy of notice that two other Tibetan words,\(^2\) each with the meaning of 'house,'\(^2\) are still retained in Burmese, though with specialized meanings. The first of these is nañ, which in Burmese (nan:) has come to mean merely the house of the king, i.e. a palace, and the second, groñ, is similarly applied to a house inhabited by priests (kyon), i.e. a monastery. We may observe that nañ, with the meaning of 'house,' (it also denotes an interior, household, etc.), is found especially in Central Tibet.

We find kyon, however, again in a single obsolete word in Burmese, sū-kyon, meaning 'cook-house.' The first syllable is probably the Tibetan sol in sol-k'añ='cook-room,' or 'kitchen,' and, from the close analogy between these two words, it is not too much to infer that rooms especially used for cooking were known to the Burmans before quitting Tibet, an important fact in considering the stage of civilization they had then reached. Although the style of building in the two countries is very dissimilar, owing to climatic and other considerations, yet we find common words for 'room' (T. k'añ, B. k'añ:), for 'floor' (T. skyañ, B. kram:), and for 'door' (T. sgo, B. tan-k'ā), whilst the Tibetan leham='a rafter' is probably the same as the Burmese ch'añ='a joist,' used in the same way as a rafter to support the floor of a house, which, as everyone knows, is in the latter country raised above the ground on posts.

It may be noted that there are common words (T. rtso, B. ch'ok) for building houses, words ultimately connected with that 'to erect,' 'make fast' in the ground (T. yug, B. chük).

\(^1\) This word has suffered considerably from phonetic decay. Its connection with the Tibetan is easily traced through Manipuri, Lantlu, etc.

\(^2\) Further, the Tibetan rdæst='castle' probably reappears in the Burman tan-ch'ók:='a kind of tower,' and ae'h'os='a building.'

\(^3\) Tuy, tan, or tan: simply means anything long and straight, and is a common prefix in Burmese (cf. T. ytan).
Turning now to the utensils in the house (T. ts'og-chas, B. a-ch'ök¹-a-ūː), the most obvious are those used for storing or carrying food, for, of course, anything in the way of chairs or tables is in these countries entirely of modern introduction. We find that at least one kind of basket was known (T. droāi, B. k'yoṅ), this being a long cylindrical one carried on the back. There would also appear to have been in existence, as might be supposed amongst an agricultural people, small granaries (T. rdzan, B. chaṅ) and even casks (T. zem, B. chaṅ), but these latter were merely rudimentary, being formed by hollowing out portions of tree-trunks. The Burmese tan 'a pannier' would also appear to be the same as the Tibetan ltaṅ='a bale of goods for carriage by an animal.' In a country where carts were unknown, it is obvious that pack bullocks or ponies would be used by a people who had attained any moderate degree of civilization.

The common Tibetan word for 'pot,' rdza, although superseded by another root in Burmese, may still be seen perhaps in the two words cha-lōṅ 'the cover of a pot,' and ja-lun 'a large basin.' The ordinary Burmese word is ōc, and although this has evidently suffered much from phonetic decay, it can, I think, be yet identified with the Tibetan k'og, since k' is sometimes elided (see supra), and there is a very analogous case in the Tibetan k'oṅs, Burmese ō, meaning 'old.' The existence of other earthenware before the separation of the two races is evidenced by a word for a 'large pitcher' (T. p'ān², B. p'yaṅ), and for 'cup' (T. skyoṅs, B. k'wak).

Other articles were ropes (T. rgyud and allied words, B. kro) and ladders (T. skras-ka, B. hle-ka), the latter being, however, but notched logs, as are still commonly to be met with in the less civilized parts of Burma.

Fishing is carried on to no great extent in the more northern country, and hence it must not be expected that

¹ I doubt whether ch'ök in this signification is from the root ch'ok 'to build.'
² T. žem is probably merely another form of this word.
many of the names for nets in Burmese would be found in Tibetan. As a matter of fact, only the commonest, the *kwan* or casting net (T. *rkon*), can be identified, and in Tibet it is used apparently not for fishing but for catching birds.

The Burmese have adopted the Mon word for ‘hearth’ (*p’au*), but those for ‘charcoal’ (T. *söl*, B. *mìr-suwe*), and ‘cooking’ (T. *sregs*, *srog*, B. *k’yaq*), still survive, while naturally with the change of habitat the word for ‘fat’ (T. *ts’iib*) has come to signify ‘oil’ (B. *ch’i*. As above pointed out, it is evident that the kitchen had already been formed into a separate compartment.

It seems probable that the undivided race had already emerged from the skin-clothing stage; *test* the words for ‘clothes in general’ (T. *ydii₃, B. a-t’an*),¹ and those for ‘a spindle’ (T. *p’aⁿt, B. *wæn-ro*).² At the same time, as almost all Burmese words connected with the loom and weaving are radically different from the Tibetan, it is probable that this art was practised to a very limited extent only. Possibly clothes were as yet chiefly imported, and were obtained by barter. This is one of the grounds for supposing the Burman migration to be anterior in time to those, for example, of the Chins and Karens.

Paint, or rather colouring matter (T. *rtsi*, B. *ch’è*), must of course have been known from very early times. The Burmese word means also ‘medicine,’ but this is undoubtedly, in spite of the dictionaries, a secondary meaning of the word.

It remains to mention three words which point to the existence of a somewhat high stage of civilization before the departure of the Burmans, namely ‘fan’ (T. *yab*, B. *yap*), ‘tassel’ (T. *bød*, B. *pwa*), and ‘cushion’ (T. *böl*, B. *p’ùn*). It is, of course, not improbable that the tassels

---
¹ The Tibetan *sua* ‘a hat’ is possibly the same as the Burmese *sir*.
² The existence of a common word for ‘needle’ (T. *k’ab*, B. *ap*) proves nothing, since needles are employed by all races who consider expedient garments of any kind whatever. Similarly as regards ‘thread’ (T. *dru₃-bu*, B. *k’rau*), and ‘to sew’ (T. *Arub*, B. *k’yaup*).
were merely the barbaric appendages to spears; that the cushions consisted but of a few skins sewn together; whilst the fans were almost certainly rude arrangements made from particular kinds of leaves. Nevertheless, the existence of such common words, together with the others already cited, goes far to show the existence of a state of things not very dissimilar to what prevails in the less civilized parts of the respective countries at the present day.

**Medicine, etc.—**The fact that the ordinary Burmese for ‘medicine’ (chê:) is merely a secondary meaning attached to ‘pigment,’ and that all words relating to drugs, curing, etc., are different in the two languages, points to but a slight knowledge of medicine at the time of the migration southwards—indeed, the only common word to be found is that for ‘plague’ or ‘pestilential disorders’ (T. ṭăn, B. ṭan). This is, of course, precisely the word one would, on a priori grounds, expect to survive.

There are, nevertheless, numerous common words for parts of the body, of which I give a few of the more unusual for sake of example only: ‘waist’ (T. ṭked, in composition ska, B. kā:), ‘marrow’ (T. ṭkan, B. ṭran-chē:), ‘mucus of nose’ (T. snabs, B. ṭnap), ‘the nose’ (T. sna, sna-kā:, B. hna, hna-kōi), ‘womb’ (T. bu-snod, B. hnut), ‘knee’ (T. pus, B. pu-chats), ‘breast’ (T. brā:, B. rañ), ‘the iris of the eye’ (T. mig-bras, B. myek-rats), ‘hair’ (T. lchān,1 B. ch‘an), ‘wen’ (T. rmen, B. mrañ), and ‘mole’ (T. sme, B. hme). The ordinary Burmese words for ‘to be hungry’ or ‘thirsty’ (ch‘ā, nät) are merely specialized from the Tibetan ṭsal ‘to want,’ and rńab ‘to crave.’

**Terms of Relationship.—**I hope in a future paper to discuss the evidence relating to the existence of a former maternal family amongst the Burmese and allied tribes. The paternal family is now well established amongst these, whilst the Tibetans are still in that intermediate stage between the two systems where the wife is shared amongst brothers, though the elder has the predominance. (It is

---

1 This properly means ‘matted hair,’ a significant distinction.
stated, however, that that system has now begun to crumble away and monogyny to take its place, at any rate amongst the higher classes.) The common terms of relationship, besides ‘father’ and ‘mother,’ are a man’s ‘elder brother’ (T. ajo, B. ats-kü), a man’s ‘younger brother’ (T. ñu, B. ñì), a woman’s ‘elder sister’ (T. ache, B. ats-ma), a woman’s ‘elder brother’ (T. mìn, B. moû), and a ‘son-in-law’ (T. mag, B. sa-mak). The omission of certain terms must, in view of the different family systems now prevailing in the two countries, be regarded as of some significance.

In addition to these it appears that an old Burmese term for ‘elder brother’ (anoû) simply meant ‘first-born’ (T. ñoûn-kyes), whilst the second syllable of kûn-pouan, ‘a friend’ or ‘spouse,’ is the Tibetan spûn=‘brothers’ or ‘cousins.’

Political Organization.—The long Shan domination to which the Burmans were subject after their arrival in their present country, the possible existence of a Kshatriya dynasty at one time, and the undoubted tendency to use Sanskrit and Pali words for royal functions as being more high-sounding and imposing than the vernacular, have all tended to obliterate the political terms brought from Tibet. And as regards some such words, although apparently capable of explanation from the Tibetan, their etymology is of too problematical a nature to be worth insertion here.

It has been already pointed out that the word rûa, which means ‘village’ still in Burmese, has in Tibetan (yûl) come to mean ‘country’ in general, but it does not necessarily follow that at the time of separation the village was the political unit, as amongst the Nagas and other wild tribes at the present day. For yûl still means village as well as country, and rûa in the expression nat-rûa² means rather country than village. The existence of a common word for ‘kingdom’ (T. ñûn, B. nûn²-nûn) is, however, decisive on this point, and, indeed, apart from the king (T. rgyal,

1 Probably a reduplicated word (cf. Chinese kû).
2 Fairy-land.
³ Means ‘to conquer.’
γτσо, B. ḷraṇ, ḷhō):, there would appear to have also been subordinate governors or ministers (T. ḷpon, B. ṣan). ¹

Theft (T. ṭku, B. ḷū), at least, was a recognized crime, and it is just possible, though not very probable, that the Burmese ṭōn 'a prison' is a shortening of the Tibetan ḷom-gaṅ-gru-bzi, with the same meaning. Taxes seem to have been levied (T. ḷaṅl, B. ḷwec), thus showing a considerable degree of political organization.

As regards slavery, the Burmese and Tibetan words are quite different, and it seems probable that the word for 'slave' (k'yem) in the former language originally meant 'foreigner' (T. ḷroṅ). This would indicate that slaves were prisoners taken in war, and that slavery as a domestic institution was probably little, if at all, known.

Other quasi-political terms are 'to appoint' as an official (T. ḷel, pf. bkal, B. ḷan) and possibly 'to punish' (T. ² god, B. kwap). ³ Although there is no common name for 'court' or 'justice,' the Tibetan throws some light on the Burmese terms. Thus, ḷun 'a petty magistrate' seems to be the same word as the Tibetan myon='lord'; and the chief court of Burma formerly, the hūng-tā, ⁴ was originally merely 'the assembly' (T. ḷroṅd), similarly to ruṅ:, the ordinary word for 'court,' which also means 'to assemble.' That courts of some kind were known appears also from words such as 'to engage in a suit' (T. ḷtag, B. twē), 'to suspect of a crime' (T. ḷus, B. yū), and 'to accuse falsely' (T. ḷdžab, B. chweap), though justice would, of course, be of a very rough and ready kind.

With regard to the existence of private property, it is observable that boundary lines (T. mṭsams, B. chaṅ) were evidently known.

The Arts.—It may be premised at once that the names of the different handicrafts are in Burmese apparently of

---

¹ The Burmese ḷūṅ 'a petty chief' is probably connected with T. mṭ'en 'high in rank.'
² Central.
³ Note also the Central Tibetan ḷaṅs 'to make a present,' and B. ch'ak 'to present to a superior.'
⁴ ṭā is the royal affix.

modern introduction, or, at any rate, have been invented since the departure from Tibet. Until men have segregated in large masses it is rare, at any rate amongst these races, to find persons who give up their whole time to a particular craft. One person may be clever at carpentry and another at smith’s work, but they will still continue to carry on the customary pursuit of agriculture, doing the various jobs required of them in the intervals of such work. The latter are not, in fact, sufficiently important to tempt them to break altogether from tradition, and the result is that, even when society has considerably advanced, we fail to find anything like the specialization of labour which prevails amongst ourselves.

Before alluding to any common names of tools there is to be settled the very important question: Was the undivided Tibeto-Burman race acquainted with iron? The chief argument for a negative answer to this question is the fact that the words for this metal (T. lchags, B. san) are quite different in the two languages. This does not, of course, absolutely preclude a knowledge of the metal before leaving Tibet, though it throws the burden of proof very much on the other side. It is not quite clear to me from what language the word san has been taken.

Pro conträ it may be first noticed that a name for ‘thunderbolt’ in Tibetan is lchags or erule-lchags, i.e. ‘iron’ or ‘sky-iron.’ The Burmese similarly call it chak or mük-krų-chak. Chak, in the dictionary, is put down as the Pali word meaning ‘a wheel,’ because it ‘whizzes round,’ a rather obvious piece of folk-etymology. It seems more probable to identify chak here with the Tibetan lchags. Again, the Tibetans call the bit of a horse—riding was undoubtedly known at the time of the separation—srab-lchags, the corresponding Burmese term being jak, so that here again we seem to see the old term for ‘iron’ cropping up.

It may be postulated that if the Burmans on leaving Tibet were only in the Bronze age—there is, I think, a

---

1 The Tibetans are not alone in giving it this designation. See Tylor, "Early History of Mankind."
common term for bronze—words denoting cutting, etc., will in general differ in the two languages, since the use to which bronze tools can be put is relatively small. This, however, is not the case, the number of common words being as many as can be reasonably expected with a people mainly agricultural and yet in the Iron age. For example, it would appear there were punches (T. ṭzön, B. chū) and chisels, the Burmese ch’ōk being the same word as the Tibetan ṭṣup ‘to scoop out,’ whilst there are common words for ‘chiselling’ (T. ḅru, B. rве), ‘cutting off small pieces’ (T. ṭlub, B. twap), ‘cutting off’ (T. grum, B. k’yūn), ‘mowing’ and ‘shaving’ (T. ḅreg, B. rīt), and for ‘chips’ (T. ḍsal, B. chā). The ordinary Tibetan word for ‘sword’ or ‘knife’ (gri) has been supplanted by another (t’a) in Burmese, but it survives in the word for ‘scissors,’ kat-kyē: (= ‘lever-knife’), and ḍit: ‘to cut’ is undoubtedly from the same root.

The existence of common words for ‘hammer’ (T. čo, B. tū) and ‘bellows’ (T. spud, B. p’ū), does not perhaps prove much, but I think that the number of such for ‘cutting,’ etc., taken with the other evidences of a fairly high state of civilization attained by the Burmans before leaving Tibet, is sufficient to justify a belief that they were at that time acquainted with iron. This, of course, furnishes an anterior limit to the time of the migration.

As regards other metals, besides silver (T. dinl, B. ｎwē), it seems probable that some kind of bronze was known, that is, if the Tibetan k’ar be the same as the Burmese k’e, a word of doubtful signification, meaning now either lead or tin, according to the word affixed to it.

The art of dyeing was also unquestionably known (T. ṭsoḍ, pf. ｂṭṣos and allied words, B. ch’ū:).

Culture.—The point up to which a semi-civilized people can count is always some index of the state of culture obtained by them. In the case of the Tibeto-Burman race the amount is one thousand (T. ston, B. ton)—an unusually

1 Possibly also T. dnyal ‘to cut up’ and B. myucā ‘to gash obliquely’ are the same.
high number. Most of the lower numerals are closely alike in the two languages, but ‘one,’ ‘four,’ and ‘seven’ are different, and ‘ten’ and ‘a hundred’ are much corrupted in Burmese. A word for ‘counting’ (T. byrañ̄ and allied words, B. kʿyañ) has also been retained.

As regards measures (T. rp̄t̄os, B. tūī, ‘a span’ (T. mēo, B. t̀wà) is the only one that can be certainly identified. It is not likely that regular shops, such as we know, existed before the separation of the two races, but there is evidence that some kind of traffic, probably petty peddling, was not altogether unknown. Tan in tan-bū: ‘value’ is evidently the Tibetan t̀ān or ḍān. There are two words for ‘borrowing’ or ‘hiring’ (T. skyi, br̄na, B. kʿyē, hūa), and the ideas of ‘repaying’ (T. tsat, B. chʿap) and ‘redeeming’ (T. blus, etc., B. ruec) were certainly known. Again, the Burmese chʿun ‘a shop’ is evidently connected with the Tibetan ḍsoṅ ‘to sell,’ and rōṅ ‘to sell’ with riṅ ‘price,’ whilst ‘scales for weighing’ (T. sran, B. kʿyin) were known, thus showing that matters had probably got beyond mere ‘barter’ (T. sdeb, B. ḍap). In addition we have a regular word for ‘business’ (T. brel, B. arḗ), and probably also ‘to carry on business’ or ‘to trade’ (T. ḍsoṅ, B. chʿon). It would seem, therefore, that there was a regular class of traders. Although, as has been already pointed out, the words for ‘horse’ in the two languages are quite different, yet these animals were certainly known and used for riding. This is evident from the words for ‘saddle’ (T. sga, B. ka), for ‘to mount’ (T. chib, B. chū́), and probably also for ‘bit’ (T. sra̞b-lchaga, B. juk).

A few ideas as evidenced by common words may here be noticed, which would be either altogether unknown or, at any rate, but slightly noticed amongst half-savage people such as the hill-folk of Burma. The existence of common words for them is, I think, proof that they were

1 The Burmese here is the same as the Gyarung, and is possibly a relic of counting on the hands.
2 T̀ān ‘to trade’ is a closely allied root. Cft. ḍsoṅ-ṇa ‘a market.’
3 If the Burmese ch̄os and Tibetan tsʿad ‘a standard’ are the same, some considerable advance in the arts must be assumed.
widely understood and often thought of amongst the undivided Tibeto-Burman race. Such are a ‘memorial’ (T. tems-yig, B. t'im-hmat), showing that it was customary to remember specially the more heroic or notable ancestors, and ‘to draw,’ ‘picture,’ etc. (T. bri, B. re). As regards the latter word, it is curious that in each language it has also the meaning ‘to write’; but from the historical data available this meaning would seem to have been independently evolved. The very close parallel is noteworthy, and shows the caution necessary in endeavouring to ascertain the limits of a former system of civilization from philological evidence only.

Other words are ‘pride’ (T. rchom, B. cho'n-man), a ‘belief’ or ‘sentiment’ (T. blo, B. ayū), a ‘fault’ or ‘crime’ (T. dpyas, B. aprats), and ‘to feel remorse’ (T. rno'n, B. no'i-ta). They seem to have paid attention to a man’s character (T. grags, B. krak-saré), whilst there are several words for ‘respect,’ ‘trust,’ or ‘reverence’ (T. rim-gro, gus, bkur, B. rû-kyû, kâ-yâ, kû), such as would be paid to the elders or to good men, as well as one for ‘affection’ or ‘tender regard’ (T. rchags, B. cha). Mere affection (T. k'en, B. in) was distinguished from a proper regard for one’s appearance (T. mdains, B. tain), and by proper examination (T. tsir, B. chi-chats), they were accustomed to ascertain what was done secretly (T. gya-gyu, B. hiyû), or what was merely feigned (T. sgruṅ, B. kyvañ). The only common words denoting colour are ‘black’ (T. nag, B. nak) and ‘parti-coloured’ (T. k'ra, B. kyâ:). Would these be the words most in use for denoting the colours of the Tibetan cattle?

Miscellaneous.—There is no reason to suppose that dancing and music were less popular formerly than now amongst the Burmese. There are, in fact, common words for ‘singing,’ or rather ‘chanting’ (T. glu, obyaṅs, B. kyû:, rañ), and for ‘dancing’ (T. gar, B. ka). I have not,
however, been able to clearly identify any musical instrument.¹

The names of the Burmese months are altogether different from the Tibetan, as might, indeed, be expected from the relatively late date at which calendars were introduced, nor are the seasons similarly called. ḫu=‘year,’ used only in certain dates, is probably, however, the Tibetan Ḥguñ. The Burmese have naturally retained the old words for ‘cold’ (T. grañ, B. kyam), for ‘hoar-frost’ (T. zil-ṅkar, B. ch’i-k’e), and ‘to warm oneself at the fire’ (T. sro, pf. sros, B. klun), but none to express heat, which sensation is not experienced to any vivid degree in the bleak uplands north of the Himalayas.

Conclusion.—It is inevitable that many of the results obtained, and opinions arrived at, in a first essay such as this, in a comparatively little known subject, will require hereafter to be considerably modified, if not altogether rejected. The actual truth in most antiquarian matters is only to be arrived at after a long series of discussions, and the reiterated scrutiny of all the evidence available. I venture to hope, however, that the following main conclusions, at least, will not be shaken.

The Burmans, when quitting their home in Western Tibet, were already considerably advanced in civilization—were, in fact, on very much the same plane as that of peasants now-a-days who inhabit the more sequestered parts. Whatever improvement they may have made mentally since is probably largely due to the introduction of Indian and particularly Buddhist ideas, which have to a considerable extent obliterated their original fairy or demon worship. At the time of the immigration, the Burmans were acquainted with some kind of regular government under a king, and had entered into the agricultural stage of society. They were acquainted with iron and other metals, though this was probably obtained

¹ The Burmese pu-pa ‘tootingly’ is, however, obviously allied to the Tibetan bud, pf. pu-na ‘to blow a trumpet.’
by trade which was carried on to no inconsiderable extent. Before starting on their migrations they were not a very warlike race, but, on the other hand, had attained a degree of culture much in advance of the fiercer hill-tribes of cognate race who dwelt in their vicinity. Their language, after leaving the Northern uplands, suffered considerably from decay before being reduced to writing.

It is possible, though not proved, that a smaller migration from Central took place after the main one from Western Tibet, which latter, taking all circumstances into consideration, would seem to have taken place during the present Christian era. The numerous kings who are stated to have reigned in Burma B.C. may be dismissed as entirely apocryphal, or, at least, they did not reign over a people who can be linguistically identified with the present Burmese race.
ART. III.—*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Medieval Geography.*

By F. Hirth, Ph.D.

There is probably no study more fascinating to the student of historical geography during the period preceding Marco Polo than that of the Oriental maritime trade, which made Arabic enterprise the ruling element in the commercial world for centuries before the rise of the Portuguese. The ocean-trade of almost every port in those waters, which may be said to reach from the coast of Morocco in the west to that of Japan and Corea in the east, was in the hands of Arab merchants. We need not be astonished, therefore, to find that Arabic authors are the principal source of what we know, not only about the navigation of that period, but also about the ethnography of the nations with whom their countrymen had come into contact.

I do not propose here to review the well-known reports, dating from three different centuries, in which Arabic authors have handed down, I may almost say, our entire knowledge of the Oriental sea-trade of those days. The Abbaside period, the epoch following Mahmud's conquest of India, and the Mongol era, have each contributed their share. The accounts of Soleiman and other Arab seafarers, edited by Renaudot and Reinaud, belong to the ninth century. Arab geographers have since monopolised the field down to the time of Marco Polo.

Thankful though we may be for these efforts of Arab industry, we are bound to admit that, while receiving from them powerful encouragement in extending our knowledge of this branch of historical geography, we have to lament many a gap where information is most urgently wanted. Our curiosity being once roused, we should like to complete
the picture by a few bold but realistic dashes from a contemporaneous brush. Such a desire will probably never be satisfied. The value of the work done by such writers as Reinaud’s Arab travellers, Maçoudi and Ibn Batuta, has been doubled and trebled by the acumen of their interpreters; and further efforts may succeed in eliciting additional information from these texts in parts where they still remain a mystery to us. In the meantime new matter, information collected at the period concerned, is of the greatest importance wherever it may be found. Such new matter I am now able to contribute from a source scarcely thought of by the friends of Arabic geography—a Chinese author who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century. I have before me a critical digest regarding the author and his work, and an English translation of the latter which, with the most essential points of interpretation, has occupied me for the last ten years. I have gone through the translation several times, in order to be as sure of the exact sense of all the details as a fair knowledge of the Chinese language in an enthusiastic European will admit; I have then examined every sentence in company with a student of Chinese, thoroughly capable of tracing an oversight if any should have crept in—Mr. E. H. Fraser, lately H.B.M. Consul at Chungking—to whose critical interest I am indebted for many a valuable improvement in my translation.

The Chinese author of whom I speak may almost be called an Arab authority, inasmuch as we have reason to believe that he collected his information from the Arab traders with whom he came into contact.

Chao Ju-kua, whose work, the Chu-san-chih, i.e. “Record of Foreign Countries,” I have attempted to translate and, to a limited extent, to interpret, is an author quite undeservedly unknown, both among his countrymen, the Chinese, and among foreigners. Neither Schott nor Wylie seem to have known his name. Bretschneider, in his Botanicon Sinicum, mentions the work as quoted in the abbreviated edition of the “Catalogue of the Imperial
Library of Peking”; but he, too, has apparently never seen the book, since, had this been the case, with the well-known speculative talent which has helped him to select valuable sources of information out of endless lists of Chinese works, he could not have failed to discover its importance in the history of Oriental trade. I am bound to assume that Léon de Rosny, with all his diligence in searching for Chinese texts throwing light on this subject, has handled the book for a short time only. For, while communicating a few highly useful extracts, in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1861, regarding Japan and the Loo-Choo Islands, he does not avail himself of the information contained in the *Chu-fun-chih* in his later work on the Oriental nations known to the ancient Chinese (*Les peuples orientaux connus des anciens Chinois*), a revised third edition of which appeared in 1892. Pauthier, in 1857, published a translation of Ju-kua’s chapter on Ta-ts’in in his well-known treatise *De l’authenticité de l’inscription nestorienne de Si-nerg-fu*; and I conclude from certain notes furnished by St. Julien to Renan, published in Renan’s *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, that the former had read, though misunderstood, the same chapter. A French version of this short part of Chao Ju-kua’s text appears also in Huc’s *Le christianisme en Chine*, though I am not able to say at present by whom it was prepared. My own version of the same chapter appears in *China and the Roman Orient*, published in 1885. Some notes, with a short extract, introducing the Chinese author, have appeared in vol. i of my *Chinesische Studien* (Leipzig, 1890), and I have recently, in a supplementary fascicule of the *T’oung-pao* (Leiden, 1894), published a German version of Ju-kua’s chapters on the Arab possessions as a first instalment regarding “Die Länder des Islám nach chinesischen Quellen,” and an extract on the Kingdom of Malabar, pp. 149 seqq. in vol. vi of the same periodical. I am not aware that, apart from the few instances just mentioned, the work of Chao Ju-kua has been referred to by Western writers.
In China, too, the book is very little known, and copies of it are exceedingly rare; in fact, the only two copies I have seen formed part of an expensive collection of reprints. The numerous biographical works of the Chinese, with all their comprehensiveness, are perfectly silent on its author, whose name is neither mentioned among the biographies of the Sung-shih, the national history of the period, nor apparently in the minor records of those, and later times, which would have been collected in such works as the Wan-hsing-t'ung-p'ü, the biographical Thesaurus of the Ming dynasty and the first collective biographical record published after the probable lifetime of our author.

The Chu-fan-chih, though decidedly the most important source on the Oriental sea-trade of the Sung period, is but seldom quoted in later works. It has had the misfortune of being copied, though incompletely, by T'o-t'oe, the author of the official history of the period, the Sung-shih. The result is that later authors, when referring to the foreign nations, quote the latter in preference to the older work. Ma Tuan-lin, whose cyclopædia appeared about a century after Chao Ju-kua, borrows from him without a word of acknowledgment. Unfortunately this is the rule, or at least a very common occurrence, in Chinese literature. The existence of the Chinese national histories, such as the two Han-shu, the T'ang-shu, etc., has to atone for the loss of many a special work on ancient or mediæval geography. It may be some sort of consolation in view of the entire disappearance of the great Chinese explorer Chang K'ien's work (if it were at all written by himself), the Chang-ch'ien-ch'u-kuan-chih, that we may point to the account of his expeditions in the Shih-ki by Ssü-ma Ch'ien; possibly the loss of another very important work, the Hsi-yü-t'ü-chi, an account of Central Asia early during the seventh century, by Pei Ch'ü, may be made up for by certain unacknowledged portions of the Sui-shu, the official history of the period, as Von Richthofen assumes ("China," vol. i, p. 530). But a comparison of the text furnished by Chao Ju-kua, with the extracts made from it with and without acknowledgment
by later authors, clearly shows how much we would have lost as regards matter-of-fact information, had the _Chu-fan-chih_ shared the fate of Chang K‘ien’s and Pei Ch‘ü’s works, which we know were still kept in the Imperial Library in A.D. 618.

And a narrow escape the _Chu-fan-chih_ has had from being lost to the memory of man. It must have been a rare book at any time. It is well known that the Chinese do not print editions, as we do, of 100, 500, or 1000 copies at a time, when a book is published; but the wooden blocks being preserved in the publisher’s library, merely as many copies are struck off as are required to satisfy immediate demand. If perchance the printing-blocks get lost or destroyed, the entire edition rests on the number of copies which happen to have been taken. To reprint such a work as the _Chu-fan-chih_ would have required stronger demand on the part of the public than probably ever made itself felt during the Sung period. Geographical studies, though extensively applied to every part of China proper, were treated with a certain amount of indifference where foreign countries were concerned. Whatever enthusiasm we may admire in a few single individuals of the Chao Ju-kua kind, the public taste was not given that way. Chang K‘ien and Pan Ch‘ao, the early explorers, had become national heroes, it is true; Fa Hsien and Hsüan Chuang, the Buddhist travellers, had in their time occupied public attention to a high degree. But Confucian learning was the order of the day at the end of the twelfth century, when Chu Hi wrote his great commentaries: the antiquities of China, the history of its art; the philosophy of the classical and the Taoist schools, with their mystical degenerations; Buddhist cosmology, the poetry of the past and present;—all were studied with an ardour worthy of a period which may be called the age of _renaissance_ in China, while the knowledge of foreign countries was merely an obscure branch taken up by a few amateurs. Confucian philosophers actually threw discredit on what was then known of foreign geography,
and I can at least quote one of the well-known essayists of the period, Ch‘êng Ta-ch‘ang, who died in 1195, and who in his antiquarian work, the K‘ao-ku-pien, tries to make out that foreign geography is absolutely untrustworthy. The arguments he uses in support of his assertion, however, show that the untrustworthiness lies entirely with himself, who, to judge from his remarks, must have been altogether destitute of geographical sense.

The Chu-fan-chih is mentioned in the descriptive catalogue of the library belonging to the celebrated bibliophile Ch‘ên Chên-sun, who furnished the greater part of the bibliographical portion of Ma Tuan-lin’s cyclopædia, published in 1319. Ch‘ên Chên-sun was appointed Prefect of Kia-hing-fu in Chêkiang in 1234–1237; this is the only date I can discover regarding his lifetime. Probably the Chu-fan-chih had then existed for a number of years, though all the evidence therefore rests with what we learn from the text itself, which cannot have been concluded before the year 1205, owing to an Arab embassy being mentioned in it as having come to China during the years 1205–1208, nor after the year 1258, because Baghdad is described in it as being governed by rulers who called themselves the lineal descendants from the prophet Muhammad. The book is quoted in the Chên-la-fêng-t‘u-chî—the description of an embassy to Cambodgia terminated in 1297, written by Chou Ta-kuan, a member of that mission, of which there is a French translation by Rémusat in the first volume of his Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques.

It appears that, during the Mongol period, Chao Ju-kua’s work fell into entire oblivion, and it must have been very rare indeed in A.D. 1407, when it was received into that gigantic collection of manuscripts published under the name of Yung-lo-ta-tien. Thereby the work has actually been saved to us, for I doubt whether we shall ever succeed in finding a copy printed previous to that date. There, too, the work remained buried for centuries, inaccessible to the public and exposed to the danger of being annihilated by fire, until in 1783 it was unearthed again with other
literary treasures by a great lover of his native literature, Li T'iao-yüan, whose biography will be found in the provincial gazetteer, the Ssu-ch'uan-t'ung-chih. Born in Lo-chiang-hsien, in Szechuen, he followed his father—who, like most high officials, was ordered about from one province of China to another—and, after a good education, showed considerable literary taste. Having taken his degree as Chin-shih in 1763, he tried to combine a student's life with his official career, which brought him to the neighbourhood of Peking. Here, as a member of the Academy (Han-lin), he had, of course, access to the Academy library, where, according to Mayers, in his instructive paper on the "Bibliography of the Chinese Imperial Collections of Literature," in the sixth volume of the China Review, the Yung-tu-tu-tien is said to have been preserved down to our days. The existence of so many highly important works being buried in the chambers of the Academy was a trouble to a public-spirited man of Li T'iao-yüan's order. He, therefore, copied what seemed to him the works best worthy of being introduced to the general public, and printed them afterwards with his own works and some other matter in the collection known as Han-hai, first published in 1783, of which two further editions are known in Szechuen. From this, the first printed copy as far as I am aware, another edition has been received into the collection of reprints published by Chang Hai-p'eng in Chao-wen, near Soochow, in 200 pên, under the name of Hsiao-tsin-t'ao-yüan, which appeared in 1805, previous to the second edition of the Han-hai, published in 1809. I have compared the two texts and found none but trivial variants, such as would in no case affect the translation, for which reason I shall not notice them.

These are the only editions I have fallen in with after many years' ransacking of the Chinese book stores at Shanghai and Yang-chow, the latter place being an important market for literary curiosities as well as antiquities, whence even the curio dealers at Shanghai draw much of their ancient porcelain. A copy of the Chu-fan-chih must
be, or have been, among the Chinese books of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, since Pauthier quotes from it in his work on the Nestorian inscription. I am not aware that the British Museum has a copy, at least it was not enumerated in Dr. Douglas' Catalogue of 1877.

All we know about the author's life is a very scanty notice of his book in the bibliophile Ch'en Chên-sun's descriptive Catalogue, written some time during the early part, or the middle, of the thirteenth century. It says, by way of explanation, after the title Chu-fan-chih: "the Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien, Chao Ju-kua, records [in this book] the several foreign countries and the merchandize which come from them."

This is very little indeed; and yet it speaks volumes towards the elucidation of our subject, if we try to read between the lines. The Inspector of Foreign Trade, in Chinese Ti-chü-shih-po, i.e. "Shih-po by special appointment," or simply Shih-po, or Shih-po-shih, was during the Sung dynasty an official whose functions corresponded to the combined position of the present Superintendent and Commissioner of Customs. Indeed, in the Li-tai-chih-kuan-piao, a tabular list of the names of all the public offices of the present Empire and their equivalents during the various former dynasties, compiled in 1780, though not published in book form until 1844, the Shih-po-shih of the Sung dynasty is identified with the modern Kuan-shui-chien-tu, i.e. the Superintendent of Customs.

In the Sung-shih we are repeatedly told that this officer had to superintend the collection of taxes on the trade carried on by the sea-going vessels laden with foreign goods, especially those being brought from afar by the inhabitants of distant countries.

The history of this office may for this reason be said to represent the history of foreign sea-trade in China. Foreign trade had for a long time been covered by the name, inseparable from the early foreign enterprise of Chinese Courts, of "tribute." The word "tribute," in Chinese Kung, was nothing but a substitute for what
might as well have been called "exchange of produce" or "trade," the trade with foreign nations being a monopoly of the Court. The latter would refuse to trade unless it was done under its own conditions, viz. the appearance of the offering of gifts as a sign of submission and admiration on the part of a distant monarch. In each case the full equivalent was paid for these offerings in the shape of counter-gifts presented to the so-called ambassadors by the Chinese Court. If these counter-gifts had not made it worth their while to submit to all the trouble and even humiliation imposed on the tribute-bearers, we should not see such a long list of distant nations recorded as regular tribute-countries, such as India, Persia, and Arabia, who had nothing to gain or to lose by the friendship of China. I am inclined to believe that, with exceptions of course, these tribute-bearers were in reality nothing better than private merchants who purchased the counter-gifts of the Court under the pretext of bringing tribute in the name of some distant monarch. The description and quantity of goods returned to such tribute-bearers as a reward for the submissive feelings expressed by them on behalf of their monarchs have in many cases been placed on record by the court historians, and if measured by our present estimation of their value, point to a trade as lucrative as any carried on under modern treaty regulations. Such relations had existed between China and the neighbouring countries from the oldest times; they had assumed larger dimensions under the Han, when certain nations were compelled by force of arms to send in tribute, while others, like Parthians and Syrians, volunteered it as a matter of speculation. The regularity with which these transactions took place led, of course, to the creation of court officers connected with their management. We read in the Sui-shu that an office called Ssū-fang-kuan was established under the Emperor Yang-ti during the period 605-617 at the Chinese capital, for the special purpose of receiving the ambassadors of the countries in the four directions of the compass (ssū-fang), viz. those
in the east, principally Japan; in the south, represented by the southern barbarians on the continent and the Archipelago (nan-man); in the west, represented by the Central Asiatic tribes (hsi-jung); and in the north, represented by the pei-ti (Tartars, Hsiung-nu, Tunguses, etc.). For each of these four classes of traffic a special officer was appointed, whose duty it was to superintend the "exchange of produce" (hu-shih, lit. "mutual marketing"), besides the duties connected with the reception of the mission. This shows clearly enough that, even in those early days, the embassies received at Court were not purely political or complimentary, but have to be looked upon as representing the official form in which trade was then conducted. The superintending officers were then stationed at the capital; but later on, when trade by sea assumed larger dimensions, the necessity arose to appoint Special Commissioners, precursors as it were of the modern Superintendents and Commissioners of Customs, at the places where foreign merchandise was imported in exchange for native produce.

Of all the ports open to trade during the several periods of Chinese history, Canton, or some locality near Canton, is probably the oldest. We have seen that ocean-trade between China and the countries of Western Asia had its terminus in some port of Tonkin or Annam on the southern frontier of China, and I have ventured to identify this port, wherever it may have been situated, with the eastern terminus of Roman navigation, Kattigara, adding some arguments in support of a suggestion made by Baron von Richthofen. This port was apparently the terminus of Western trade as late as A.D. 226, when Ts'ìn Lun, a native of Ta-ts'ìn (Syria) landed there; but Canton, or some place in its neighbourhood, must have been opened to foreign trade in the same century, since we read in a work of A.D. 300, the Nan-fang-ts'ao-mu-chuang, that foreigners from Western countries introduced the cultivation of the jasmine-plant into Nan-hai, i.e. the Canton district. I am inclined to believe that this port,
the cradle of foreign trade in recent days, has ever since the third century been one of the main channels of ocean commerce.

Positive evidence is on record in the eighth century. I read in the T'ang-kuo-shih-pu, by Li Chao, a work of the beginning of the ninth century, purporting to record historical facts concerning the period 713–825, that "the sea-going ships of Canton were foreign vessels (Nanhai-po wai-kuo ch'uan yeh); that they made annual trips to Annam, Kuang-chou [probably a place in the Gulf of Tonkin], and Ceylon." "These ships were of the greatest size, so that, for going on board, ladders several chang in length had to be used. The skippers would collect cargoes of valuable goods, and when the ship was about to leave, the local inspector submitted a report to the provincial chief, which was styled 'beating the alarm drum.' The ship was in charge of a foreign captain (yu fan-ch'ang wei chu), whose name had to be registered by the Shih-po-shih, and the latter collected the taxes on the goods as well as the ship's freight. The exportation of precious and rare articles was forbidden, and if a foreign trader [apparently a Chinese merchant trading to foreign countries] became guilty of smuggling them, he was put into prison. During the voyage white pigeons had to be kept on board to serve as messengers, as they would return to their home, though several thousand li away from it, in case the vessel should be lost." The author goes on to say that "the skippers maintain that even rats have souls; for, if the rats on board should flock together and leave the ship, shipwreck is bound to occur within ten days." It is evident from this account, the authenticity and antiquity of which is not subject to the slightest doubt, that foreign ships were in the eighth century chartered by the Chinese Government, and that the modern China Merchants Company had its prototype over a thousand years ago. The mention of white pigeons being kept on board these ships may contain a hint as to their nationality, since I have strong reason to believe that the use of carrier pigeons was introduced into
China by Persian traders. Carrier pigeons are mentioned as a familiar Persian institution by Maçoudi, and, during the Mongol rule in Persia, important news was entrusted to the flying messenger, as I conclude from two occurrences mentioned in Hammer-Purgstall’s “History of the Ilkhans.” Their earliest mention in China is connected with the biography of the well-known statesman Chang Chiu-ling, the faithful minister of the Emperor Hsuan-tsung, who, as a boy, tied letters to the feet of pigeons returning home. Chang Chiu-ling was born in 673; the anecdote referred to, which is told in the K’ai-yüan-i-shih (or “Historical Gleanings of the K’ai-yüan Period,” i.e. 713 to 742), therefore, belongs to the end of the seventh century. Carrier pigeons cannot then have been in general use in China, or else the anecdote would not have been worth telling. But we are assured in another old work, the Yu-yang-tsa-tung, of the eighth century, that “pigeons are sent home from on board the Persian ships at distances of several thousand li as messengers of peace.” I am not able to say how the superstition about rats leaving a ship has originated, but to judge from the record quoted, it must have been current among Persian skippers over a thousand years ago.

The history of the office of Shih-po has been compiled by Ma Tuan-lin in his sixty-second chapter; fuller details, however, will be found in the Sung-shih. The interest we may take in such an abstruse subject as the history of a Chinese Government office in its early phases is fully justified, if we consider its close connection with the development of foreign trade in China. Ma Tuan-lin refers us to the biography, contained in the history of the T’ang dynasty, of the statesman Liu Tsê, who, during the K’ai-yüan period (713 to 742), held among other offices that of Shih-po-shih at Canton, then called Ling-nan. This appears to be the oldest mention of the office held by Chao Ju-kua five hundred years later. For centuries Canton must have been the only channel through which foreign trade was permitted; for it is not before the year 999 that
we read of the appointment of Inspectors of Trade at Hang-chou and Ming-chou. The latter name is identical with Ningpo. Ma Tuan-lin adds: "at the request and for the convenience of foreign officials" (庭官員通議), which may involve that foreign, probably Arab or Persian, or Indian, communities then existed at those ports, and that they were under the jurisdiction of judges of their own nationality. According to a passage in the Sung-shih (ch. 186), the trade superintended by the Shih-po during the early part of the Sung dynasty was carried on with the following countries: Ta-shih (Arabia); Ku-lo (probably Kula, on the Malayan Peninsula); Java; Cochin China; Borneo; Ma-yi (probably the Philippines); and San-fo-ch'i (Palembang, Sumatra).

An important change took place in the Hsi-ning period (A.D. 1068 to 1078), when the ocean-traders of Ch'üan-chou-fu were obliged to put into Canton (probably one of its revenue stations on the sea-coast) on their return journeys for payment of duty, before they were permitted to sail farther east, failing which their cargoes became liable to confiscation. If they made their escape home by sailing in a wide circle around the station, the penalty was enforced all the same, even though more than six months might have elapsed since the offence was committed. The Prefect of Ch'üan-chou, therefore, submitted to the Throne the desirability of a Shih-po being appointed at that port; but these representations remained unheeded till the accession of the Emperor Chê-tsung, who, in the second year of his reign (A.D. 1087), ordered the desired office to be established at Ch'üan-chou.

Various changes are on record regarding this post which, suiting the exigencies of trade, was either represented by

---

1 This is in my opinion the principal reason why the port of Khanfu, mentioned by the earliest Muhammadian travellers, or authors (Soleiman, Abu Zeid, and Maquaui), cannot be identified with Hang-chou. The report of Soleiman, who first speaks of Khanfu, was written in 891, and in those days Canton was apparently the only port open to foreign trade. Marco Polo's Ganfu is a different port altogether, viz. Kan-fu, or Kan-pu, near Hangchou, and should not be confounded with Khanfu.
a special officer, or administered in connection with some other office, or abolished altogether temporarily and re-established when required. In 1144 the levy of a duty of forty per cent. on all "fragrant drugs" was introduced; in 1147 this duty was reduced to ten per cent. on the so-called "fine fragrant drugs," which comprised cloves, eaglewood, nutmegs, and camphor. In 1166 the inspectorate in Chêkiang was transferred to the local officials at the ports. "Squeezes" and other malpractices led to the temporary abolition of these posts here and there during the Sung dynasty, but we find them again under the Mongols.

Ma Tuan-lin's sketch of the history of the inspectorate is somewhat condeased; we find much fuller information in the Sung-shih, but I must admit that it is not always smooth sailing trying to find one's way in these ancient records. It appears from this fuller account that, originally, the entire foreign trade had to pass through the official treasuries, and that the importation at least of all incenses and other goods of intrinsic value was a State monopoly. Later on this monopoly was confined to pearls, tortoiseshell, rhinoceros horns, ivory, steel, turtle-skin, corals, cornelian stones, and frankincense. Towards the end of the tenth century (984 to 988) the Chinese Court fitted out a commercial expedition with a view to encourage trade with "the foreign nations in the south of the sea." Eight officers of the Imperial Palace were placed in charge of that mission, and provided with credentials and funds for the purchase of goods. These funds consisted of gold bullion and piece goods. The result of this revival of foreign trading relations was that the people were allowed to share in this traffic, but merchants engaging in ocean-trade had to apply to the inspectors in Chêkiang and the Shih-po-ssü for an official license, on pain of the confiscation of their goods. Moreover, a scale of fines held out certain penalties for clandestinely trading with a foreigner even to a very limited extent, exchange of produce to the extent of merely a hundred cash being
threatened with punishment. Whoever bought fifteen strings' worth of goods without a license had his face branded, and was banished to an island of the sea. We read that in 994 these laws were modified by a liberal change in the scale of penalties, and it appears that the Court soon came to the conclusion that the monopoly system could not be upheld with its original strictness. Since the T'ien-shêng period (1023 to 1032), the Sung-shih says, large stocks of ivory, pearls, jade-stone, incenses, medicines, and precious stones had been hoarded up in the Imperial Treasury; and since the Court was not in need of all this, the surplus was sold to the people in exchange for gold, piece goods, straw, and paddy, for the benefit of the provincial district administration, which was a real help to them. If, in explaining the early tribute missions as mere pretexts for trade under Court monopoly, we must admit that, nominally, produce may have been purchased to cover the consumption of the Court, this sale of surplus stocks to the people certainly stamps Court purchases as trading transactions pure and simple.

At this stage of its account the Sung-shih inserts what may be considered an early specimen of commercial statistics. It makes the accumulation of goods in the Treasury responsible for a stagnation in the importation of foreign merchandise observed in 994, and, in order to show how the recent measure had caused the trade to recover, quotes the following comparative figures:

"In a.d. 1049 to 1054 the annual importation of ivory, rhinoceros horns, pearls, jade-stone, incenses, and medicines exceeded 530,000 [strings, I presume, worth about a dollar each nowadays]; this amount had increased by a hundred thousand during the period 1064 to 1068."

In 1072 private merchants were allowed a share in the profit out of the foreign trade, and it appears from the Sung-shih that the appointment of a Shih-po at Ch'üan-chou was then applied for, which Ma Tuan-lin tells us was not made before the year 1087.

The further history of the Shih-po office as described in
the Yüan-shih, the history of the Mongol dynasty in China, is particularly interesting, as it affords us an opportunity to check by it various statements made by Marco Polo as to the Great Khan's revenue. I propose to return to this subject on some future occasion, and now merely mention that about the time of Marco Polo's departure from Zaitun, the Shih-po-ssū was stationed at Ch'üan-chou, and not at Chang-chou or any other place of the neighbourhood, which is in my opinion a very strong argument in favour of the identity of Ch'üan-chou with Zaitun. We read in the Yüan-shih that in 1293 a Shih-po-ssū was stationed at each of the following seven ports, viz.: Ch'üan-chou, Shanghai, Kan-pu (near Hangchow), Wênchow, Canton, Hang-chou, and Ch'ing-yüan (i.e. Ningpo).

The port of Ch'üan-chou, in the east of Amoy, has always been considered as identical with that of Zaitun, described by Arab travellers, Marco Polo and others, as the chief trading-place in those waters; recently, however, Chang-chou, in the west of Amoy, has been mentioned as a place possessing greater claims to having been a resort of foreign trade. This may be true as far as the Ming period is concerned. I cannot, however, agree to this view in connection with Sung and Mongol trade, whatever praise I may feel disposed to bestow on the pains-taking researches of Mr. George Phillips, the originator and defender of the Chang-chou theory. It seems natural that the place where the chief officer for collecting the customs revenue from foreign trade is stationed is identical with the place where, according to foreign accounts, that trade was principally carried on, and Abulfeda (Yule, Cathay, exciiii) distinctly says: "It is also stated that Shanju, known in our time as Zaitun, is one of the ports of China, and with them the ports are also the places of customs." Moreover, Chao Ju-kua looks upon Ch'üan-chou as the starting-point for the distant journey to foreign countries, such as Arabia, and that this was so at the time of Marco Polo's arrival in China may be seen from an extract from the Meng-hang-lu, a description of the city
of Hang-chou, issued in 1274, which I published in the December number of the T'oung-pao of 1894, and whose author distinctly says that while Tai-chou, Wén-chou, etc., are ports resorted to for local trade, "those who wish to make the journey across the distant ocean start at Ch'üan-chou and sail through the straits of Tai-hsü." If Chang-chou had been identical with Zaitun it would have been enumerated among the seven ports "open to foreign trade in 1293," if we may thus interpret the establishment at them of Foreign Trade Inspectors.

A number of other facts, too, which I shall deal with more fully on some other occasion, point to the port of Ch'üan-chou as a resort of foreign traders long before Marco Polo. Chao Ju-kua informs us on good authority that a foreign merchant, by name of Shih-na-wei (Senaï?), a native of Ta-shih, i.e. Arabia, took up his residence in the south of Ch'üan. "Taking pleasure in charitable acts, he made a burial-place in the south-east outside the city for the interment of the remains of foreign traders." Chao Ju-kua quotes one Lin Chih-ch'i, a predecessor of his in the office of Shih-po, as having placed this fact on record. The biography of Lin Chih-ch'i happens to be preserved in the Sung-shih, and shows that he died in 1176. The burial-place referred to by him must, therefore, have existed before that year, and we are probably quite justified in assuming that a colony of Arab traders existed at Ch'üan-chou as early as the middle of the twelfth century. I am strengthened in this assumption by what the local chronicles, quoted in the T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng (section 6, chapter 1500), place on record in connection with a temple or mosque called Ch'ing-ching-ssü, which was built at Ch'üan-chou by certain Muhammadans (hui-jên) during the Shao-hsing period, i.e. between the years 1131 and 1163. Among the antiquities of the place we find quoted in the same cyclopædia (ibid., ch. 1045) from the Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih that on the Ling-shan, lit. the Hill of Souls, in the south-east of the city, there were preserved the Muhammadan tombs or "Tombs of
the Medina-men," as they were styled. These I shall be able to show were the tombs of the Muhammadan apostles, supposed to be the first who brought this faith to Ch'üan-chou. According to an account given in the Min-shu, which, from the way in which foreign names are transcribed in it, I conclude to have been written down from verbal communications during the Ming or Mongol period, "the Muhammadans (hui-hui-chia) say there was in Medina a saint Ma-han-pa-tê (Muhammad), born in the first year of K'ai-huang of the Sui dynasty, i.e. A.D. 581." This is exactly ten years later than the birth date calculated by Sprenger, viz. the 20th April, A.D. 571. "The saint having become conspicuous as an admirable man, the king of the country invited him to the royal seat. In the 20th year [of K'ai-huang, i.e. A.D. 600; perhaps 'for twenty years'] he was inspired to make known the classical books, teaching how to love what is good and hate what is bad, and spread the religion he had received from Heaven. The sun did not scorch him, the heaviest rain did not wet his clothes, he walked into a fire without dying, and kept under water without drowning. He had as disciples four wise men who came to our Court during the period Wu-tê (618 to 627) of the T'ang dynasty, and in the sequel became teachers of their religion in China. One of them taught Canton, the second taught Yang-chou, the third and fourth taught Ch'üan-chou, and upon their death were buried on this hill. The two men to whom these tombs belong were thus men of the Y'ang period. Since these two bodies were buried there, a glory appears on this hill at night which is considered a great wonder by the people, who call it 'the Holy Tomb,' or 'the Tomb of the Western Saints.'"

I do not think for a moment that much more historical value need be attached to this account than to any religious legend of the kind; but the story seems to show that, among the natives, Ch'üan-chou was considered the cradle of Muhammadanism in this neighbourhood.

In his description of Nan-p'i (Nambi, Namburi ?), a
country which I have identified with the kingdom of Malabar, Chao Ju-kua refers to two foreigners, father and son, who came from Malabar, and who lived at his time "in the south of the city of Ch'üan." The southern suburbs of that city probably contained the foreign settlement, which, moreover, is most likely to have occupied a site facing the harbour, or as near as possible to the anchorage, which is actually in the south of the city. Here, indeed, stood a Buddhist temple, the Pao-lin-yüan of Ju-kua's time, which had been built by an Indian devotee, by name of Lo-hu-na (Râhula?), at the end of the tenth century. It appears from Chao Ju-kua's description of Tien-chu (part of India) that foreign merchants even then frequented the port; for when the devotee had come, "they vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones," which the disinterested monk invested in the building of a temple. However, the term standing here for "foreign merchants" (fan-shang) may possibly mean "Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries." Such, however, is not the case with the "foreign traders" who, according to the Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih, in 1211, petitioned the Court, through the local prefect, for permission to put into thorough repair, from funds raised by a subscription list among themselves, the city wall of Ch'üan-chou. Ibn Batuta says that in Zaitun "the Muhammadans have a city by themselves," and it is probably for the safety of the Muslim settlement that these subscriptions were raised. The year 1211 is probably just about the time when Chao Ju-kua collected his notes. The relations between natives and the foreign residents must have been particularly good then, and the foreign community must have seen palmy days indeed if they could afford to build city walls for the Chinese. Such times would naturally be favourable to friendly intercourse between an official in the Shih-po's position and the prominent Arabian and Indian merchants; for the Shih-po was not only, as we have seen, the chief authority for all matters connected with foreign shipping, but even
performed functions resembling those of a foreign consul. Certainly shipwrecked strangers, whose nationality could not be ascertained, were sent to him to be dealt with. I am able to quote an instance in the case of a lengthy account of a shipwreck, which occurred in 1150 near Foo-chow, when a Chinese adventurer, who had spent many years somewhere in the Archipelago, was thrown on shore with some dark natives, including his, probably Malay, wife, and who were sent on by the local authorities to the Shih-po in Ch'üan-chou, who was to provide them with a passage to their native country.

I could easily multiply the number of arguments which speak in favour of the identity of Ch'üan-chou with the Zaitun of Western authors. But I shall take it for granted that the prominence given by the Chinese authorities quoted to the connection of the Shih-po of Ch'üan-chou with the foreign ocean-trade, and the fact of our author's introducing his accounts of various countries by the words, "ships start at Ch'üan . . . ," etc., is quite enough to indicate Chao Ju-kua's connection with that city. I have dwelt at some length on this point, because it seems to throw more light on the probable origin of his work than any amount of detail regarding his personal history would have done. Of the latter I have only succeeded in tracing the following facts.

Chao Ju-kua was a member of the imperial family of the Sung dynasty, whose name was Chao; and Chao is the family name of all the members, whatever their titles may have been as emperors or princes. But while all the lineal descendants of the founder of the dynasty, the Emperor T'ai-tsu, had this common family name, the personal name, or ming, varied, of course, but was given to each new-born member according to fixed regulations, under which the ming is to consist of two characters, the first being common to all belonging to the same generation, while the second was peculiar to the individual bearing it. Thus the name Chao Ju-kua, as belonging to this family name system, may be interpreted to mean Kua of the Ju generation of the Chao family.
The Chinese have at all ages been very careful about their pedigrees. The family name (hsing) is a sacred institution; every respectable family has its ancestral hall; many well-to-do houses preserve the history of their pedigree in printed books, and look with a certain pride upon these records. The former Mixed Court Magistrate Huang in Shanghai once presented me with two volumes devoted entirely to the history of his ancestors. During the Mongol period numerous Chinese families abandoned their old names in exchange for Mongol names, but soon after his accession to the throne the Emperor Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, issued an edict by which Mongol names were forbidden to all except Mongols by blood. On the other hand, the family name of the ruling emperor was bestowed as a special honour to the representatives of powerful hordes having tendered their submission. Thus the chief of a Mo-ho tribe occupying the Djurdshen country, bounding the sea north of Corea, who had allowed his country to be incorporated into the empire under the name of Hei-shui-fu, was rewarded by his son being named Li Hsien-ch'êng in 722, Li being the family name of the T'ang emperors. As far as I can judge, however, such extensions of the Imperial House "by adoption," as it were, do not affect the pedigree, inasmuch as the genealogical tables compiled by the official historians after the close of a dynasty appear to contain none but the names of natural descendants. If I am not mistaken in this assumption, i.e. if the boon of bearing the emperor's family name has not been extended to the children of daughters and other relatives, the genealogical tables of the Imperial House of Chao, which occupy a series of, say, 400 years, and which are printed in twenty-seven chapters (Nos. 215 to 241) of the Sung-shih, constitute one of the most extensive family records ever published. The Emperor T'ai-tsu had four sons, two of whom left no progeny. The remaining two, Tê-chao and Tê-fang, stand at the apex of a large pyramid of descendants. The first part of the name of each male child born in the "House"
or fang, of which Tè-chao was the head, denoted the generation. The sequence of these generation names was as follows: Tè, Wei, Tsung, Shih, Ling, Tzü, Po, Shih, Hsi, Yü, Mèng, and Yu. It is this branch of the Chao family which produced the greatest painter of the Mongol period, Chao Mèng-fu, also known as Tzü-ang, who lived from 1254 to 1322, and who, from his personal name, Mèng-fu, may be seen to have belonged to the Mèng, or eleventh, generation after T'ai-tsu. Since the founder of the dynasty left the empire to his brother, who reigned under the name of T'ai-tsung, the latter became actually the ancestor of the greater part of the Sung emperors and their descendants. He had nine sons, each of whom stands at the head of a fang or "House," but the first part of the ming in each of these nine genealogical divisions is uniform for the several generations. These generation names follow each other thus: Yüan, Yün, Tsung, Chung, Shih, Pu, Shan, Ju, Chung, Pi, Liang, and Yu. Chao Ju-kua, whose name appears in the Genealogical Records, is therefore, a descendant of T'ai-tsung in the eighth generation. The name occurs twice in the Sung-shih, viz. once on p. 53 of chapter cexxxxi, and again on p. 23 of chapter cexxxii. I do not know whether there is any special reason for the "Catalogue of the Imperial Library" in two places (lxxi, p. 10, and cexxxv, p. 42) identifying the author of the Chu-fan-chih with the first mentioned, or if the bibliographer of the "Catalogue" was at all aware of the twofold occurrence of the name in the Sung-shih tables. The first name, however, has this point in its favour, that its bearer had a son who distinguished himself as an author. Taking it for granted that the "Catalogue," for reasons unknown to us, is right in its identification, Chao Ju-kua was a lineal descendant of the Prince of Shang, a younger brother of the Emperor Chên-tsung (A.D. 998 to 1023). He was the youngest of four brothers; his father, Shan-tai, was the son of Pu-jou, on whom posthumous rank as Kuang-lu-ta-fu had been bestowed. He, again, Ju-kua’s grandfather, was the son of a Prince of Chung-hu, a grandson of Prince Shang.
above mentioned. The Chao Ju-kua thus traced in T'oo-t'oo's
genealogical table had two sons, the younger of whom,
Chung-hsun, became the author of a small cyclopaedia, the
Chi-li (Wylie, Notes, etc., p. 148). Both Ju-kua's sons
had children, but his descendants do not reach beyond this,
the Pi generation. Apart from our author and his son,
I cannot trace any literary or political excellence among
his nearer relatives, but several Chaoa have become famous
as statesmen and politicians, their biographies being pre-
served in the Sung-shih, and the Imperial Catalogue contains
the names of a respectable number of authors, being members
of the family, who have created works bearing witness to
industry rather than to genius. The Chu-fan-chih is certainly
the most interesting to us.

The methodical arrangement prevailing in these Gene-
alogical Records, as in those of many other Chinese families
down to the present day, in connection with the vast
material furnished by T'o-t'o in his Sung-shih, gives us
an opportunity to compare notes as to the extent of a
generation in China. The late Chancellor of the University
of Tübingen, Dr. Rümelin, in his interesting study "On
the definition of the word and the duration of a generation"
(Reden und Aufsätze, Tübingen, 1875, pp. 285 seqq.), fixes
the average duration of a generation for Germany at
36 1/2 years, for England at 35 1/2, for France at 34 1/2; but
he adds that lower figures must be assumed for nations,
rich in children, where early marriages are customary, and
he quotes China as an instance. We have seen that the
Ju generation was the eighth after T'ai-tsung, who ascended
the throne in 976, being born in 939. If we give the
generation in China an average duration of, say, 31 years,
which would probably quite answer the learned statistician's
theories, the eighth generation should have been born about
1187. I have traced the biographies of some of Ju-kua's
cousins, and find that two of them took a degree in 1184,
and another died as late as 1261. From a statistical point
of view, therefore, the probabilities are that our author
flourished during the early part of the thirteenth century,
say between 1210 and 1240. This would certainly not contradict the generation theory, which is further illustrated by the painter Chao Mèng-fu, born in the year 1254, in the eleventh generation after T'ai-tsu (born in 917). In this instance the average duration of a generation amounts to 30½ years.¹

¹ It may be of interest to statisticians of human life to compare with this average the duration of life of a number of Chinese national celebrities, both political and literary. The biographies of China's great men are mostly contained in the twenty-four Dynastic Histories, but it is not in every case that the exact year of birth and death of a man is given; the former especially is usually omitted, perhaps rightly so. The year of his death is certainly more important in a man's career than that of his birth; for one man may be fifty years old before he does the chief work of his life, while another may do it at the age of twenty-five and then die. Chinese biographers, therefore, often merely tell us that "he died in such and such a year at the age of so much," or even let us infer the death year from some other fact, as if we were to say of Gustavus Adolphus, "he died in the battle of Lützen, thirty-eight years old," leaving it to the reader to calculate therefrom the years of his birth and death. It was not till the beginning of the present century that the desirability of being informed on the duration of life as described in the various sources of Chinese biographical literature resulted in practical labour. Ch'ien Ta-hsin, a native of Chia-ting-fu, took the trouble to calculate from the biographical records the duration of hundreds of lives from the Han dynasty down to his own time, the last death recorded in his list being one in A.D. 1796. His work was published in 1812 under the title I-nien-lu, and was followed by a supplement in 1814, written by a native of Chêkiang, the two works being embodied in the collection of reprints called Fuch-yu-chung-chung-shu. Though these dates will scarcely help us to determine the length of a generation in China, the results possess some interest to the life statistician, who may wish to compare the following averages with our Western experiences. An abstract from the Chinese work referred to shows that out of 748 individuals whose lifetime could be ascertained by means of their biographies, there died—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24-29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-97</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 (doubtful)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following special abstract, scanty though the material may be, will give us a clue as to the duration of life in China during ancient, as compared with modern times. It certainly does not confirm what Strabo reports of his Seres, if this name can at all be applied to the Chinese, viz. that they were a race
The Chao family, whose pedigree has been carried down to the end of the Sung dynasty, continued to flourish, though deprived of official influence, under the Mongols. We read in the Yüan-shih (xv, p. 25), under the year 1289, that its descendants then lived scattered about in the provinces south of the river, and that they were held in high esteem among the people. By this time there must have existed quite a little nation of Chao's. I have not counted the names appearing in the great Genealogical Table of the Sung-shih, which makes up six volumes out of a hundred of the Palace edition of 1739; but at a rough estimate I should say that the number of male individuals registered there as having descended from the first Sung emperor, who bore his name Chao, and were born during the Sung period, i.e. within less than four centuries, amounts to some thirty or forty thousand.

of extraordinary longevity, said to exceed two hundred years (cf. Yule, Cathay, xxxix, note 2).

There died—

(a) Out of 93 individuals born between the first century B.C. and the accession of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618)——

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 (doubtful)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Out of 336 individuals born since the accession of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368) up to the middle of the eighteenth century——

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-97</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must not be forgotten, when judging about these abstracts, that the lives to which they refer belong to men who made a mark among their countrymen, and that youthful deaths are, therefore, naturally excluded. On the other hand, many of the heroes of Chinese biography were generals who died in battle, or statesmen who lost their lives by punishment or crime.

Such as it is, Chao Ju-kua's work must be regarded as a most valuable source of information as regards the ethnography of the nations engaged in the sea-trade carried on by the Arabs in Oriental waters. His notes may be called second-hand information, inasmuch as he places on record the accounts made to him by Arabs, Persians, Indians, or other traders; but, taking this into consideration, we must admit that the percentage of clear and simple matter of fact we find in his work, as compared to the improbable and incredible admixtures which we are accustomed to encounter with all the Oriental authors of his time, gives him a prominent place among the mediaeval authors on the ethnography of their time.
ART. IV.—Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with reference to the Ain-i Akbari. By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. I.

BENGAL.

For upwards of twenty years the late Professor Blochmann's translation of Abul Fazl's monumental work, the Ain-i Akbari, has remained a splendid fragment, and students have longed in vain for its completion. It is, therefore, cause for congratulation that this has at length been effected. Colonel Jarrett's scholarly translation of the remainder of the work, which has recently appeared, is fully equal in accuracy, while it is superior in grace of language, to that of his predecessor. Only those who have laboured over the intricacies of Abul Fazl's detestable style, at one time turgid and overloaded with meaningless phrases, at another so curt and jejune as to be obscure, can fully appreciate the skill and learning which Colonel Jarrett has brought to bear on the supremely difficult task of rendering his author intelligible to European readers.

The translation, moreover, is illustrated by notes, which, if not so copious as Blochmann's, are sufficient—and more than sufficient—for all practical purposes. It is not given to everyone to possess such stores of learning as the late Professor Blochmann, who was as familiar with the Court and times of Akbar as we are with those of Victoria, and who, in fact, sometimes rather overdid his note-making, giving us treatises instead of notes. Colonel Jarrett's sense of proportion has led him to restrain his notes within reasonable limits, though he is rather unequal in this respect, some subjects being far more generously illustrated than
others. Of course there is good reason for this, some subjects being more abstruse and requiring more light thrown upon them than others. The only subject on which the translator can be charged with giving insufficient assistance is the geography; and this is peculiarly unfortunate, because perhaps the most practically useful and interesting portion of the work is the geographical account of the twelve Súbahs at p. 129 of vol. ii, and here the editor leaves us almost entirely without notices. The elucidation of this important section calls, it is true, for minute local knowledge, such as few men possess. No amount of scholarship is here of any use, for the text cannot be relied upon. The Persian character is notoriously the worst in the world for expressing words foreign to the Persian or Arabic languages. The omission of vowels and the fact that nearly half the letters are distinguished from each other merely by dots, which are always carelessly applied and often omitted altogether, introduces an amount of confusion which baffles the most acute student. It is only by knowing beforehand what word is meant that one can be sure of transliterating the original correctly, and this knowledge can only be obtained by careful local enquiry. Colonel Jarrett's authorities seem to be Tieffenbhaler, Gladwin, and the Gazetteer of India. But neither of the two former were sufficiently well acquainted with the interior of the country to be trustworthy guides for the spelling of places unknown to fame, and the numerous compilers of the last-named excellent publication were not in any way concerned with the Aín or its geography. No one, as far as I know, has worked out the details of all the twelve Súbahs, though several writers have published partial identifications, and have attempted more or less successfully to reconstruct some of them. The following may be mentioned as the principal, and, indeed, to the best of my belief, the only hitherto published sources of information.

1. Mr. "Serishtadar" Grant's "Analysis of the Finances of Bengal," being Appendix iv to the Fifth Report of the
Select Committee of Parliament on the Affairs of the East India Company. Mr. Grant was the official appointed to take over the revenue and financial accounts of the three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa when the Dewani was conferred on the Company, and had, therefore, exceptional opportunities of studying the details of the Moghul administration. His "Analysis," masterly in all respects but style, was written in 1786. It examines in minute detail, and sets forth in ponderous sentences half a page long, all the systems of revenue administration from the days of Raja Todar Mal down to his own time. It has long been known as a mine of the most accurate and valuable information on this very intricate subject, but it is, of course, useful for our present purpose only as regards the Súbahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Behar.

2. Sir H. M. Elliot's "Races of the North-western Provinces," vol. ii, p. 82 (my edition), gives a map and elaborate reconstruction of the Súbahs and parts of Súbahs which in his day (some fifty years ago) were included within the limits of the North-western Provinces. Sir H. Elliot's official position, his personal knowledge of the people and places concerned, and the copious assistance he was able to command from experienced officials of all classes, both European and native, render his statements in the highest degree reliable. Colonel Jarrett hardly seems to accord to them the confidence they deserve, as he appears to have adopted the spellings only when supported by MSS., though they are, in fact, far more likely to be correct than those of MSS., copied again and again, with a fresh crop of errors on every occasion.

3. The late Professor Blochmann's learned articles entitled "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)," in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Article I is in vol. xlii, p. 209 (1873), and contains, among other things, a description of the extent and position of all the Sarkárs included in the Súbah of Bengal. Article II is in vol. xliii (1874), p. 280, and Article III in vol. xlv (1875), p. 275.
4. Two articles by myself in the same Journal entitled "On the Geography of India in the reign of Akbar." Article I, containing a reconstruction of the Súbah of Oudh (Avadh), is in vol. liii (1884), p. 215. Article II, containing the Súbah of Behar, is in vol. liv (1885), p. 162. Each article is accompanied by a map.

5. There have also appeared in the same Journal during the last twenty years articles, too numerous to specify seriatim, identifying individual places. These, being mostly written by officers stationed on the spot, are worthy of the highest credit. Specially valuable are those by Messrs. Westmacott and Beveridge and Dr. Wise, of Dacca.

It is to be regretted that it did not enter into Colonel Jarrett's plan to consult the above-mentioned authorities, with the exception of Elliot, and it may, therefore, now be useful to note the corrections and alterations which should be made in the names of places as they stand in his translation by the light of these researches. I propose also to make use of a considerable mass of materials referring to Súbah Bengal collected by me in the course of my service in India, but not yet published; as well as two MSS. which I have obtained from the India Office Library, and which I shall quote as I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114. All the MSS. of the Ain, however, repeat the same mistakes so slavishly that very little assistance can be obtained from them. It will be convenient to begin with the lists for Bengal (see vol. i, p. 394 of Blochmann's Persian text and vol. ii, p. 129 of the translation).

1 The following abbreviations are used:—J. Colonel Jarrett's translation. S.M. (i.e. Survey Maps) the official maps of the several districts of Bengal made by the officers of the Revenue Survey. A. of I. the Atlas of India. G. Grant's Analysis. E. Sir H. Elliot's articles. Bl. Professor Blochmann's articles. Bea. my articles. Bea. MS. unpublished material in my possession. The numerals indicate for J. and G. the page of their works; for E. the page of vol. ii; for Bl. and Bea. the vol. and page of the J.A.S.B.
Súbah Bangálah (Bengal).

This, which is the largest of all the Súbahs, is also the most difficult to reconstruct. For this there are several reasons.

In the first place, at the time of Todar Mal's settlement the ancient kingdom of Bengal was not yet fully conquered. His lists must have been compiled from materials supplied by the local revenue authorities, which, though for a short time Governor of the Province, he had not sufficient means of controlling or verifying. They are, therefore, not worthy of the same confidence as those of the Súbahs actually under the Imperial Government. It will be seen further on that there is good reason to suspect serious mistakes in many instances: places mentioned twice over—parganahs placed in the wrong Sarkárs—mis-spellings of the most extraordinary nature—omissions, incorrect insertions, and careless misplacements of the dots which mark the Persian letters—whole tracts of country included in the Súbah, with their revenue duly noted, which had never been conquered by the Kings of Bengal, and paid no tribute to them.

Secondly, Todar Mal's settlement, such as it was, did not remain in force for many years. It is dated 1582, but was probably not completed till 1589. Fifty years later Sultán Shujá', son of Sháh Jahán, revised it, adding several newly-conquered territories. His settlement was completed in 1658 on the accession of Aurangzeb, and lasted for about sixty years. Then came a radical change. Nawáb Ja'far Khá'n in 1722 introduced a new division of the whole province into thirteen chaklas or circles, abolishing the old Sarkárs, and mixing up the various parganahs, dismembering and readjusting them, and increasing their number from 684 to 1,660. Thus a number of new names were introduced into the map, with a considerable reduction of the old ones.

This was the beginning of a series of changes, which lasted for another fifty years, till the country came under
British rule. Successive Nawábs tampered with the revenues, as well as with the boundaries of all the political divisions, in order to defraud the Imperial Government and fill their own pockets. They imposed numerous abwábs, or illegal cesses and exactions, and they created the immense Zamindáris or estates, which are so striking a feature in the Bengal of to-day. I am not, however, writing a history of the revenue administration of Bengal, and I therefore confine myself to this cursory notice, and refer those who wish to realize the extent of the confusion thus introduced into the geography of Bengal to Grant’s “Analysis,” where he will find it worked out in almost bewildering detail.

It may be asked if Todar Mal’s lists are open to the suspicion of inaccuracy at starting, and if his settlement remained in force so short a time, what is the use of laboriously striving to trace and locate in its proper place on the map each petty division of so transitory an arrangement? The answer is, that the materials which Todar Mal used must from the necessities of the case have been the ancient records of the Kingdom of Bengal. The Bengal officials who handed them to him would of course have been quite capable of altering the amounts of revenue due from each parganah if such a course had seemed advantageous to themselves, but they are not likely to have falsified to any great extent the names of those divisions. Very great carelessness and stupid blundering there have undoubtedly been in transcribing the lists, but there does not seem to have been deliberate falsification. The very uncouthness of many of the Hindu names—old Prákrit corruptions, most of them—is an argument for their genuineness, even when not still extant, and the Persian or Arabic names can, in most cases, be traced to kings or governors known to history. We have, therefore, in these lists the last surviving fragments of the mediæval geography of the province before peculating revenue officers and extortionate Nawábs tampered with it and manipulated it for their own base purposes. As we
SUBAH BANGÁLÁH

According to the
Ain-I-Akbari
A.D. 1582.

Scale lines = 40 miles.
become more and more acquainted with the early history of India, which in the present day is being gradually and painfully pieced together from inscriptions, copper-plate grants, and other recondite sources, by earnest students, we shall more and more appreciate the advantage of possessing in Todar Mal's lists information of a genuinely ancient and reliable character.

In the face, however, of all the confusion that was rampant in the revenue administration of the province during what I may call the "Nawábi period," A.D. 1722-1798, it is a matter of the very greatest difficulty to place on the map in their proper position all the mahals or parganahs of the Aín. The boundaries of all the nineteen Sarkárs can, indeed, be more or less accurately ascertained, and I have indicated on the map that accompanies these notes what I believe to be their real position. The Sarkárs on the western side of Bengal—Purniah, Audambar, Sharífábád, Sulaimánábád, Sátgáon, and Madáran—have suffered less than others; but when we come to Central Bengal the difficulty of identification becomes greater, and in three of the largest Sarkárs—Mahmúdábád, Ghorághát, and Sonárgáon—a great majority of the mahals have not been identified. Perhaps officers stationed in those parts of Bengal may by means of local enquiries be able to trace them. The maps give very little assistance. The following note, printed on many of the Revenue Survey District Maps, speaks for itself:—"In consequence of the great intermixture of pergunnahs in this district the areas of the separate or local fiscal divisions could not be recorded, nor their exact limits shown on this scale (1 inch=4 miles). For such information the lithographed maps published on the scale of one British mile to the inch must be consulted." If one consults these latter, the detached villages of the parganahs are found to be jumbled together in such confusion that it would be impossible to show them on any map of reasonable dimensions. Besides which the mahals of the Aín have in a great number of cases been taken up and amalgamated into
the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period; the old names have given place to new ones. Every successive Nawáb, and many of their officials, as well as the greater landholders, took a pleasure in "calling the lands after his own name."

Blochmann’s articles mentioned above are a mine of information, and, in addition to the articles by other writers, there is a mass of casual notes buried in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which I have occasionally referred. My own notes have also been incorporated, together with such readings of the MSS. as throw light on the subject.

The arrangement of the Sarkárs in the Aín is neither alphabetical nor geographical. It will be more convenient to follow a geographical order, taking first the better preserved Western Sarkárs from north to south, then those of Central, and lastly those of Eastern Bengal, in the same order, thus:

7. Tájpur.

SARKÁR PURNIAH.

This Sarkár comprised only the central portion of the present district of the same name (not "the greater and chiefly westerly," as stated by Bl. xlii, 215). Parganah Dharmpur—a long strip on the west and south—belonged to Súbah Bihár; another long strip on the south was divided between Sarkárs Auḍambar, Lakhnautí, and Tájpur; all the lands east of the Mahánandá river (often, but erroneously, called Mahánadi) were in Tájpur; and the northern part of the district was as yet unconquered. It is therefore impossible to define precisely the northern limit. The
limits of Muhammadan power towards the submontane
country of northern Bengal in the reign of Akbar, and
for long afterwards, were very uncertain and variable.
For a long time the fort of Jalálgarh, only some ten miles
north-east of the town of Purnia on the old bed of the
Kosi river, was the frontier, and beyond were wild tribes—
Kichak, Mech, Kochh, and the like. See Bl. xli, 49 for an
account of the expansion of Moghul power towards the
north and east of Bengal.

Of the nine mahals in this Sarkár, one is rather a tax
than an item of land revenue. It represents duties levied
on the capture of wild elephants, which were common in
the sub-Himalayan forests of the Morang. J. omits to
translate the word हर्य in this entry, and Bl. seems not
to understand it, for he gives several impossible variants.
It is a mistake for अर्ना anna, Hindi चराशा āraśa ‘a wild buffalo.’
The MS. I.O. 6 has correctly अर्ना. The word is also used
for wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and other large game.
It is the Sanskrit चारश्यक from चारश्यa ‘forest.’ These
duties existed till quite lately, for in 1862–6 a large
estate was held revenue-free in the parganah of Sultánpur
by Mir Muhammad Kásim and his brother Háji Muhammad
Taki on the tenure of maintaining an establishment for
the capture of wild elephants. There was a lawsuit about
this tenure, but, as I left the district before it was decided,
I cannot say how it ended. I believe, however, that the
tenure has been resumed.

The remaining eight mahals are, with one exception, still
in existence under their old names, and are shown in S.M.
and Atlas of India. Jairámpur no longer exists; it has,
in all probability, been absorbed into Haveli.1 It had

1 In a note on p. 168 J. comments on an explanation of this term given by
me in a note on p. 83, vol. ii, of Elliot in these words: “Mr. Beamish in
a note... distinguishes between Haveli and Buldah, the former alluding to
the district close to the capital and the latter to that at a distance. It would
have been more satisfactory if he had determined the limits of the distance.”
The “limits” of a parganah, if by this is meant its extent, are as hard to
define as those of an English county. Rutland contains 148 square miles,
Yorkshire over 6000. So the Haveli parganah of Purnia is some fifty miles
disappeared before 1722, and in the subsequent Nawabí changes the name does not occur, nor could the revenue officials of the district trace it for me in 1885. Dolmálpur lies about twenty miles north-east of Purniah town, and has been incorporated into Sripur. Sripur-Dolmálpur was the name of the whole district during most of the Nawábí period. Asunjá, or Asúnjá, is now pronounced Asjah and Kadhán is known as Kadbah.

**Sarkár Audambár, alias Tándá.**

Stretches from the southern boundary of the preceding Sarkár, southwards across the Ganges, all along the right bank of that river down to the city of Murshidabad on the one hand, and through nearly the whole of the Birbhum district on the other. How far it may have penetrated into the hilly country on the west it is impossible to determine, but probably some, at least, of the parganahs, now no longer traceable, represent territory claimed and assessed (on paper) in these hills, though not actually conquered (Bl. xliti, 222; Bea. liv, 164-9).

Udner, J., p. 129. This reading is apparently based on Tieffenthaler, who, however, probably wrote down the word from the dictation of an up-country munshi, who knew as little about Bengal as he did himself. Bl. also, by a printer’s mistake, has اودنیب at p. 394 of the Persian text, but in the list of *errata* at p. 3 he gives the correct spelling اودنیب. The mistake is easily caused by putting two dots long by twenty broad, while that of Khálifatábáb is less than two square miles. The fact seems to be that the parganah in which the capital of each Sarkár lay, no matter how large it might be, was called the Haveli parganah (the ‘home county’ we might say; G. calls it the ‘household county’), because its revenues were devoted to the maintenance of the household (haveli) and establishments of the governor. When the revenue of only a portion of the parganah was so applied, that portion was called haveli, and the other portion, whose revenues were paid into the public treasury, was called ‘baldah,’ or country. This, at any rate, appears to be the original meaning of the terms, though, of course, during the changes and confusion of the Nawabí period the real meaning was often lost sight of.
under the last letter but one, instead of one, thus changing ए into ए. Bl. throughout his articles writes Audambar; so also does Gladwin; and G. writes everywhere "Oudember" or "Audimber." I have always heard the word pronounced Audambar, or Adambar, by the native revenue officials and landed proprietors in the Birbhum district. It is said to be derived from Sanskrit चौंम्बर from चौंम्बर, a species of fig-tree (Ficus glomerata), which may or may not be the case. MS. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have اودنیز वودنیز without dots respectively, which, though wrong, shows that the writers heard the sound audh oravadh in the first syllable, and erroneously connected it with the Sūbah of Audh, or Avadh (Oudh).

Ak maḥal. Should be Ağ mahal, the old name of Rájmahal, a famous ancient city, once the capital of Bengal, and still a flourishing place (Bl. xlii, 217). The parganah of Rájmahal was in the Nawábi period absorbed into the immense estate of Kánkjol: vide infra. Under the name Akbarnagar it was the capital of one of Ja'far Khán's chaklas (G. 254). In all the MSS. ك is everywhere written for گ. I.O. 6 sometimes writes چ for گ.

Achalá. I have not been able to find these two. Darsanpára. I.O. 6 has احلا دارس پوری.


Ibrahimpur. Now Jowás Ibrahimpur in Birbhum. The name occurs over again in Sarkár Sharífabad.

Ajial gháti. G. "Ujiál kahly," 374, i.e. Ujiyál kháli. Not in the maps. The word ujiyál, which occurs so often in names of parganahs, means, I believe, 'high land,' and should be written with initial ʊ, not a.
Angáchhi. G. 374, Angáchhi, and so in all MSS. It is not in S.M. or other maps.
Barhgangal. Should be Burh——. It is now known as Budhígangal, and is a small parganah in the south of Purniah.
Bhatál. Should be Buitál or Bahtál in Birbhum.
Bahádurpur. In S.M. a little south of Rajmahal.
Bahráí. G. 378, Baheerai. Situation not known to me.
I.O. 6 بابر رای.
Phulwári, Bahádursháhi, Tájpur, Ta'alluk Barbhákár. These four are not traceable.
Tánda bá haveli. Has been washed away by the Ganges. The extant parganah of Ambar may possibly represent the word Aújambar, but this is doubtful (Beveridge, J.A.S.B. Proc., Jan. 1893).
Tanáuli. This name has several variants in the Persian text. I suppose the correct reading to be خیتالی. The parganah of that name (Chetowleah in S.M. and A. of I.) is close to Rajmahal.
Júnaháti. Should be Chúnakbáli, the parganah in which the city of Murshidabad is situated. Not in S.M. or A. of I.
Chándpúr. A large parganah in the north of Murshidabad.
Nasíbí. There are many variants, and a word beginning with n is not in its proper alphabetical order here. Bl. text reads جیفیئی Jifatí, and other readings are بکیئی and بکنی Pafasi. I think the name meant is جمنی Jumní, a small parganah at the bend of the Ganges north of Rajmahal. جیفیئی جمنی written without dots is very like جمنی, especially if, as often happens in Shikastah writing, the tail of the wāw were accidentally carried on to the next letter. I.O. 6 has ینسی and I.O. 1114 ینسی !
Hájipur. Absorbed in parganah Gankar. The village is near Suti in North Murshidabad.
Husainabad, about eleven miles east of English Bazar. Bl. xliii, 293.

Khánpur, Sulaimánsháhi, Sulaimánabad. Not found, and the last two probably entered by mistake. They really belong to Sarkárs Sharífábád and Sulai-
mánábád.


Daudsháhi. Not in S.M., but mentioned in G. and Beveridge.

Dugáchhi. Absorbed into Gankar; the village is a little south of Kánkjol.

Rámpúr. G. 380. Perhaps Rámpur Hát, but the name is almost too common for identification.

Rúbaspúr. This name is written with many variants. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have both روپس پور. It is probably the Rasúlpúr of G. 375, but I do not know where it is situated.


Sultánpur Ujiyál. Sultánpur. In G. 375, but not otherwise traceable.

Sambalá. This name is written with many variants, and I can trace no parganah corresponding to any of them.

Shersháhi. On the left bank of the Ganges, south of Maldah. S.M.

Shamskháni. In North-east Murshidabad. S.M.

Sherpur. There are hundreds of places so named. This one is probably the village in the north of Gankar. There does not seem to be any parganah of this name still extant.

Firozpur. In G. 375; not otherwise traceable.

Kunwar Partáb. Still extant; a large parganah in North Birbhum. Beveridge suggests, with much probability, that the name refers to Pratáp Singh, nephew of the celebrated Raja Mán Singh.
Kanakjok. Should be Kánkjol. The old town of this name lies near the East Indian Railway, about twenty miles south of Rajmahal. The parganah has been immensely extended in the Nawábi period, swallowing up not only Rajmahal but many other parganahs. It now stretches from the south of Purniah, down both sides of the Ganges, into the Rajshahye district, with many scattered portions in other districts. In Ja'far Khán's settlement it gave name to one of the largest estates in Bengal. G. 322, 441, et passim.

Káthgarh, Káshipur, Kachlá, Kafurdíá. Not traceable. Not in S.M.

Gankarah. Now Gankar. A very large parganah in North Murshidabad, which has apparently absorbed many smaller ones.

Mudesar. Should be Molesar. In Central Birbhum. Bl. xlii, 223. The original name is Sansk. Mayúreshvara. There is a temple of that name still in the village of Molesar or Moresar, on the banks of the river Mor (Sansk. Mayúra).

Mangalpur. So in Bl. text, but I suspect the real name was Mándalpur, now pronounced Mrálpur, and by the East Indian Railway officials metamorphosed into Mollarpur, in which guise it figures as the name of a railway station in Central Birbhum.

Nasibpur. This parganah has been absorbed by Chándpur. The village lies about twenty miles north of Murshidabad.

SARKÁR SHARÍFÁBÁD.

This Sarkár extends from a point close to the northern end of the Birbhúm district to the southern boundary of that of Bardwán, embracing portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Birbhúm, and Bardwán. With one or two exceptions all the mahals in this Sarkár are still extant or identifiable.
Bardwán. The well-known parganah and town, headquarters of a Commissioner's Division, a district, and one of the largest Zamindári estates in Bengal.

Bharor. Should be Bahrol. It is partly in Murshidabad and partly in Birbhúm.


Bharkonda. Should be Bharkúndah, in Birbhúm (Bl. xlii, 223). Apparently very much shrunk from its former extent.

Akbarsháhi. Adjacent to the last named.

Bághá. On the Damodar river, south-west of Bardwán town.

Bhatsela. G. writes Bhút Salah, 379, 380, 384. The name is Bhatsálá (Bea. MS.). It has been subjected to mudákhill wa mukhárij, and is now scattered in several places, principally in Murshidabad district.

Janki. No place of this name is known; it is probable that Jánkibáti, about fifteen miles south-east of Bardwan, is meant. It is now included in the parganah of Chuṭipur, in Sarkár Sulaimanabad (Bea. MS.).

Khot Makand. Should be Jot Mukund. This is also a scattered parganah, chiefly south of the Damodar river (Bea. MS.).

Dhaniyán. Now Dháiyán, or Dháinyán. In Hindi characters धाईयां or धाईयां. North-east of Bardwan.

Sulaimansháhi. Now called Salímsáhi. In Bardwán and Birbhúm.

Soniyá. Should be Sotiya. No parganah of that name now exists, having apparently been dismembered during the Nawábi changes, but the village is still in existence near Khandghosh (Bea. MS.).

Suburban district of Sherpur Atái. The Haveli parganah of Sherpur is about twenty miles west of Murshidabad town, but in the Birbhúm district (Bl. xlii, 218).

1 The information thus marked consists of the report of an enquiry made at my request by the Sarishtadar and Record Keeper of the Bardwan Collectorate in 1885.
Uzmatpur. Should be 'Azmatsháhi. A very large parganah occupying the centre of the Bardwán district.

Fath Singh. A large parganah in the south of Birbhúm.

Husayn Ajíyál. Should be Újíyál, in Birbhúm. Shown in S.M. and A. of I. under the local corruption Zainujal or Zynoojal.

Kargaon. Should be Khargáon. It is in East Birbhúm, immediately south of Haveli Sherpur.

Kiratpúr. Should be Karatpúr. The village is near Ganguria, south-east of Bardwan. The parganah has been absorbed (Bea. MS.).

Khand. Now called Khand Ghosh. It lies south of the Damodar river, opposite Bardwan. S.M.

Khanga. I.O. 6 reads Khatangá, which is correct. G. 408. There are two places of this name. One is now included in Manoharsháhi. The village is near Keogáon, or, as the present Sanskritizing generation of Bengalis persist in calling it, Ketugráma, in the north-east corner of Bardwan (Bea. MS.). The other is on the western frontier of Birbhum.

Kodlá. Now included in parganah Jahangirabad, East Bardwan (Bea. MS.).

Mahland. A large parganah on the west side of the Bhágirathi, opposite the towns of Murshidabad and Berhampur. S.M.

Manoharsháhi. A large parganah on the northern bank of the Ajay river, partly in Bardwan, partly in Birbhum. S.M.

Muzaffarsháhi. This large parganah has been much dismembered. The 150 mauzahs which it contains are scattered all over the central and eastern parts of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).

Nasak. Should be Nisank or Nishank. It is scattered over the south of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).

Natrán, or Nabrán, or Hattrán. Not traceable. Both the I.O. MSS. have نتران.
SARKĀR SULAIMĀNĀBĀD.

This is a somewhat scattered and ill-arranged Sarkār. The bulk of it lies in the southern part of the Bardwan and the northern part of the Hughli districts. But a large portion lies to the east of the Hughli river in the Nadia district, and it is much mixed up with the Sarkārs of Sātgáon (which it cuts in two) and Madāran. Nearly all of the mahals which it contains are still traceable, and the others can be located conjecturally. The name, as far as it has been preserved, has been generally shortened to Salimābād, either, as Bl. suggests, because it was too long, or in honour of Prince Salīm, afterwards the Emperor Jahangīr.

Indarāín. Should be Indráín. It is in the north-east corner of Bardwan.

Ismā'īlpur. Now included in the modern parganah of Jahangirābad (Bea. MS.).

Anliya. Should be Ambiyā; انیا, as in I.O. 1114, not انیا. It is now Sanskritized into Ambiká, and is situated near Kalna in South-east Bardwan. It is also locally pronounced Ambowá.

Basandhari. Should be Basundhari. It is now included in parganah Baliá in Central Hughli. G. 478, where it is called “Bellia Bassenderi.”

U'lá. The village of this name is now known as Birnagar. The parganah is now called Mánjoáni. It is in the Nadia district. S.M. and A. of I.

Bhosat. Should be Bhursut, a large parganah in Central Hughli. S.M. and A. of I.

Pandwah. Should be Panduah, in Hughli, a well-known town, with ancient tower and other ruins, also a large railway station. S.M. and A. of I.

Pachnor. Now written Pánchnúr, a parganah in West Nadiya.

Bālibhangá. Should be Bālidhangá. There are at least five places of this name in the Nadiya district alone, and
I know not how many in other parts of Bengal. Which of all of them is meant here, is not certain. Both the I.O. MSS. have باالي دهنگا.

Chhotipur. A parganah in South Bardwan.

Chúmhá. Should be Chaumúhá, west of Pandúah in Hughli.

Jaipúr. A small parganah in Central Nadiya.

Husaynpur. Probably a portion of the parganah now known as Husaynpur-Kalarúá, the remainder of which belonged to Sarkár Sátgáon. It is in the Nadia district.

Dhársá. In Hughli. The well-known town of Serampoor is in it.

Rácsát. Probably Ráíná, now in Haveli Sulaimánábád.

Suburban district of Sulaimánábád. Now called Haveli Salimábád, the name having been shortened as stated above. The town of Salimábád is on the left bank of the Dámodar, about twenty miles below Bardwan; at the point where the Káná nadi takes off.


Sahspur. There are several places named Sáhaspur; I do not know which is here meant. There is no parganah of that name, as far as I know.

Sanghauli. Should be Singhcoli, now spelt Singúr. It is a small parganah in Central Hughli.

Sultanpur. In Central Nadiya.

Amarpur. In Central Nadiya.

Alampur. In Central Nadiya.

Kabázpúr. Should be Kubázpúr. In Eastern Bardwan. The seventy villages comprised in this parganah are scattered all along the right bank of the Hughli river above and below the town of Púrbosthalf (Bea. MS.).

Gobinda (Kosada). The name is Kosda. It is a parganah in Central Nadiya.

Muhammadpur. Now absorbed into parganah Ársá of Sarkár Sátgáon. Under the name of Muhammad Aminpur it was a large zamindári in the Nawábi period (G. 457).
Molghar. Should be Múlghar, a parganah in Central Nadiya.

Nagín. No place of this name is known to my local informants, but they are probably right in suggesting that the place meant is the large village of Nigun, or Nigun Saráí, twenty-two miles north-west of Bardwan town. There is no parganah of the name; it has, apparently, been absorbed into parganah Dhaiyán of Sarkár Sharífabad. (Bea. MS.)

Náirá. No place of this name is known. In spite of its being against the alphabetical order, I am convinced that the place meant is Báirá, a parganah in North Hughli adjacent to the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár. Báirá, though a very ancient place, is not mentioned in the Aín, unless this is it, and the parganah remains otherwise unaccounted for. Instances of places put out of their proper order are not infrequent in these lists. We shall come to several others further on.

Nasang. Should be Nisank. It has been already mentioned under Sharífábad: see above. Perhaps part of the parganah was in one Sarkár and part in the other. Instances of this kind are not uncommon. But as there are only seven mauzas in the parganah this is improbable, and I incline to think that this is another instance of repetition, a common fault in these lists.

Nabía. Probably Nalahi is meant, a small parganah some fifteen miles east of Bardwan. The Mymaree railway station is in it. If the name was originally Nalahá, نلیا, it might easily be corrupted into نیا or نیا. I.O. 6 has the former reading, while I.O. 1114 has نیا or نیا, Nabá or Baná—the dots are so placed that it may be read either way. The dots are very loosely placed throughout this MS., and frequently omitted altogether.
SARKÁR SÁTGÁON.

The parganahs in this Sarkár have retained their ancient names and positions, with very few exceptions, unchanged to the present day. The Sarkár, which is cut up into two portions by mahals belonging to Sarkár Sulaimánábád, lay principally on the east of the Hughli river in the modern districts of the Twenty-four Parganahs and Nadia. The town of Sátgáon itself, however, was on the west side of the river, and there are several parganahs on that side also. The once celebrated town and port of Sátgáon has now almost disappeared. Only a few insignificant ruins mark its position. For a description of it see Bl. xxxix, 280. As so many of the old parganahs are still extant and shown on the S.M. and Atlas of India, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to those maps.

The following will be found in the district of the Twenty-four Parganahs on the east or left bank of the Hughli, above, below, and eastward of the city of Calcutta. I give J.‘s spelling, with the correct form where necessary in brackets.

Anwarpúr, Bodhan (Búḏhan), Bálindá ( Bálanda), Bállya, Phalká (Bháluká), Baridhati, Suburban district (Haveli Shahr, nowadays generally corrupted into Halishahr: Bl. xlii, 216, note †), Dhaliyápur (Dhúliápur), Calcutta, Khárar (Khári), Magorá (Magurá), Medni mal, Mundgááchhá (Mundágáchhí or Murágachhí), Mahihatti (on the maps Myehatty), Helki (Hilki).

The following are in the district of Nadiya, adjacent to the Twenty-four Parganahs on the north:—

Ukrä, Bagwán, Bangábári (Patkábári), Husaynpur, Kalárúá, Matiyári, Nadiyá, Sátanpúr (Sántipur). The two last are large, well-known towns; the parganahs have now been absorbed into Ukra, of which they constitute tarafá or subdivisions.
The following are in the district of Hughli, on the right or western bank of the river, opposite to the Twenty-four Parganahs:

Arsá, Panwán (in the maps Pownan) Salímpur, Purah (Boroh), Balía (a part of this parganah is in Hughli and two other parts in the Twenty-four Parganahs), Muzaffarpur, Háthikandhá.

For the remaining parganahs some explanations are necessary:

Arsá and Tawáli Sátgáon. Arsá is the parganah in which are situated the towns of Hughli and Chinsurah. The town of Sátgáon was at Tribeni Ghát, about six miles north of Hughli. توابی means ‘extremities,’ ‘remainders.’ It will be observed that the greater part of the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár is on the opposite side of the river. Apparently those small portions of it which lay on the western side are here indicated by the term tawáli, in the sense of ‘remaining portion’ or ‘the rest of—’.

Banwá, Kotwálí, and Farásatghar. These three items do not appear to be territorial divisions, but represent taxes levied on various quarters of the town of Sátgáon. The term “Kotwálí” or Police Station either meant fines levied in criminal cases, or more probably rents of the quarter of the town where the Kotwálí was situated. Farásatghar I should be disposed to read Farásighar, and interpret it as the town now called Chandernagore, occupied by European traders. Farásí (i.e. Français) was the old name in Bengali for the French, while Firangi denoted the Portuguese. Banwá is probably a mistake for Bandar, the port of Sátgáon. بندار would easily be miscopied بنا in Persian current hand.

Akbarpur has been absorbed into the large parganah of Sháh Ujiyál in Nadia.
Barmhattar should be Brahmuttar, more correctly Brahmuttara, rent-free lands assigned to Brahmins, scattered in small patches over the country.

Mánikhatti is probably Páigháti in the Twenty-four Parganahs, for دانک‌هئن پایگان‌تی. In both I.O. MSS. the reading is دانک without dots.

Belgáon. Now dismembered and scattered in Bagwán and Plassí parganahs in Nadia.

Tortariya. No place of this name can be found; my local informants suggest with some probability that the place meant is Táráğúnía, now dismembered, in the northern portion of parganahs Rájpúr and Sháh Ujiyál of Nadia district (Bea. MS.).

Hájipúr and Bárbakpúr or Bárikpúr. Not found; both names are extremely common.

Ránihát is a large parganah in the south of the Bardwan district.

Sadgháti has been absorbed into parganah Mahatpur of Nadia (Bea. MS.).

Sakota. Should be Sigúná. G. 432. I.O. 6 has distinctly سکونا and I.O. 1114 سکونا. Its position is not indicated.

Srirájpur. Should be Sarafrázpúr in Twenty-four Parganahs.

Sair dues from Bandarbán and Mandavi. For Bandarbán I would read bandarífán—rents levied from the bandaris or persons frequenting the port (bandar); and mandavi, I think, indicates the temporary booths erected during the dry season on the sandy bed of the river for trading purposes, and removed when the river rises in the rains. It is from मङ्डी ‘a market.’

Sákhát. Probably to be read शाखा ‘vegetable market,’ or as it would be in Bengali, šáka háṭ. I.O. 6 has صالح کات, the ل probably repeated by mistake from the next word.

Kátsál. Properly Káthsál, or warehouse for storing timber. In my notes I find it stated that it was on the
Jabuna river, in parganah Māhīhatti in Twenty-four Parganahs. It was, therefore, probably a station for taking toll on timber brought from the Sundarban forests.

Fathpur. Not traceable.

Kandaliá. Properly Kundaliá. Part of this mahal is in Sarkár Mahmúdabád. It is in Nadiya district.

Haiyágārh. Should be Hathiágārh, as pointed out by Bl. in a note to the Persian text. It lies in two parts, south of Calcutta, on the edge of the Sundarbans.

Sarkár Madáran.

A very long straggling strip of territory running from Birbhum in the north to the junction of the Hughli and Rúpnaráyan rivers in the south. As G. quaintly but truly expresses it, “forming a broken frontier on the west of the two last-mentioned circars (Sharifabad and Salímabad), and enclosing them in a semicircle from Beerbhoom to Mundleghat . . . . . serving them as a barrier against the incursions of the neighbouring unsubdued Rajahs, sheltered in the jungles of Pachet and Bishenpoor or the low marshy lands of Hidgellee” (p. 242).

All but three of the mahals are still identifiable, and shown on the ordinary maps.

Anhatti. May perhaps be Hatia in the Bankura district south of the Damodar, but this is not certain, though rendered probable by the fact that it is written ان دئی as two words in both I.O. MSS. These words mean ‘corn market.’

Bálgarhi. Now pronounced Báligarhiá; in Central Hughli. Birbhúm. A parganah in the district of the same name, once much more extensive than now.

Bhawálbhum. My informants agree with me in holding that this is a mistake for Gwálbhum. The parganah of that name, now Sanskritized into Gopbhum= ‘cowherd land,’ is in Western Bardwan (Bea. MS.).
No trace can be found of there having ever been a parganah named Bhawálbhum in this neighbourhood. G. 478 also calls it 'Gowalbhúm.' G has been mistaken for B by omission of the markaz, a common error in all MSS.

Chatwa. Should be Chituá, in Midnapur, near Ghattál.

Champánagarí. In Bardwan, a short distance west from Bardwan town.

Suburban district of Madáran. Haveli Madáran, or, as the country people round about call it, Mandáran, lies near Gogháti, five miles west of the Darkešar river. It was a large fortified place, and the ruins of the fortifications still exist. The place is now known as Bhítargarh Mandáran, or "Inner Fort," and the local pandits derive the name from Sanskrit मन्द्र 'bad' and बाँस 'forest.' That the whole of that country-side was anciently and down to comparatively modern times a very evil forest—the wide-stretching legendary forest country of the Jhárkhánd, where the Kali Yuga first began, and where mlechhas and wild beasts abounded—is undoubted. So the pandits may be right. See Bl. xlii, 223, and his identification of Madáran with Bhítargarh in Proc. A.S.B., April 1870. The parganah is no longer called Haveli, but Jahánabad. Bl. gives some of the legends of this strange, haunted, interesting neighbourhood, but a complete collection of them would fill a book.

Sainbhüm. Now Senbhüm. It lies on both sides of the Ajai river, partly in Bardwan and partly in Birbhüm. The southern portion is now called Senpahári.

Samar Sánhas. Should be Samarsháhi. It is in the south of Bardwan, across the Damodar, opposite Bardwan town.

Shergarh, commonly called Sakharbhum. Should be Sikharbhum, i.e. शिखरभूमि—'peak-land,' a name the appropriateness of which must strike anyone who
has seen the numerous peaked hill-tops of Pachet from Raniganj or Asansol. It is an immense parganah, occupying the whole western angle of Bardwan between the Damodar and Ajai rivers—a land of coal-mines.

Sháhpúr. A detached parganah lying in the middle of the Midnapur district.

Két. Should be Kait, or, as it is now pronounced, Kaití. It is now absorbed in Samarsháhi.

Mandalghát. A very large parganah forming the extreme south angle of the Hughli district, and occupying all the tongue of land between the Hughli and Rúpnaráyan rivers, together with some lands on the western or Midnapur side of the latter river.

Nagor. The extensive ruins of the fortifications at this place on the western frontier of Birkhun show that it was once a place of great importance. It is the Lakhnor, i.e. Nagar Lakhnor, of the Muhammadan historians. Bl. xlii, 211, 212.

Minábák. Probably Mainapúr in East Bankura.

Hisuli. The variant Misduli suggests that this may be Maisadal in Midnapur, which lies only a little way from the western boundary of Mandalghát.

**Sákkár Tájpúr.**

This is a large but compact territory, stretching eastwards from the Mahananda river nearly to the Purnobhába. It includes all eastern Purnia and the western half of Dinájpur. The boundary to the north ran up into the sub-Himalayan forests, and is not susceptible of accurate definition. Probably several of the northern mahals, such as Surjápur, Dehéta, and Sálbári, were only partly under Muhammadan sway at the date of the Xín. Of the twenty-nine mahals one is the Zakát or Poor-tax, leaving twenty-eight territorial areas.

Bankáṭ. There is no trace of any mahal of this name, and as the revenue of this one mahal is more than half
that of the whole Sarkár, so large an area can hardly have disappeared without leaving any trace. The name, however, apparently gives a clue. Bankaṭ means 'forest clearing,' and evidently points to the great forests of the Taráí which covered so much of the northern part of this Sarkár. In the present day this area is comprised in a very large parganah called Sálbári, or 'Sál-wood tract,' and G. 405 states that Sálbári was in Tájpur. As no such name occurs in the Ain, nor in G., it is reasonable to suppose that Bankaṭ and Sálbári are identical.

Badokhar. Should be Badoghur.¹ This must, I think, be meant for the extensive parganah now known as Bador or Badaur. The present name is probably shortened from Badohar, a transitional form of Badoghur. It lies along the eastern side of the Mahánándá in Purniah. In its wide circuit are contained numerous detached portions of other parganahs.

Bandol. G. 410. It is absorbed in Haveli Tájpur.

Bobará. Probably Bhúpará in the north-west corner of Bador.

Bhoñhará. Absorbed partly in Hatinda, partly in Dhanjar (Sarkár Lakhnauti), and partly in Bador. Scraps of Hatinda also lie within Bador, and bits of Bador in Hatinda, while lands of both are found in Kadba and Asjah (Sarkár Purniah)! It is spelt Bhooihirá in the parganah map of Dhanjar.

Badgáon. There are hundreds of villages of this name in Bengal. There is not, as far as I know, any parganah of that name now extant. It is not in G.'s lists.

Básigáon. Absorbed in Hatinda (Bea. MS.).

Pangáon. Should be Bangáon. A dismembered parganah scattered over various parts of the Sarkár.

Bahádurpur. In Hatinda.

¹ Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Purniah Collectorate. I was also myself Collector of Purniah for four years, and have, therefore, personal knowledge of this neighbourhood.
Bahánagar. Should be Bhángar, now in Akbarpúr parganah in Maldah (Bea. MS.).

Badalká. Probably Badál in parganah Báisházarí in Maldah. Táldwár. In spite of its place in the alphabetical order, there is little doubt that Máldwár is meant. This is a large and well-known parganah on the west border of Dinajpur. No place named Taldwar is traceable.

Chhápartál. Now known as Jhápartoil and so spelt in S.M. and A. of I. It is in Central Dinajpúr. I.O. 6 has جِبَرِ.

Suburban district and town of Tájpúr. There is not, as far as I know, any town of this name now, though it is shown on the old maps. It is not in S.M. or A. of I. The parganah is still extant on the west border of Dinajpúr, adjacent to Máldwár on the south.

Diláwarpúr. In the south-west corner of Dinajpúr.

Dabhat. Should be Deháttá or Debbatta, a parganah in the north-west of Dinájpúr. Bl. gives the variant Dehat in a note on the Persian text.

Sesahrá. Probably Susieńa, now included in Haveli Tajpur.

Sújápur. Should be Surjápúr, the large parganah about sixty miles long which occupies the north-east corner of the modern district of Purniah. Probably the greater part of it was unconquered in the reign of Akbar.

Sháhpúr. A small parganah about ten miles north of the town of Purniah, separated from the rest of the Sarkár.

Kuwárpur. Now called Kumáripur (which is the same thing), in the south of Purniah, forming a small projecting strip between Sarkárs Purniah and Audambar.

Kasárgaon, Gopālnagar, Nilnagar, Nilún, Yúsuf. I have not been able to identify these. I.O. 6 has for Nilún نِبلن with vowel points, reading Niblaun or Niblon. Both MSS. have Yúsufpúr.

Goghra. Absorbed in Hatinda.

Mahon. Should be Mahásán. It is mixed up with Haveli Tájpúr.
SARKĀR LAKHNAUTI.

Also known as Jannatabad, but this title, said to have been conferred by the Emperor Humāyun, is only used in official documents, and does not seem to have come into common use among the people.

This Sarkār is divided into six subdivisions entitled Jawārs. The word jawār means originally 'neighbourhood,' and J. has therefore translated it 'neighbouring villages of.' But this translation is misleading, for the mahals in each Jawār are, as a matter of fact, by no means 'neighbouring,' being often widely scattered, and the term used obscures the fact that we have here official divisions of territory, each with its Haveli. It is somewhat surprising that so many mahals should be included in so small an area; but, in the first place, many of the entries refer not to territorial areas, but to taxes on markets, customs, transport duties, and the like; and in the second place an unusually large number of mahals belonging to this Sarkār are scattered amongst the lands of adjacent Sarkārs. Identification is peculiarly difficult owing to the creation of the large estate of Raknpūr, which has absorbed many of the smaller estates, and to the devastations caused by the Ganges, which has washed away large tracts of land. The old names have in many cases perished with the places to which they belonged, and new towns and villages with new names have arisen in their stead. One searches the S.M. and A. of I., and even the parganah maps on the large scale of 1 inch=1 mile, in vain for these ancient names. It is only from old inhabitants who have preserved the traditions of the sites of these lost towns and estates that one can sometimes obtain a trace or a clue.

"Jannatabad, commonly known as Gaur. It has been a brick fort."—J. Dārad means 'it has,' not 'it has been.' The fort is still there, though in ruins. I translate Jawār by 'circle.'
Circle of Agra.

Ajor. Now usually written Ajhor. An extant parganah in North-east Maldah. The name is correctly given in S.M., but incorrectly as Ajhur in A. of I.

Bázkholkhra. Not traceable. I.O. 1114 has بلندی بر Balambar, also unknown.

Baler. Probably Bíkar in North-east Maldah: بلندی بر for بیکر. A common type of error in Persian MSS. caused by omitting the sloping stroke or markaz of the káf.

Haveli Akra. Probably Agra on the Púrnabába river, now absorbed in the Shikárpúr parganah of Bárbakábad.

Dhanpúr. Probably Dhanjar, a large parganah in South Dinájpúr, which is much intermixed with other mahals of this Sarkár.

Deviya. Probably Deoriya, in parganah Kasimpur, in South Dinajpúr.

Serhwar. The text should probably be read Sirhúr. Parganah Sirhur, spelt in S.M. and A. of I. Surhur, is in South Dinajpur, adjacent to Dhanjar.

Madnáwatí. A scattered parganah in South Dinajpur; most of it is in Dhanjar. Spelt in S.M. Mudnabattee.


The other mahals of this circle I have been unable to trace.

Circle of Daršhirak.

Seven out of the sixteen mahals are cesses and imposts on markets; e.g.——

Achárikhnáh is pickle-market.

Kátháchhápá means 'wood-stamp.' Probably a place by the river-side where timber floated down the Mahánandá from the forests of Nepal was taxed and stamped.

Modi Mahal. The market of grain and sweetmeat sellers.

Mewa Mahal. Market for dried fruit, such as is annually brought from Kabul: nuts, walnuts, pistachio nuts, dried apricots, etc.
Of the territorial areas I can identify only
Ráekamati, which should be Rángamáti, now in parganah Shikárpur.
Gangapat and neighbourhood of Hindúi. I.O. 6 reads Gangábát; G. 374, 380, etc., has Gangánat. The place is not traceable. For Hindúi both the I.O. MSS. have ماندوي mandáví or ‘market,’ which is more intelligible.

G. spells Dar Sarak—Dershirak—a spelling which I have adopted; the area of this circle was probably nearly all within or close to the city of Gaur, and must have suffered great changes from the action of the river.

Circle of Debikot.

Debikot is in both the I.O. MSS. the distinct reading of the word which J. reads as Dibikot, and seems to be the correct name. No place bearing the latter name can be traced, while on the other hand we have in the north of this Sarkár the celebrated ancient city and frontier fortress of Debibot or Debkot, now known as Damdámah, on the Purnabhába river, in the south-west of Dinájpur. The identity of the ruins and remains known as Damdamah with Debikot has been fully established by Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Westmacott. The only identifiable names in this circle lie in the same neighbourhood.

Pakor. The correct reading is evidently that of both the I.O. MSS., viz. Nákor, which is in parganah Rájnagar, on the boundary between Dinajpur and Maldah, sixteen miles south-west of Damdama. In the S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Nokore.
Dahlgan. Should be Dakhingaon. Four miles north-west of Damdama. S.M. and A. of I.
Maligáon. Now absorbed in Dhanjar.
Modípur. Probably Mahdípur. Two miles south of the last-named place.
NOTES ON AKBAR'S SUBAHS.

Circle of Ramauti.

The only place I have been able to identify in this circle is

Máhinagar. A small parganah in the north of the Maldah district.

Sangdwár may perhaps be the ancient city of Panduah, which is sometimes mentioned as Barwdwár.

Circle of Sarsabád.

The name of this circle suggests a curious bit of diplomacy. The full name is Shersháhábád, so called from the famous Afghan Sher Khán, who drove the Emperor Humáyun from the throne of Delhi and ruled in his stead. On the restoration of the Moghul dynasty Sher Sháh, as he was called during his reign, was of course regarded as an usurper, and his regal title was not acknowledged; he is always mentioned as Sher Khán. When Todar Mal, a courtier and trusted councillor of Humáyun's son, came to draw up the financial account of the empire, such a name as Shersháhábád would present a difficulty. As the name of a large fiscal division of the country it could not be ignored, while it would be disrespect, if not treason, to speak of Sher Sháh. He would get over the difficulty by using the popular corruption of the name Sarsábád, which conveyed no meaning, and was therefore unobjectionable. This is merely a conjecture, but, I think, a probable one. All the mahals of this circle are still extant and shown on the maps.

Akbarpur. A large parganah in the north-west of Maldah lying along the Ganges.

Párdiyár. Now absorbed in Shersháhábád in the extreme south of Maldah.

Khizarpur. Shown on the maps as Khidurpoor on the Kalindri River in Akbarpur, north of the large town of Hayatpur.
Sarsábád. Now restored to its proper form, and shown in S.M. and A. of I. as Shersháhábád. It is an extensive parganah covering all the south-west of Maldah, and including the ruins of the ancient capital, Gaur, as well as the modern capital, Angrezabad, or English Bazar.

Kotwálí. In Akbarpur, close to Hayatpur.


Garhí. The small parganah south of the Ganges, now in the Sonthal Parganahs district, in which was the celebrated frontier fortress of Teliagarhi, the key of Bengal. It lies a long way from the rest of the Sarkár, but its importance perhaps led to its being attached to the headquarters Sarkár.

Makrán. A parganah in N.W. Maldah, adjacent to Akbarpúr.

Máníkpur and Hatanda. These two constitute the large parganah of Hatinda in the north of Maldah.

**Circle of Maldah.**

The eleven mahals of this circle are given without any revenue, and are mostly unrecognizable from the materials at my disposal. This part of the list is probably corrupt, but the means of correcting it are not available. The following are still recognizable:—

Haveli Máldah is the town of Old Máldah at the junction of the Kalîndri and Mahánandá rivers.

Sarbadahlpur is probably Sarbadhikpur in Shikárpur, six miles north-east of Old Maldah.

Sháhmandawi is on the Mahanándá, two miles south of Old Maldah.

Fattihpur is four miles north of the same place.

The general distribution of the circles is shown by the identified places:—

Debikot occupied the north-eastern part of the Sarkár.
Agra to the south and west of Debikot.
Ramauti the north centre.
Darshirak the city of Gaur and its neighbourhood.
Sarsâbâd the west and south.
Máldáh the environs of the town of that name.

Sarkâr Bârbakâbâd.

Called after Bârbak Shâh, king of Bengal a.d. 1460–1474 (Bl. xlv, 289). It comprises the greater part of the modern district of Râjshâhi (officially spelt Rajeshahye !), and parts of Maldah, Dinajpur, and Murshidabad. Most of the mahals are still extant and shown on the S.M. and A. of I. A list of them is given by Bl. xlv, 290, which J. has apparently not seen. The two large estates of Lashkarpur and Bhaturia have absorbed many of the smaller ones, as usual.

City of above-mentioned (Barbakabad). There is no evidence that there ever was any city of this name,¹ and the amount of revenue shows that we are dealing here not with a town, but a large tract of country. As mentioned before, baldah in Indian revenue phraseology more usually designates a district than a town. This baldah probably indicates the unassigned portion of the Haveli, which will be discussed later on.

Basdol. These two mahals are now combined; the latter
Bâltápur. name is properly Paltápúr. In N.E. Maldah.
Polárhár. I have not found these.
Barbâriá.

Bastol. Now united; the former word is Pastúl. In S.
Chaurá. Dinajpur.

Bangáon. Absorbed in Chandlai. W. Rajshahi. S.M.
Chhandiyá Bâzú. So Bl. loc. cit., but the correct name is
The latter is given as a variant in the Persian text.

¹ See, however, Bl. xlv, 291 and my remarks on the Haveli below.
Jiasindh is in North-west Rajshahi, Chaugáon in Bhaturiá. S.M. and A. of L.; G. 459 under the head of Zamindári parganahá-e mutafsarrakát.

Jandláí. Correct name Chandláí; partly in Rajshahi, partly in Maldah.

Janású. Correctly given as Chinású by Bl. loc. cit., and by G. 376, 381 as Chinasun. Absorbed in Bhaturiá. Suburban district of Sikh Shahar. This being the Haveli, we must look for the capital of the Sarkár in it. The word here rendered Sikh occurs again in Ghorághat, in both places with numerous variants, as Sabtakh, etc. In both the I.O. MSS., though the dots are rather wildly placed, there is a distinct dot above the line making a reading Sankh, and in Sarkár Ghorághát the entry looks very like Santakh. The place meant is, I have no doubt, the celebrated old city and fortress of Santosh, so often mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. It is written in Sanskrit सन्तोष, and व in Hindi and all the western Indian languages is invariably rendered by kh. To Todar Mal and his up-country clerks the natural transliteration would be सन्तोक्क, which would easily be corrupted into Santukh सन्तुक्क. The parganah still exists in South Dinajpur, adjacent to the other mahals of this Sarkár, and the baldah above mentioned must have formed part of it. The site of the city is still traceable by extensive ruins at the village of Máhinagar on the Atrái (Maeenuggur in S.M. and A. of I. See Westmacott in J.A.S.B. xlv, 190; Bl. ibid. 290). The place is still known locally as Mahi Santosh. On a line between the one frontier post of Ghorághát and the other of Debikot, it would be a suitable place for the capital of one of the northern Sarkárs, and at one time must have been almost a frontier

1 It is noticeable throughout the Ain that Abul Fazl always transliterates the Sanskrit घ by kh, as in mekh भेग, birkhab व्रषभ, etc.
post itself. This identification, if correct, explains how the inscription given by Bl. xliv, 291 came to be found at Mahi Santosh, and the inscription itself confirms my view.

Dhárman. Probably the Dhausurim of G. 383. It has been dismembered.

Daúdpúr, Sankárdal alias Nizampur, Sherpur, Bahrampur, and Kúzihátti. I have not identified these.

Shikárpúr. In East Maldah; has absorbed several mahals from Sarkár Lakhnautti.

Táhirpúr. Absorbed in Lashkarpúr.


Guzrhát. Along the Ganges in Maldah and Rajshahi. Wrongly spelt Gururhat in S.M. and A. of I.


Ganj Jakdal. Jagdal in North-east Maldah.

Gobindpur and Lashkarpur. These two parganahs occupy all the centre of Rajshahi district.

Káligái and Káligáe Kothia. There is only one parganah called Káligái; it is in Central Rajshahi.


Máljipur. Should be Málanchi (Bl. xliv, 292) in Bhaturiá. Masídha. Should be Masidha in South Dinajpur adjoining Santosh.

Mansamala. G. 467 writes Malsemanny. It seems to have been absorbed in Jahangirpur.


Wazírpúr. In South-east Maldah.

The parganah of Jahangirpur, intermingled with Masidha, is not mentioned in the Ain. Its name shows it to be a later creation, but I cannot find to which mahal of the Ain the area covered by this name belonged. G. 467 ascribes it to this Sarkár.
Sarkár Mahmúdábád.

This very extensive Sarkár includes one pargana of the Murshidabad district, all the northern part of Nadia and Jessore, and a portion of Pabna and Faridpúr. The headquarters may still be traced at the ruined fort of Mahmúdábád on the Madhumati river on the eastern frontier of Jessore (see Westland’s Jessore, p. 25). The number of mahals is very large—eighty-four; but a great majority of them appears to have been absorbed in the larger parganas, especially Naldi. As these smaller, and for the most part now extinct, parganas are not shown on the S.M. or A. of I., it is impossible for me to assign them their proper position. In this, and several other Sarkárs in this part of Bengal, all I am able to do, even after consulting local revenue officials, is to indicate the positions of such of the mahals of the Aín as I am able to identify. The identification of the rest I must leave to more favourably situated enquirers.

Indarkalli. Probably Andarkotha, now absorbed in pargana Rajpur in North-west Nadia (Bea. MS.).

Bázu Rást i.e. “Right and left wing.” By the name Bázu Chap these ought properly to belong to Sarkár Bazúhá, by which, indeed, they are almost surrounded. They are in the Pabna district north of the Podda or Ganges. The town of Pabna is in Bázu Chap: S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has نارداراسنت and I.O. 1114 نارداراسنت for the first, and for the second باروحب and باروحب respectively. This instance shows how blindly the copyists erred, not taking the trouble to understand what they wrote, even when the words are pure Persian.

Betbariya. Bitbariya in Rajpur on the Kumár river.

1 Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Nadia Collector’s Office. It is surprising how few places this local official can identify. This shows how completely the pargana as a local unit has fallen out of use in Central Bengal.
Bandwál. Probably Bándwál; باندوال not باندوال in Rajipur near the last-named.

Páltikámára. Páltikábáráí in parganah Ghaznabipur in North-east Nadia.


Patkámárí. This is probably Patkábáráí. Though the greater portion of this parganah is in northern Satgáon, the scrap given here (only Rs. 88 revenue) was apparently in this Sarkár. As we go on we shall find several other instances of mahals partly in one Sarkár and partly in another.

Belkasi. It has been suggested that the correct reading is Palási, and this is not improbable. G., indeed (pp. 375, 431, 432), places Palási (or Plassey, to use the historically famous name) in Satgáon, but in this, as in the last-mentioned mahal, a portion may have been in this Sarkár. In both I.O. MSS. the dots are so loosely placed that no reading can be made out.

Tarakína. Bl. text reads Tárákanía. The place meant is probably Tárágünia, which has already been mentioned under Satgáon, another case of a mahal in two Sarkárs. I.O. 6 reads Tárákanía or Tárákiná — the word may be read either way; so also in I.O. 1114.


Haveli. Haveli Mahmúdabad, now corrupted to Muhamma-
dabad (see on this point Bl. xlii, 216 et seq.), is on the Madhumati in North-east Jessore. Near it is the village of Bhúsna, the name of which was often used for the whole Sarkár, being the residence of the powerful Zamindars, who owned the greater part of the country round about.

Dakási. Probably Dugáchhi, now absorbed in Rájpúr (Bea. MS.).
Dahlat Jalálpur. The variant Dahkat suggests that we have here Dháká Jalálpur, the old name of Faridpur. If so, one would have expected to find it in Sarkár Fatḥábād, which joins this Sarkár on the east.

Sator. Now written Shatoir and mixed up with the Haveli parganah of Fatḥábād in Faridpur. S.M. and A. of I.

Shah Ujiyal. A very large parganah in North-east Nadia and West Jessore. S.M.

Sherpurbari. Probably Shahrbári, now absorbed in Rajpur. Ghaznipur. Now known as Ghaznavipur, which was probably always the real name. It is an extant parganah in North-east Nadia.

Kandaliya. Should be Kundalia, a part of which is also in Sátgáon.

Kolbariya. Should be Kulberia, in South Murshidabad.

Mihmán Shabi. The parganah of this name is far away north of the Ganges, and belongs to Sarkár Bázúhá. Unless this is an instance of an erroneous double entry some portion of that extensive parganah may have lain south of the Ganges, or from some other reason may have belonged to this Sarkár.

Mahmúdshahi. A very extensive parganah in Nadia and Jessore.

Naldai. Now known as Naldi, in Jessore. It covers an immense area, and as it was one of the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period (G. 259, 320) it has probably swallowed up a large number of smaller mahals, whose names have in consequence been consigned to oblivion.

Nasrat Sháhi. Another very large parganah, now in N. Faridpúr.

Haldá. Still extant in E. Nadiya.

The remaining mahals of this Sarkár I am unable to identify.
Sarkár Khalífatábád.

Not a very large Sarkár; bounded on the north by Mahmudabad, on the east by Fathabad, on the west by Satgáon, and on the south by the Sundarban. Identification is here also rendered difficult by the Nawábi creation of the extensive Zamindári of Jessore, divided into two estates, Yusufpúr and Saidpúr, both of which were made up of numerous tracts of land, which, on being thus absorbed, appear to a great extent to have lost their ancient names (G. 447). The Sarkár comprises the modern district of Khulna, with portions of Bakirganj, Nadia, and Twenty-four Parganahs. The following are still identifiable:—

Bhálká. Should be Bháluká, a portion of the still extant parganah, the rest of which is in Twenty-four Parganahs.

Bágh Márá. Written as one word, Bághmárá; in the Nadia district, on the Kobádak river.

Tálá. A town on the Kobádak, in Khulna, with parganah now included in Ramechantapúr. S.M.

Jesar, alias Rasúlpúr. A very large parganah, but it is doubtful whether it corresponds to the mahal of the Aín, and the modern town of Jessore was not founded till a century later. (Bl. xlii, 217; Westland’s “Jessore,” p. 23.)


Suburban district of Khalífatabad. The Haveli town was near the town of Bagerhát, on the Bhairab river. It is now in ruins (Bl. xlii, 227).

Khaliispúr and Sáhas. Both intermingled. In Khulna. Sáhas is spelt Shahosh in S.M.


Imádpúr. Should be Itímádpúr. It is now in Aurangpúr in the Bakarganj district. See Bev. Bak. 155.

Sulaimanabad. In E. Jessore and W. Backerganj, on both sides of the Madhumati river. In S.M. spelt Selimabad.

Mundágáchhá. A portion of this parganah is in Satgáon. How much of it belonged to Khalisatabad and where that portion was situated is not known.

Sarkár Panjrá.

We now again return to the northern end of the province, where we find the small Sarkár of Panjra occupying the eastern half of the modern district of Dinajpúr.

The proper name of this Sarkár is Panjra—not Pinjarah, as J. gives it. It is true that G. writes it Pinjra, but his spelling is no guide; the first Europeans in India had a curious habit of changing the short a into i, as in Chittagong for Chatgáon, Chinsurah for Chanchurá, and the like. Mr. Westmacott’s suggestion in J.A.S.B. xlv, 8 that the word represents the old Hindu local name Paundra is, at any rate, highly probable, if not actually proved. Nearly all the mahals of this Sarkár can be identified. It comprises the western half of Dinajpúr, with some outlying mahals further south. How far it extended to the north into the wild, half-conquered, submontane tracts cannot be ascertained with any certainty.

Anbel. The variants give Ambil and Ampol. I.O. 6 has Ambil very distinct. I.O. 1114 is indistinct. G. 405 calls it Appol. No parganah of any of these names seems traceable, though Appol existed down to British rule, and is probably still extant in some part of the immense area of Dinajpúr and Rangpur, such as Salbári.

Aubári. Misprint for Anbári, i.e. Ambári. The ruined fort of Amrábári, now in parganah Sarúppur in S.E. Dinajpúr, probably represents it.
Augochah. Misprint for Angocha (G. 405). Situation not known to me.

Bárangpúr. Should be BárbaKPúr, a parganah in Rajshahye divided between Sarkárs Panjra, BárbaKábád, and Ghorághát.

All still extant in Central Dinajpur. Shown in S.M. and A. of I. under the names of Bejóynuggur, Bajitpoor, and Behinuggur respectively. The town of Dinajpur is in the first-named.

Barigher. Not identified. G. 405 has Cheparypoor. Both I.O. MSS. have the word inverted, Gherbári, which is more like a Bengali place-name than Barigher.

Badúghar. Probably part of Bador in Tájpur.

Takasi. Should be Tégáchhi, just as Dukasi stands for Dugáchhi in Sarkár Mahmúdabad. In many parts of Bengal chh is pronounced s. It is a detached parganah in the Rajshahye district. G. 376 writes Teggachee, at 381 Teygachee, and at 383 Teygachy.

Hálon. This cannot be right, as there is no ł in Hindi words. G. 405 has Chipalun, and there is Chalun in parganah Sashbir, which I suspect is the place meant.

Suburban district. Haveli Panjra is a large parganah still extant on the north-east frontier of Dinajpur. Panjra was for a long time used for the whole province of Dinajpur. G. 320 and 402.

Dekha. More probably Díkha or Dhíka, which is the reading of both I.O. MSS. G. 376 writes it Dhiha. It is not now traceable.

Deora. A large parganah south of the Haveli. S.M. and A. of I.

Sadharbári. Not found. I.O. 1114 has سديةري, which, if read Sibdiári, is a very likely name for an island in a river.

Saukatalá. Probably Saguná, a parganah in North-west Bogra, which G. places in this Sarkár, p. 467. S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has سگتانا Sugatá; I.O. 1114 سگتانا, which may be Saguná.
Sultanpur. South-east of Dinajpur. A portion is also in Sarkar Ghoraghat.
Sasber. South of Dinajpur.
Sulaimanabad. Not found.
Khatia. A large detached parganah surrounded by mahals of Sarkar Buzuhá, in south of Bogra.
Kedábari. Should be Gilábári, a parganah in South-east Dinajpur.

Sarkar Ghoraghát.

At first sight this appears a very large Sarkar, having no less than eighty-four mahals. But on closer inspection it will be seen that twenty-three of these are very small, having a revenue of less than 300 rupees each, which would, roughly speaking, represent an area of 100 acres. Then there are four taalluks, which would be merged in parganahs. So that, these deductions made, there are only fifty-seven mahals to account for, and many even of these are very small. The country lying to the north-east of the Karatoya river, and comprised in the modern district of Rangpur, was not fully conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xlii, 235). At the time of the compilation of the lists in the Ain, it was for the most part independent, and when conquered was settled under different names from those in our lists. The area really under Musulman rule must have been comparatively small, and a large number of the entries in the lists must be nominal merely. G., indeed, p. 454, speaks of the Zamindari of “Edrackpoor,” which comprised the greater part of this Sarkar, as “this little territorial trust.” It contained sixty parganahs, nearly the same number as those of this Sarkar after the deductions above made. It lies in the Rangpur, Dinajpur, Pabna, and Maimansingh districts.

I have identified, either certainly or conjecturally, the following, which, from their situation, suffice to fix the boundaries of the Sarkar, and from their extent very nearly fill up the whole of the area included within those boundaries.
Anwurbán. I would read Anwrián or Aonrián, and identify it with Aonrá in North Bogra.

Algaon. G. 454, "Alygaon." Aligaon is in North-west Bogra.

Bázu Zafar Shahi (two mahals). A large parganah still extant on both sides of the Brahmaputra, which in Akbar's reign was much smaller at this point than it is now. The two mahals probably mean the two portions one on each side of the river.

Bázu Faulád Sháhi. In North Bogra. The Persian word for 'steel' is generally pronounced fūlād in India (as it is also in Persia) and pūlād. In Bengal the latter would be the more natural pronunciation, as there is no f in Bengali. The name got corrupted very early. G. writes it Folad-dessy, p. 454, and in S.M. and A. of I. it appears as Pulladassee.

Págdwár. There is a ta'alluk Bágdwár in parganah Boda in North Rangpur, but this seems to be too far north, unless it were an outlying tract, an enclave in Panjra. There are many such tracts, as we have seen already.

Bárbakpúr. Part of the parganah in North Rajshahi, other parts of which belong to Panjra and Barbakabad.

Town of Nasratábád. Baldah here, again, must mean a district; the revenue is too large for a town. Bl. xliii, 293 says Nusrat (not nasrat) ábád is a synonym for Ghoraghat itself. In the Royal Asiatic Society's beautiful MS. of the Aín, this Sarkár is entered as Sarkár Nusratábád. This Baldah will, therefore, be the country adjacent to that town.

Barsalá. Should probably be Barbillá, a parganah adjacent to Ghoraghat, on the opposite or north-east side of the Karatoya.

Bari Ghorághát. The town of this name is still existing on the Karatoya in South-east Dinajpúr.

Báyázitpur. The parganah of this name has already been noticed under Panjra. A portion of it appears under this Sarkár also.

Pátáldeh. North of Zafar Shahi, on both sides of the Brahmaputra. In S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Pateeladoba.


Bajpatári. G. 454 writes Taji-puttary, but does not say where it is. The dots are vague in both I.O. MSS.

Hámilá. Cannot be right, there being no in Hindi words, and the Arabic is not to be thought of. I suspect this is Chápilá, a parganah in East Bogra south of Zafarshahi. All the MSS. have Hámilá, blindly copying one another.

Khásbári. Probably the parganah now known as Khas Ta’ulluk, near the town of Ghoraghát.

Sultanpur. In South-east Dinajpur.

Sikhshahr. A portion of Santosh, as explained under Sarkár Barbakabad, supra.

Sírhatá. Sarhatta in South-east Dinajpur.

Síriyá Kandi. In East Bogra, on the Bangáli river, between Zafarshahi and Chapila.

Fathpur. Fathjangpúr in Bogra.

Kándibari. Probably Kundi in North-west Rangpur.

Kának Sakhar. I suspect this is a copyist’s error for Kángor, though the I.O. MSS. read . This was a well-known place in ancient times, and from its situation must have been either in Panjra or Ghoraghat, most probably the latter. Yet the name does not appear in the Ain lists at all, unless this be it. The second stroke of the markaz of the gáf was probably taken for another káf.
Magatpur. Should be Mukutpúr. A parganah in South Rangpur. In A. of I. Mukuteepoor. The three words beginning with w are rather puzzling; as there is no w in Bengali they must be Persian or Arabic. The second of the three Wachhi is probably the Aunchi of G. 454, which seems to be Uchai in parganah Kangor in North Bogra. In A. of I. Kasbah Oochai.

SARKÁR BÁZÚHÁ.

The name of this Sarkár is wrongly written by J. Bázobá. It is surprising that he did not recognize the well-known Persian plural of Bázú, ‘an arm or wing,’ which is added as a termination to almost all the mahals of this very extensive Sarkár. It comprises nearly all the very large district of Maimansingh, parts of Dacca, Pabna, Bogra, and Rajshahi. The immense area of this Sarkár is to a great extent accounted for by the fact that much of it—as, for instance, the great Bhowal jungle—was uninhabited. A majority of the mahals are still known under the names they bear in the Aín, and are shown in the S.M. and A. of I. maps.

Alápsháhi (Alapsingh in the maps), Bakhariá Bázú (should be Pukhariá), Husain Shahi, Das Khádia (should be Daskaháoniá), Manmani Singh (should be Maiman Singh), Husain Singh, Nusrat Ujial—are all in the Maimansingh district.

Badmár (should be Barbázú), Sonabázú, Katármal, Khatábázu—are in the Pabna district.

Bhoriya Bázú (should be Bhatúria) is in Rajshahi district.1

Bahwál Bázú (should be Bhawál—the great ‘Bhowal jungle’), Dhaká Bázú, Chándpartáb Bázú—are in the Dacca district.

1 This identification is due to Mr. Beveridge, J.A.S.B. lxi, 120. There can be little doubt as to its correctness. Bhaturiya was too important a place to have been omitted from the Aín, and there is no name but this which can indicate it. There is no place called Bhoriya Bazu, and Bhaturiya is just in the right place at the western extremity of the Sarkár.
Partáb Bázú, Soná Bázú, Silbaras, Yúsufsháhi (in the
maps Esupshahee), and Mihmánsháhi—are in the
Bogra district.

The other names are probably the older names of several
modern parganahs which do not appear in the list of
the Ain.

Daskaháonia is the old name of Sherpur (Bl. xliii, 283).
Shushang, the parganah which occupies the north-east of
Maimansingh, does not appear to have been con-
quered till the reign of Aurangzeb (G. 444).

SARKÁR FATHÁBÁD.

Is adjacent to Bazúhá on the south, and includes parts
of the Dacca, Faridpúr, and Bakirganj districts. It is
fairly identifiable, though the extent of many of the mahals
appears to have altered considerably, owing chiefly to the
action of the great rivers by which it is everywhere
intersected. The Record Keeper\(^1\) writes: "Sarkar Fathábád
included a larger area before, and at present the portion
of land bounded by the rivers Kumár, Padma (Ganges),
and Ariál Khán is called Fathábád. Several places have
lost their former names in full or partly, and are known
by new names." For the southern portion of this Sarkár
and for Sarkár Báklá we have the valuable aid of Mr.
Beveridge’s work on Backergange\(^2\) (Bákarganj).

Bholiya Bel. Bel should everywhere be read Bil. It is
the Bengali for ‘a swamp.’ A great part of the
Faridpur and Bakarganj districts consists of vast
morasses, or bils. The Bholia Bil is in the north
of Faridpur.

---
\(^1\) Report of enquiry made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Faridpúr
Collector’s Office, 1885. Referred to as Bea. MS.
\(^2\) "The District of Bákarganj: its History and Statistics," by H. Beveridge,
Referred to as Bev. Bák.
Bhágalpúr was in the north-west of Faridpur; it has now been washed away by the Ganges (Bea. MS.).
Belor. Should be Bálior. It is in Faridpúr, but its precise position is not stated by my informant.
Bádhadiya. Bárhádiá, alias Bhátdi, is now included in the Shatoir parganah of Sarkár Mahmúdabad.
Telhați. A parganah in S.W. Faridabad.
Suburban district, etc. There is no town of Fathabad. The Haveli parganah lies round the civil station of Farídpúr.
Rasúlpúr. Also on the north of the same river, adjoining Bikrampur.
Súndíp. A large island far away from the rest of this Sarkár, being the easternmost island in the Gangetic Delta. The name is Sanskrit पूंढोप 'empty island.' It was uninhabited till the reign of Shah Jahan, when it was peopled by Afghans, whose descendants still live there.
Sarhárkal. Should be Sundárkul, or bank of the Sundá, a river which formerly existed in W. Bakarganj, near Nalchiti; it has now dried up (Bea. MS. and Bev. Bak. 24, 43).
Sadhwá. Should be Sidhuá. I suspect, however, that we have here two words run into one, Sidhi and Bidu, two islands separated from each other by a very shallow channel, and lying close to the northern end of Súndíp.
Sawáil, alias Jalálpúr. A large parganah in Central Faridpur. The whole district was formerly known as Dacca Jelalpoor.
Shahbázpúr. A portion of the large island of that name, the greater part of which belongs to Sarkár Sonárgaon.
Khatakpur. Now known as Khařakpur, a small parganah absorbed in Haveli.
Kasodiya. A village in Thana Bhángá, in Faridpur. My informant does not state what parganah it has been included in (Bea. MS.).

Hazárhaṭṭi. Now called Hazráhaṭṭi, in Thana Bhanga; the parganah is not mentioned.

Yúsufpúr. A large parganah in the Jessore district, detached from the rest of this Sarkár.

I have not succeeded in identifying the remaining parganahs. Nawábi changes have been particularly active in this part of Bengal. (See Bev. Bak., pp. 51–158, for a history of all the parganahs at present existing.)

Sarkár Báklá.

J. erroneously writes Bogla. The references to this Sarkár by Blochmann in the three articles in J.A.S.B. so often referred to, are so numerous that I cannot give them all. The place is constantly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and by early European travellers. It had a curious and interesting history, which it would lead me beyond the limits of my subject to go into.

The Sarkár had only four mahals. It lay along the eastern side of the present Bakarganj district—the mainland, that is to say.

Ismáílpur, alias Báklá. Is identified by Bev. Bak. 50, 70, et passim, with the ancient estate of Chandradvíp, the name of which still survives, and in this view Bl. and my informant also agree. The identification seems to me unassailable. If there ever were a town called Bakla, which seems doubtful, it was probably at Kachúa, on the Titulia river, near Bauphal.

Srirámpur. A small parganah, very little of which now remains, most of it having been washed away by the Meghná river (Bev. Bak. 147).

Sháhzádahpúr. A small parganah near Nalchiti (Bev. Bak. 153).
NOTES ON AKBAR’S SUBAHS.

Aádilpúr, عادلپور. Now corrupted into Idilpur (on the maps 'Edilpur'), a large parganah occupying the north-east corner of Bakarganj and adjacent portions of Farídpúr (Bev. Bak. 125).

SARKÁR SILHAT.

This frontier Sarkár lay very far to the north-east, beyond the furthest limits even of the great Sarkár of Bazúha. In Akbar’s time it was probably not under Muhammadian sway, and probably at no time prior to that had there been more than temporary occupation of outposts. In the Nawábi period its dense forest supplied timber for the royal navy or Naúdrá, and its revenues were devoted (minus peculations) to the support of that arm. The eight mahals of the Aín were increased to 146, and a crowd of petty landholders arose, whose existence forms a peculiar feature in the revenue administration of the district. G. 444.

After such violent changes it is hardly to be expected that much of the original division into mahals should still be identifiable. The following is all I can identify:—

Partábgárh, also called Pánchkhhand. Is probably the country round Pánchgaon fort in Sushang, in Mymensingh.

Báníán Chang. A large parganah still extant in the south-west of Silhat.

Jesá. The reading Jantiya suggested by both Bl. and J. is probably the correct one. The town of Jantiya is in the north-east corner of Silhat, just at the foot of the Jantiya hills.

Suburban district. Lies round the town and civil station of Silhat.

Sarkhandal. Said by Bl., xlii, 236, to be a misprint for Satarkhandal, but he does not say where it is, and I cannot find it on the maps.
Ládú, var. Látú, which latter is correct. It is a very large tract of country occupying all the south-east part of the Silhat district. Bl., loc. cit., confuses it with Láur, which is a different place in the north-west of the district.

Harnagar. I cannot find this place.

**Sarkár Sonárgáon.**

By the situation of the identifiable mahals, this Sarkár is shown to be a long straggling stretch of territory extending from the north of the Dacca district to the Phani (Fenny) river and the large islands at the mouth of the Ganges. How far it extended to the east is not known. Most of the present district of Tipperah was under independent Rajas (Bl. xlii, 236). To the west it approached within a few miles of the town of Dacca, which had not yet risen to its subsequent importance. The Survey maps of the districts comprised in this Sarkár do not, unfortunately, indicate the parganahs, and I am, therefore, unable to identify much of it. This and Ghoraghat remain the most obscure of all the Sarkárs to me. There is an interesting article by Dr. J. Wise on Sonargaon in J.A.S.B. xlii, 82.

Uttar Sháhpúr. Should be Shahbázpúr. A well-known island in the Bakarganj district. Uttar (or northern) Shahbázpúr is smaller than Dakhin (or southern) Shahbázpúr, from which it is separated by the Ilshá river.

Uttar and Dakhin Usmanpúr. In Tipperah.

Bikrampur. A large and well-known parganah occupying the eastern end of the island formed by the Ganges (here called Podda and Kírtínásá) and Dhaleswari. It is a place famous in history, and now celebrated for the learning of its pandits.

Bhalwá jowár (two words, not one as J. writes it). Bhalúá circle. In Noakhallí district, which was formerly
known as the Bhalúa district. In S.M. and A. of I. wrongly spelt Bullooah, omitting the $h$. See also Bl. xlii, 49.

Baldákhal and Bardia, both in West Tipperah.

Tora. Probably Thorla on the Gumti, in Central Tipperah.

Jogidiya. In the east of the Noákhalli district, near the little Phani (Fenny) river. Bl. xlii, 232. Once a celebrated frontier post, now a large and an important estate.

Environs of port. The port of Sonargaon, the town itself being situated a little way back from the river. See Wise, loc. cit., and his map.

Chand Yáhar. This entry only wants three dots below the $\tau$ to make it quite intelligible. It reads Chandía Char, as it is distinctly written in both I.O. MSS. A char, as most people familiar with India know, is a sandy island in a river. There are several hundreds, not to say thousands, of them in the Brahmaputra and Ganges. This particular one seems no longer to exist, which is not surprising, for chars are perpetually being swept away and new ones formed in the vast estuary known as the Meghná.

Chandpur. On the east bank of the Meghná, in South-west Tipperah.

Suburban district. The Haveli of Sonárgaon lies about twelve miles east of Dacca. See Dr. Wise’s article above quoted.

Khizrpúr. About one mile north of Naráyanganj, at the mouth of the Lakhyá; nine miles or so east of Dacca. There is a description of the fort and ruins by Dr. Wise in J.A.S.B. xliii, 211.

Dándrá. In Tipperah.

Dakhin Shahbázpúr. The large island on the western side of the estuary of the Ganges. It belongs to the Bakarganj district.

Ráipur. On the Megna, at the extreme western point of the Noakhally district.
Sálísari. This name occurs also in Sarkárs Jannatabad and Khalífatabad. I do not think it is the name of a territory. It seems to me to be a term, under some copyist's corruption, indicative of yearly assessments or assignments of revenue, such as were made to officials or employés. Sáliánah, or salínah, is what one would expect, but the variants are so numerous that it is difficult to guess what is the actual word meant.

Sakhwá. In West Tipperah, near Tubkibobra.
Shamshpúr. Probably Shamspúr, in Northern Tipperah.
Mu'azzimpur. Between the Brahmaputra and Lakhia rivers, fifteen miles north-west of the village of Sonargáon. Bl. xlii, 236; Wise, xlii, 85.
Mahár. In South Tipperah, a short distance from the Dakatia river. On S.M. shown as Mehar Nij.
Manoharpur. Now known as Manohardihí, about ten miles north of Sonargáon, on the western side of the Meghna.
Naráenpur. This must be the flourishing port of Naráyanjanj, nine miles east of Dacca, on the Lakhyá.
Nawakot. Probably Nawákháli (vulgo Noakholly), the present capital of the district of that name. It was a fortified place in Akbar's reign, though very far from being so now. Bl. xlii, 232. I.O. 6, however, reads نلواکوئ نلواکوئ نلواکوئ نلواکوئ نلواکوئ Malwákat, both of which seem wrong.
Hátgháti. Probably the large island of Hatiyá, east of Dakhin Shahbazpúr, which, unless meant by this entry, is not mentioned in the Aín.

SARKÁR CHÁTGÁON.

This Sarkár was not conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xli, 49), about the year A.D. 1665 (G. 494). The present names of the parganahs, dating from the conquest only, do not in any way correspond with those given in the
Ain, and to those, like myself, familiar with the district do not recall any of the local names now current. Grant is therefore probably correct in his opinion that it was "very imperfectly conquered under Akbar from the state of Arakan or Mogg (sic), to which it was adjoining and tributary, therefore probably rated only by estimation, not from any certain knowledge of the country" (p. 242). It is impossible, therefore, to identify any of the mahals. I have roughly indicated on the map the northern and western boundaries. As much of the country, even close down to the sea, is still covered by dense forests, and as we know that a large portion of the cultivated area was only brought under cultivation at the beginning of British rule, Todar Mal's names and figures must be regarded as almost entirely imaginary, and the eastern and southern boundaries cannot be indicated. A large proportion of the inhabitants are still Maghs, of the same race as the people of Arakan, but they are slowly receding before enterprising Bengali cultivators.

In order to bring these notes within reasonable limits, I have purposely omitted all but the most summary references to the numerous interesting legendary, mythical, antiquarian, and historical associations that cluster round many of these ancient names. "What shall be said for the obscurer roll of names which the above list preserves?" asks Colonel Jarrett in a note on p. 129. A large proportion of these names are far from being obscure to those who know the province of Bengal. If I had allowed myself to put down only a selection of the interesting facts connected with these places my notes might easily have been expanded into a bulky volume.

Note.—I have inserted accents wherever I think them necessary. My practice is to spell the words on the usual Jonesian (or Hunterian) system, but where the name of a place is very well known—as e.g. Bengal, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Bardwan, etc.—I do not put any dots or accents, but follow the popular method of spelling. So also in the very common terminations -abad, -pur, -gun, -ghat, -nagar, I have not always inserted accents.
THE MAP.

The Map has been compiled by taking careful tracings from the District S.M., and occasionally also from the 1 inch=1 mile parganah maps of all identifiable parganahs of the Afn. These were then joined together into one large map for the whole province, and reduced to the scale of 1 inch=16 miles. It was impossible to insert the names of all the parganahs on a map of this size without overcrowding it, but most of the large parganahs have been given. The blank spaces here and there represent tracts from which the ancient names appear to have died out altogether. The names and boundaries of modern British districts, with the rivers and some of the principal towns, have been inserted to facilitate identification.

II.

A public mosque and the tomb of the founder represent at the present day what was once a khanka, or, as it may be described, a conventual establishment for the use of Sūfis, erected at Cairo in the early years of the fourteenth century, by Sultan Baybars, second of the name. An earlier foundation of the same character, the first seen in Egypt, owed its existence to Saladin, who adapted to his purpose a house or mansion built in the days of the Fatimites, and known as the house of Saʿīd as-Suʿada, a designation which the existing mosque bears to the present day. Both foundations have for a long period ceased to serve the purposes for which they were erected, and, as has likewise happened to the numerous madāris or colleges founded by the Egyptian Sultans and nobles, their original destination is well-nigh forgotten. They are now simply classed among the public mosques of Cairo, a change from their original purpose largely due to their impoverishment, and not unlike that which has befallen many old abbey churches in England.

The Khanka of Baybars, as well as a madrasah adjoining it on the south, founded some years later by the Amīr Kara Sungur (the Black Falcon) surnamed al-Chugāndar (Bearer of the Sultan's Polo Clubs), stood on part of the extensive site of the old Dār al-Wizārah, of which Baybars's Khanka
and Ribāṭ alone occupied an area of upwards of an acre and a third.¹

The erection of the Khanka was commenced in A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306–7), and it was completed after the Amīr's accession to the throne in A.H. 708. The Sufite brotherhood installed by the Sultan numbered no less than 400, for all of whom ample accommodation was provided. Adjoining the Khanka, and with access from the interior, a Ribāṭ, or Refuge, was built with quarters for 100 persons, members of the civil and military classes whom the vicissitudes of fortune had reduced to a state of want.

Besides free lodging, the occupants of the Khanka and Ribāṭ received ample supplies of food and raiment. The foundation was richly endowed with the rents of property situated at Cairo, at old Miṣr, in Upper and Lower Egypt, and even at Damascus and Ḥamāh. Lectures on the religious traditions were delivered under the dome, which surmounts, as customary, the tomb of the founder, and the Kurān was there perpetually chanted throughout both day and night. The mosque was devoted to the exclusive use of the occupants of the Khanka and Ribāṭ, the outer public being rigidly excluded.

The mosque and tomb form one building, which faces the thoroughfare leading to the city gate, the Bāb an-Naṣr.

¹ The Dār al-Wizārah was the official residence of the Wāṣir, who during the later years of the Fatimite dynasty were the real and irresponsible rulers of the empire. It stood close to the north side of the Great Palace in which the Khalīfahs lived completely secluded from the world, treated, it is true, with every outward mark of veneration, but none the less in a state of virtual though splendid captivity. The description handed down to us by William of Tyre of the interview with the young Khalīfah al-ʿĀdīd, which the bluntnerved Latin envoys of King Amalric compelled the shocked Wāṣir Shāwar to agree to, is not only an exceedingly curious account of the incident and of its surroundings, but one also in complete accord with the information we derive from the native historians on the conditions under which the Fatimite dynasty was then hastening to its fall.

The Dār al-Wizārah consisted of numerous buildings, and it included a large garden. It was built by Malik al-Aḍḍal Shāhīnshāh (A.H. 487–515), son of Badr al-Jamālī.

The house of Saʿīd as-Suʿāda was shortly before the advent of Saladin occupied by the Wāṣir al-ʿĀdīl Ruzzayk (A.H. 556–558), who built an underground passage communicating with the Dār al-Wizārah immediately opposite. Remains of the passage, of more or less importance, are, it may be, still in existence.
A frieze adorned with a long decorative inscription is carried along the entire front of the building. It commences with a passage from the Kur'ân (S. xxiv, v. 36–38) which frequently occupies a conspicuous position in places of worship—

In temples which God hath commanded to be raised, and His name therein to be extolled, men will therein praise Him in the early morning and at eve, whom neither trading nor selling will divert from the celebration of His name, from the practice of prayer, and from bestowing alms, (men) who dread the day when hearts and eyes shall be overwhelmed with terror, that God may requite them with a reward (measured by) their best works and add thereto out of His bountifulness. And (verily) God bestoweth His gifts without reckoning.

The inscription continues as follows:—

امرأبنا هذة الخانقة السعيدة وقفا معبدا على جماعة الصوفية من فيض فضل الله تعالى وجزيل احسانه راجيا بذلك عفوف وغفرانه العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى ....... ركى الدين بمبرس المنتصرا عبد الله الفقير الى الله تعالى رحمته يوم القيوم عليه ضاغف الله ثوابه وركى اعماله ويسر له اسباب ما بسط اليه من المعروف اماله بعنه وكرمه وافتانله و صلى الله على سيدنا ....

The erection of this auspicious Khanka, to be a perpetual foundation for the use of the brotherhood of Sūfis, (and provided for) out of the great abundance of the gifts of God, the Most High, and of His ample favours, was ordered, hoping thereby to obtain His pardon and forgiveness, by the servant of God and needer of His help ............. Rukn ad-dīn Baybars al-Mansūry, the servant of God and dependent upon Him, who hopeth for His mercy on the day when he shall come before Him. May God enhance his reward and cause his pious works to abound, and facilitate unto him the attainment of the things productive of the
divine benefits which his hopes have spread forth before Him, through His goodness and beneficence and bountifulness. And may God bless our Lord (Muḥammad, etc.).

The concluding words are concealed by the walls of a neighbouring building.

A few words at the precise point where the regal titles of the Sultan ought to be found have been roughly but thoroughly obliterated, a thing common enough under the Pharaohs of old, but of exceeding rarity under Muhammedan rule.

Baybars was originally a mamluk slave of Sultan al-Mansūr Ḫalaʿūn, by whom he was raised step by step until he was numbered among the high dignitaries of the State, and who bestowed upon him the honorary office of Ḫāshnikīr (Chāshnīqūr, the King's Taster), to which was attached a military command of 100 men.

When the youthful Sultan Muḥammad, son of Ḫalaʿūn, abdicated in a.h. 708, and for the second time sought refuge in the fortress of Karak (the Montreal of the Crusaders), Baybars, who then held the rank of Atabek or Commander-in-Chief, was elected to succeed him, and he ascended the throne with the honorific titles of al-Muẓaffar, Rukn ad-dīn, the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Faith.

Before his elevation to the throne, Baybars was exceedingly popular among all classes. In the building of his Khanka he won general approval by his scrupulous abstention from all acts of oppression, carefully providing for the payment of his artificers and labourers and for the acquisition of materials by honest purchase. But a complete change in public feeling took place soon after his accession, and to his great misfortune, there occurred immediately afterwards an insufficient rise of the Nile. Prices of provisions rose, and great distress soon prevailed. Disorderly crowds assembled in the streets, and lines of doggerel were sung, in which the Sultan and his wazīr, Sayf ad-dīn Salār, were denounced under insulting nicknames. "Give us back the Cripple," was the burden of the song, "and the Nile
flood will come down in torrents." ¹ The Sultan's anger was raised to the highest pitch, and by his orders some 300 persons were seized and punished with utmost cruelty.

An-Nāṣir recovered the throne before the end of the year. Baybars was captured, under circumstances, it must be said, far from creditable to the young king, and after a reign which had lasted not quite twelve months, the bow-string put an end to his life. The body was not allowed to be buried in the tomb which Baybars had prepared for himself in his Khanka, to which, however, his remains were eventually carried. The Khanka itself was closed, and the words of the inscription attributing to Baybars the honorific titles and designation of Sultan were obliterated. The rents of the foundation were confiscated and it continued to be disused until A.H. 726, when it was re-opened and its endowments restored. It was also probably at that time that the body of the founder was allowed to be laid in its destined resting-place.

Malik an-Nāṣir retained possession of the throne until his death in A.H. 741. During the greater part of his

¹ Al-Aʿrāj was the nickname of Malik an-Nāṣir, derived from his lameness. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions another instance in which it was publicly applied to the Sultan, on that occasion in a hostile spirit ("Defremery," i, p. 85). The lines referred to in the text have been preserved by Ibn Iyās, and are as follows:—

سلطاننا ركین * و نائبودقین * يجنيا الماء * سن این
هاتوا لنا الاعرج * يجني الماء * يدحرج *

The unflattering epithet Rukayn may be rendered wretched little mouse, and is a play upon the Sultan's title, Rukn ad-dīn. The nickname Duḵayn or Scant-beard is derisively applied to the Wazīr Salār, who was a Tartar and, like most of his race, almost beardless. نازی is for نائم, and Duḵayn is written as vulgarly pronounced in Egypt, with Dāl.
reign he had to deal with the arduous duty, bequeathed to him by his predecessors, of defending his dominions against the aggressive designs of his powerful neighbours, the descendants of Hulagu. The task of the Egyptian Sultans had, it is true, been gradually lightened by the jealousies and dissensions between the Ilkhanian princes and their kinsmen, the Kipchak Khans of the Golden Horde, and Malik an-Nāṣir neglected no means of cultivating the good will and friendship of the great northern Rulers and of their nobles. Envoys frequently passed to and fro between the two Courts, charged with complimentary messages; and in the mutual exchange of presents, the wealth and profuse liberality of the Egyptian Sultans were always conspicuous. In a.h. 716 a mission was despatched from Cairo to Uzbeg Khan, but entrusted on this occasion with a somewhat delicate duty, that of soliciting on behalf of Malik an-Nāṣir the hand of a Tartar princess, of the illustrious house of Jingiz Khan.

Sir Henry Howorth has included in his valuable work on the history of the Mongols an account of the singular negociations that ensued, as recorded by the contemporary Egyptian writer Nuwayri, who, it is almost needless to say, treats the subject with becoming gravity. The story, which is reproduced in Makrizi’s Khīṭāt, may also be read in D’Ohsson and in Von Hammer—how the Tartar nobles professed to be utterly startled, and declared that such a thing could not be; how, “having received their presents,” they somewhat relented, but still raised interminable difficulties, culminating in a demand for the payment by the Sultan of an enormous sum as dowry; how, finally, but only at the end of four years’ time, everything was satisfactorily settled.

The Princess, a great-grand-daughter of Baraka, son of Jūshi, son of Jingiz Khan, started on her journey from the banks of the Volga, attended by a brilliant retinue of Tartar nobles. They were detained, so Makrizi tells us, for five months by contrary winds at Mīnā Ibn Miṣḥta (?), where they abode as the guests of the Byzantine emperor,
who is said to have expended 60,000 dinars on the entertain-ment of the Princess and her followers.\textsuperscript{1} They finally arrived at Cairo in the month of Rabī‘ Awwal, a.H. 720. Here the Princess met with a splendid reception, and the wedding was celebrated on a scale of corresponding magnificence.

Of the Princess’s subsequent life little or nothing is known. She appears to have had no children. She survived her husband for twenty-four years, during which time no less than ten of his sons and grandsons succeeded one another on the throne.

The tomb built by the Princess for herself near Bāb al-Barqiyyah (which now bears the name of Bāb al-Gharāyib), though little known, still exists;\textsuperscript{2} but it retains little or nothing in its appearance to attract the attention of a passer-by. The Princess’s remains lie under a lofty dome, from which every trace of decoration has disappeared. The entrance appears to have been from a small mosque, of which absolutely nothing remains, and the open space is occupied by a few modern tombs. The grave under the dome is surmounted by the usual stone-built cenotaph. Running along three of its sides, beginning on the western, is inscribed in ornamental Cufic characters, a verse from the Kur‘ān (S. iii, v. 16)—

God beareth witness that there is no God but He, and (so also) the angels and the possessors of knowledge. (And that) He ruleth with righteousness. There is no God but He, the Mighty, the All-wise.

\textsuperscript{1} I have failed in my attempts to identify the port of Ibn Mishta. Professor De Goeje has, with his habitual kindness, looked up for me the MS. of Nuwayri preserved in the library of the University of Leiden; but it makes no mention of the place, nor does it give any information on the Princess’s route. Ibn Mishta must have been a contemporary, since Makrizi tells us that he bore his part in showing hospitality to the Princess, and the words used by Makrizi indicate, as Professor De Goeje points out, that the port must have been very distant relatively, from the Bosphorus. It may, indeed, be understood to have been the place of embarkation.

\textsuperscript{2} It stands close to the tomb of Khuanda Tughāy, the favourite wife of an-Nāṣir, and mother of his favourite son, Anūk, who died eight months before the Sultan. The tomb of Tughāy is in even a worse condition than its neighbour: only fragments of its mosque are visible. The cenotaph has disappeared from below the dome, and with it every trace of a mortuary inscription. The Princess Tughāy died in a.H. 749.
The word aziz has been omitted. On the south end is the following inscription in the Naskhi character:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بتاريخ وفاته (sic) خوند طولبيه تغمدها الله
برحمته توفيت في يوم الجمعة الثاني وعشرين ربيع الآخرة (sic)
سنة خمس وستين وسبعماة

of which the following is, I think, as near a translation as the sentence will admit:—

On the date of the death of the Lady Tulbiyah may God surround her with His mercy. She died on Friday, twenty-seventh Rabii' 'Akhir of the year 765.

An outer doorway, leading from the road into the open space already mentioned, and from which entrance is obtained into the tomb, is still in existence, though now walled up and in a dilapidated condition. It has been roughly rebuilt, and two stones, as is shown by the inscriptions, have been misplaced. The inscriptions in question are engraved in the usual manner on a broad band which crosses the jambs on either side. On the right is the passage from the Kur'an (S. xxiv, v. 36) which I have already had occasion to mention (supra, p. 139). It begins with the words اذن الله (which) God hath commanded, and ends with and at eve. On the left are the following words:—

انشاء هذا (sic) التربة المباركة الزار; الكرميه خوند طولبيه تغمدها
الله ............ سنة خمس وستين وسبعماة

This auspicious tomb was erected by the noble lady the Princess (Khuanda) Tulbiyah. May God surround her ............. the year 765.

It is not difficult to imagine the position in which the Princess was placed during the latter period of her life. She had outlived the friends of her early years. Her husband's descendants were but distantly connected with her, and when she died their chief, or indeed only concern would
be in the division of her property. The arrangements for her funeral would be very much left to the care of her eunuchs and slaves, and so no doubt it would come about that no proper person was employed to draw up, or at least to revise, the inscriptions on her tomb.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the Princess's precise name. The form in which it appears upon her tomb is probably not more correct than the numerous other versions. Nuwayri, according to the information Professor De Goeje has been good enough to give me, offers us, among other alternatives, دلیته (probably for ولیته) and طولینه or طولینه or طلمنیه or طلمنیه, and elsewhere, speaking of the house she inhabited (vol. i, pp. 376 and 439), طلمنیه. He there calls her wife of an-Nāṣir Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad, clearly an error.

The Maḥkamah or Kadi's Court at Cairo stands almost exactly in the centre of the space once occupied by the Great Palace of the Fatimites. It is generally described as a remnant of the old buildings, or again, by other writers, as part of a palace built and inhabited by Saladin. Both these statements are erroneous, as indeed may be shown by the architecture of the existing building, as well as by its inscriptions.

On the deposition of the Fatimites the numerous members of the Imperial family were removed from the Palace and kept closely confined in a house or mansion near the smaller or Western Palace. The Great Palace was made over to the use of Saladin's Amirs, and he himself established his residence in the Dār al-Wizārah. The latter continued to be occupied after him by his successors until his nephew, al-Kāmil Muḥammad, removed to the citadel, which then became also the place of confinement of the Fatimite family.
In A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261–2) Sultan Baybars I compelled its then existing members to execute, in binding and legal form, a transfer of the family property, including the buildings which composed the Great Palace, to the Bayt al-Mal (the Public Treasury), by whom the property was put up for sale and gradually but soon disposed of. The buyers demolished the old buildings, which had by this time fallen into a state of general disrepair, and the arrangements of which, we may easily conceive, could not be well suited to private occupation. New buildings, consisting chiefly of ordinary dwelling-houses, took the place of the old ones, and, we are expressly told (Khitat, i, 385), were of an entirely different description. In Makrizi’s time (end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries) only a few odd fragments of the old buildings were still in existence, and nothing is to be seen of them at the present day.

The existing court of the Maḥkamah stands on one side of a square, or of what was perhaps once an extensive courtyard, and it consists chiefly of a large and lofty Mak‘ad, that is to say, a spacious apartment, of which the open front, which faces the north, is a stately arcade of columns and pointed arches. On a level with the ground is a door, whence a staircase gives access to the Mak‘ad. Across the two jambs of the door runs a broad band, on which is carved an inscription in interlaced characters. The stone is somewhat worn and otherwise defaced, but the essential parts of the inscription, and indeed the greater portion, can be deciphered without much difficulty:—

ال متبرک الرحمن العالى السيفى مامى عيين مقدمين

(or)

اللوف بالديار المصرية الملكى الاشر) في . . . . . . . . . . . . . . اخذ (احدى

و تسعة منه

We have here, therefore, the name of the builder, Mamay, described as chief among the military Commanders of a Thousand in the Egyptian dominion, and the date, A.H. 901,
The remainder of the inscription consists of high-sounding titles, of which it is unnecessary to say more than that the words al-Ashrafy and as-Sayfy indicate that Mâmây was originally a mamlûk of Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf ad-dîn Kaït-Bay.

On the cornice in the interior of the Maḥkâmah is an inscription to all intents the same as the preceding, but it expressly tells us that the hall was built by command of the Amir Mâmây—

On the front of the building, above the arcade, is sculptured a circular shield, bearing the renk or armorial badge of the Amir, borrowed, according to a not uncommon practice, from his old master, Kaït-Bay,1 namely, on a Fess, a cup between two cornucopia (?). Above, a rectangular lozenge; below, a cup.

The house, as built or designed by Mâmây, must have covered a large extent of ground. Some forty yards west of the Maḥkamah, bordering on the new street recently opened out from the main thoroughfare, is a ruined Kaïḥâ, or saloon, which for many years was occupied, and is perhaps still occupied, by a corn-mill and as stabling for the cattle that work it. The liwâns are separated from the central portion of the saloon by lofty pointed arches of solid masonry. On the base of the arches the following inscription is carved:

Shortly after copying these inscriptions, chance unexpectedly led me to the tomb of the Amir in the Karâfâh—a square building of moderate size surmounted by a cupola.

1 Cf. S. Lane-Poole, "The Arts of the Saracens," p. 230.
The inscriptions, following the Āyat al-Kursy, are similar to the preceding, and the same rank is represented.

The name Māmāy is met with in the History of the Mongols; but I am informed by my friend His Excellency Yacoub Artin Pasha, that it is also in use in Circassia. Ibn Iyās calls the Amir Māmāy son of Khudād, and I am indebted to Artin Pasha for the further information that this last word is an Arab corruption of Khutāt, the name of a subdivision of the Circassian tribe of Tērētāi, Kabartay.

Māmāy was originally a mamlūk of Kāit-Bay. In A.H. 899 he was sent as envoy to the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks, an office he is stated to have fulfilled once or twice before.

Kāit-Bay died towards the latter end of A.H. 901 (A.D. 1496), and was succeeded by his son an-Nāṣir. Within six months an insurrection broke out, headed by the powerful Amir Kansūh, surnamed Khamsu-mi'ah, with a numerous following of nobles, among whom was the Amir Māmāy. The rebels met at the outset with complete success, and Kansūh was proclaimed Sultan. But in a few days fortune turned against him, and he had to fly for his life. Soon afterwards he was defeated and killed near Gaza. Māmāy was taken prisoner, and there and then beheaded. His head and the heads of thirty-three other Amirs were brought to Cairo, where they arrived on the fourth of Rajab, A.H. 902. They were borne through the streets of the city on lances and carried to the Zuwaylah Gate and Bab an-Nāṣir, upon which they remained exposed to public view. We are not told whether the body of Māmāy was ever brought to Cairo and buried in the tomb he had prepared for himself.
ART. VI.—The Sword of Moses. An ancient book of Magic, published for the first time, from an unique Manuscript (Cod. Heb., Gaster 178), with Introduction and Translation. By M. Gaster, Ph.D.

I. Introduction.

Magic has exercised the deepest influence upon mankind from remote antiquity unto our own days. It either formed part of the religion of the country, as it was the case in ancient Egypt and Babylon and as it is now in some forms of Buddhism (Tibet), or lived an independent life side by side with the recognized religion. In some instances it was tolerated, or rendered less obnoxious, by a peculiar subdivision into white or beneficial and black or evil magic, or was downright persecuted. Wherever we go, however, and especially if we turn to the popular beliefs that rule the so-called civilized nations, we shall always and everywhere find a complete system of magical formulas and incantations. The belief in the witch and wizard, and their powerful filters and charms, holds still stronger sway upon human imagination than appears at first sight.

It is remarkable that we do not possess a good work, or exhaustive study, on the history and development of Magic. It is true that we find allusions to it, and sometimes special chapters devoted to the charms and incantations and other superstitious customs prevailing among various nations in books dealing with such nations. But a comprehensive study of Magic is still a pious (or impious) wish. One cannot gainsay that such an undertaking would present extreme difficulties. The material is far too vast, and is scattered over numberless nations and numerous literatures. Besides, much of ancient
times has disappeared; in fact, there is a profound gap between antiquity and modern times which is not by any means bridged over by the literature of the Middle Ages. In these times magical art and practice were ruthlessly persecuted by the Church, and the Councils teem with denunciations against the work of the Evil One. Moreover, it was connected in a certain degree with the teachings and practices of the various heretical sects, and the pursuit was anything but harmless. Thus it comes about that an exhaustive study of the origin and development of Magic is still a wish for the future, and the full influence which it has exercised upon mankind cannot be investigated in such a manner as to have a scientific value until at least a portion of the ancient literature will again have come to light.

The syncretistic character of the Gnostic teachings shows itself also in the adoption of Magic, and in the spiritual interpretation with which they invested the forms and formulas of Magic. The adherents of the various teachings of the Gnostics, and especially those that lived in Egypt and Palestine, adopted all the ideas that were floating about and transferred them into their system of superior Gnosis.

If anything of the teachings of the Gnostics has survived, it is the thaumaturgical portion of it. This has always been popular with the masses, as it afforded them those means which they wanted to defend themselves against the attacks of unseen evil spirits, and to the more speculative minds it afforded a clue to the mystery of the universe. It gave them the means to subdue and to put to their service the unknown forces of nature. This lies at the root of the general acceptance of magic formulas and enchantments, and gives to this practice the popularity which it still retains.

Being the most formidable sects that assumed an anti-Christian character, although some are anterior to Christianity, the Gnostics were the first to be attacked by the Fathers of the Church. Most of the ancient writings of the Fathers are filled with polemics against heretics, of
which these are the foremost. The result of this campaign, which lasted for centuries, has been the absolute destruction of all the writings of the Gnostics. Sparse and incoherent fragments only have come down to us, and we are now compelled to study their systems and superstitions, if we may call them so, from the writings of their antagonists, Irenæus and Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius. A single exception is the work known as "Pistis Sophia," the date of whose composition is variously assigned to the second or fourth century. It certainly seems to belong to a later stage in the development of the Gnosis, as it contains some of the later ideas. It has come down to us in a very bad state of preservation.

Within the last few years the soil of Egypt has rendered some more fragments of this kind of literature, and magic Papyri have now enriched our hitherto very scanty stock of genuine ancient literature. These belong to the second and third century, and, being exclusively of Egyptian origin, throw an unexpected light upon the form which Magic assumed under the influence of the new order of ideas. It is a fact that nothing is so stable and constant than this kind of mystical literature. The very nature of a mystic formula prevents it from ever being radically changed. As there is no other reason for its efficacy than the form in which it is pretended to have been fixed or revealed to the Select by the Divinity itself, any change of that form would immediately destroy its efficacy. Dread preserved the form intact, at least as long as the practitioner stood under the influence of those divinities whose power he invoked for protection, or as long as he believed in the power of those demons whose malignant influence he tried to avert by means of that form of enchantment. This explains the uniformity of a number of such charms in whatever language we find them and almost to whatever time they may belong; as long as they are the outcome of one and the same set of religious ideas, which is the determining factor. But with the change of religion the charms also undergo changes, not in the form but
in the names of the divinities invoked, and these bring other changes with them. To take a modern example, the charm against the Evil Eye will contain the name of Christ or of a Saint in a Christian charm, the name of Muhammed in the Muhammedan, and that of an angel or a mysterious name of God in the Jewish formula, though all the rest would be identical. The same process happened also in ancient times, and the Papyri mentioned above assist us in tracing the change which the new order of ideas had introduced in the magical formulas of the Christian era.

If we trace the first impulse of these changes to the Gnostics, we must at once associate it with the sects of Essenes and Theraupeuts that swarmed in Egypt and Palestine, and with the most important sect of Gnostics which produced the greatest impression, i.e. that represented by Valentin. His is the one against whom most of the polemics of the Fathers of the Church were directed. He is the author of the most profound and luxuriant, as well as the most influential and the best known, of the Gnostic systems. He was probably of Egyptian-Jewish descent; and he derived his material from his own fertile imagination, from Oriental and Greek speculations, and from Christian ideas. In his system entered also the mystical combinations of letters and signs known under the name of cabbalistic formulas, and he moreover favoured the permutations and combinations of letters to express divine names and attributes. To him we owe the theory of Æons and the Syzygies, or divine creative pairs, of which the two first form together the sacred "Tetraktys." I believe this to be the Gnostic counterpart of the sacred "Tetragrammaton," and not, as has hitherto been assumed by others, the Tetraktys of the Pythagoreans. For one can see in his system, and more so in the mystical part of it, the direct influence of the Jewish mystical speculations of the time. Valentin lived, moreover, in Palestine, and nothing would suit him better than to

manipulate that mystical, Ineffable Name of God, round which a whole system had been evolved in the service of the Temple. Angelology and mysterious names of God and His angels are, moreover, intimately connected with the above-mentioned sects.

The mysterious Ineffable Name of the divinity which is invoked seems to be the centre of most of the ancient and even modern Magic. By knowing that Name, which is assumed to be the name by means of which the world was created, the man or exorciser in Egypt pretended to constrain the god to obey his wishes and to give effect to his invocation if called by his true name; whilst in Chaldea the mysterious Name was considered a real and divine being, who had a personal existence, and therefore exclusive power over the other gods of a less elevated rank, over nature, and the world of spirits. In Egyptian magic, even if the exorcisers did not understand the language from which the Name was borrowed, they considered it necessary to retain it in its primitive form, as another word would not have the same virtue. The author of the treatise on the Egyptian mysteries attributed to Jamblichus maintains that the barbarous names taken from the dialects of Egypt and Assyria have a mysterious and ineffable virtue on account of the great antiquity of these languages. The use of such unintelligible words can be traced in Egypt to a very great antiquity.¹

It is necessary to point out these things in order to understand the character of the new formulas which take now the place of the old. To the old and in time utterly unintelligible names, new names were either added or substituted, and the common source of many of these names is Jewish mystical speculation. The Ineffable Name of God and the fear of pronouncing it can be traced to a comparatively remote antiquity. We find in those ancient writings that have retained the traditions of the centuries before the common era, the idea of a form of the

Ineffable Name composed of 22, 42, or 72 parts, or words, or letters, of which that consisting of 72 was the most sacred. It is still doubtful what those 22, 42, and 72 were—either different words expressing the various attributes of God, or letters in a mystical combination; but whatever these may have been they took the place of the Ineffable mystical name and were credited with the selfsame astounding powers. By means of these every miracle could be done and everything could be achieved. All the powers of nature, all the spirits and demons could be subdued, and in fact there was no barrier to human aspiration. The heavens were moreover peopled at a very early age with numberless angels arranged in a hierarchical order and each endowed with a special Name, the knowledge of which was no less desirable for working miracles. I need only allude to Dionysius Areopagita to have mentioned a complete treatise of such a divine economy recognized by the Church, but we can go much higher up and find these divisions and subdivisions of the celestial hosts recorded in books that belong to the second era before Christ. In the Book of Enoch (ch. vi) we have a long list of such names of angels, and in a book, the date of which has been differently put, the names of angels are still more numerous, to which there are added also various names of God. The book in question pretends to be a vision of the High Priest Ismael, and is a description of the heavenly Halls. Modern scholars who knew nothing of the Gnostic and other heretic literature put it as late as the ninth century, simply and solely because they could not find early traces of it in the old literature, and because it seemed to appear first in those times. A comparison of it with the Ascensio Iesaiæ, and still more with a chapter in the "Pistis Sophia," easily convinces us, however, of the fact that absolutely similar treatises were known as early as the first centuries after Christ, if they were not, in fact, later remakings of still more ancient texts. The Greek Papyri already alluded to have also this peculiarity in common with these texts, that they abound in similar
lists of names of angels and demons borrowed from Egyptian, Christian, and Jewish sources. Among these we find also numerous forms of the Name of God consisting also of a number of letters, 7, 27, and others,¹ and also most curious combinations of letters.

The Jewish idea of a mystical Name of God rests thus upon the interpretation of the Tetragrammaton, or the word *JHVH*, that stands for God in the Hebrew text, which from very ancient times the priests first and then the whole people refrained from pronouncing in the way it was written. A substitute was found for it, so as to avoid a possible profanation of the sacred Name. But it is an object of millenary speculation what that substitute really was. As already remarked, it is represented by a changing number of elements, letters or words. The original miraculous, powerful Name, however, was the Tetragrammaton known as the “Shem ha-meforash.” This word has presented great difficulties to the following generations. It can be translated either as meaning explicit, the “explicit” Name of God, whilst the others are merely substitutes, or separate, the name which is used exclusively for the designation of the Divinity. These two are the best known and most widely accepted interpretations of the “Shem ha-meforash.” In the light, however, of our study it will appear that another translation will henceforth be found to be the only true one, at any rate for ancient times. Later on the true meaning of this expression was lost, and one or the other of the first-mentioned philological translations was adopted. So we find in the Testament of Solomon, *e.g.,* “the angel called Aphoph, which is interpreted as Rafael.” [This expression proves that it is based upon a Hebrew original, and that the word “perush” was taken to mean “interpretation.”] Considering that this name was believed to be the only true Name of God, the all-powerful name which was never pronounced, “Shem ha-meforash” can only mean the Ineffable, as we find it also in the “Pistis Sophia,” and all

¹ A. Dieterich, “Abraxas,” p. 185 (Papyrus Leyden).
throughout the ancient tradition. It is an euphemism; instead of saying: it is the "Ineffable" unutterable name, they used the word which meant: it is the "explicit" name, just as they said for a "blind" man—he is "full of light"; other examples can be easily adduced. In this way an ancient mystery and a stumbling-block for the translator of such texts disappears.

As the Tetragrammaton, or "Shem ha-meforash," was the Ineffable Name, and could by no means ever be uttered, others were substituted and were used by the priest when blessing the people. These also were endowed with a special sanctity, and were revealed only to the initiated. These substitutes were considered to be no less effective for miracles, and the knowledge of these mysterious Names was no less desirable than that of the true Tetragrammaton, for they were believed to represent the exact pronunciation of the forbidden word, and thus to contain part, if not the whole, of the power with which the Tetragrammaton itself was invested. Rab, a scholar who had studied in Palestine towards the end of the second century, says of these substituted names, and more especially of that of forty-two elements (Tr. Kiddushin, fol. 71a): "That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds." 1 What these forty-two may have been has thus far been the object of speculation. When comparing the ancient tradition with the new texts in the Papyri, and in the mystical texts of Hebrew literature, there can no longer be any doubt that the Name of forty-two, or more or less, elements could not have been originally anything else but words consisting of that number of letters, which were substituted in the public pronunciation for the Ineffable Name consisting of one word and only four letters—the Tetragrammaton! In time these

substitutes were also forgotten, or not divulged, and thus arose a series of new substitutes and variations for the divine Name. There was also the fear of profaning the name of God when writing it down in the way it occurred in the Bible, and therefore they resorted to manifold devices on the one hand to avoid a possible profanation, and on the other to obtain sacred or mysterious substitutes for the Ineffable Name.

Another element that came within the purview of this activity of coining new names was the new and greatly developed angelology that flourished at that time in Palestine and Egypt. The angels had to be provided with appropriate and powerful names, and the authors resorted to the same devices, of which I mention the most prominent, and which are the cause of many of the barbarous forms and names that abound in the magical rites and formulas and in the so-called practical Cabbalah. The biblical names of Michael, Gabriel, and others with the termination -el=God, served as a model for some of the new angels, such as in the Book of Enoch and in other similar writings. The first part was, as a rule, taken from the characteristic attribute connected with the activity of that new angel: so Raphael=the healing angel, in the Book of Tobit; Raziel =the angel of the mysteries; and in the same manner a host of similar names. Then came into requisition the system of permutation of the letters of the divine name: one standing first was placed at the end, and so on. Much more extensively were the change in the order or the substitution of other letters resorted to. In the Alphabet of R. Akiba no less than five different systems of this kind of substitutions are enumerated; either the last letter of the alphabet stands for the first (A-t; b-s, ש ב ה, etc.), or one letter stands for the one immediately preceding such, as b for a; or the eighth and fifteenth stand for the first, and so on (A-h-s; b-t'-a, ד ש ב א ח ק נ, or first and twelfth are interchangeable (A-l; b-m, מ ב ל). One can easily see how differently the same name could be written and employed in the same amulet, and all these
various forms representing only one and the same name. The Tetragrammaton appears, therefore, either as יְהֹוָה, or יהוה, or כֶּלֶם, or שִׁמְעֵי, etc. The number of such permutations and substitutions is not limited, however, to these four systems enumerated; they are innumerable, and it is almost impossible to find the key for all met with in these mystical writings, and especially on the amulets.

Other means employed for the purpose of devising new variations and protections for the sacred name, belonging to the very oldest times, were the combination of two words into one, of which one is a sacred name and the other an attribute, but the letters of these two words are intermingled in such a manner that it is not always easy to decipher them. An example, which has hitherto not been understood, we have already in the Talmud. The High Priest Ismael is said to have seen Jah אֲבֵרְוָיַל Aktriel in the Temple. This word, which stands for the mysterious name of God, is nothing else than the combination of the two words כְּנֵר Ktr—Crown and Ariel, from Isaiah xxix, 1. In the text, which I publish here, we have the name שִׁמְעֵי Skōhzî=Saddai and הַזָּכֶה Hak=mighty, powerful. Names were further formed by leaving out one or two letters from the Tetragrammaton or from other sacred names of the Bible, the primary reason always being to avoid the possibility of profanation, as the profane utterance of the divine name brought heavy penalty upon the culprit. In this manner is the obscure exclamation in the Temple to be understood, אנ חו Ani chu, instead of the usual “O Lord” (help us): in each of these two words one letter has been left out—the d in the first, Adni, and the second h in the second word. On other occasions strange letters were inserted between those of the divine name, and thus we get the puzzling form (Tr. Synhedrin, 56a=vii, 5) which is mentioned when the blasphemer who had blasphemed God was brought before the judges. The judges ask the witnesses to repeat the
blasphemy uttered by the accused, and they say, instead of mentioning the Divine Name, the words יָהָא יִשְׂרָאֵל, which may have obtained this form in our printed texts through popular etymology, meaning “Jose beat Jose!” But originally we have here clearly the Tetragrammaton יְהֹוָה, and a strange letter inserted after each letter of that word, viz. ב, נ, ד, and ט.

This process continues still unto our very days, but from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards a change has taken place in the system of the formation of these mysterious words, considered to be so efficacious in amulets. The initials of the words of a biblical verse are combined into a new word without any meaning, or the letters of a verse are so arranged as to form uniform words of three letters without meaning, the commencement of each of these words being the letters of the Hebrew words arranged consecutively. The most celebrated example is the use to which Exodus xiv, 19–21 has been put for many a century. But these are a mark of more recent origin, and not a trace is to be found throughout the whole ancient mystical literature, and also not in our text.

If we should apply these principles to the Greek Papyri, there is no doubt that a key might be found for the innumerable curious names which crowd these fragments of a literature that at one time must have been very rich. Traces of it we find also in the “Pistis Sophia,” where special stress is laid upon that Ineffable Name, communicated only to the initiated. The knowledge which a man acquires through the “Nomen Ineffabile” is described at some length (pp. 131–153). In another place we read that Jesus spoke the Great Name over the disciples whilst preaching to them, and blew afterwards into their eyes, by which they were made to see a great light (p. 233). The mysterious names of God and of the Powers are enumerated on pp. 223 and 234–5, whilst the following passage explains the power of that Name:—“There is no greater mystery than this. It leads your soul to the light of lights, to the places of truth and goodness, to the region of the most holy, to
the place where there is neither man nor woman nor any
definite shape, but a constant and inexpressible light.
Nothing higher exists than these mysteries after which
ye seek. These are the mysteries of the seven voices, and
their forty-nine Powers, and their numbers, and no name
is superior to that Name in which all the other names
are contained, and all the Lights, and all the Powers. If
anyone knows that Name when he goes out of the material
body, neither smoke nor darkness, neither Archon, angel,
or archangel, would be able to hurt the soul which knows
that Name. And if it be spoken by anyone going out
from the world and said to the fire, it will be extinguished;
and to the darkness, and it will disappear; and if it be said
to the demons and to the satellites of the external darkness,
to its Archons, and to its lords and powers, they will all
perish, and their flame will burn them so that they exclaim:
‘Thou art holy, Thou art holy, the Holy of all the Holy.’
And if that Name is said to the judges of the wicked, and
to their lords and all their powers, and to Barbelo and the
invisible God, and to the three Gods of triple power, as
soon as that Name is uttered in those regions they will fall
one upon the other, so that being destroyed they perish
and exclaim: ‘Light of all the Lights, who art in the
infinite lights, have mercy upon us and purify us.’" 1 This is
almost identical with the saying of Rab, with the difference
that in the “Pistis Sophia” the Egyptian influence is not
yet wholly obliterated. These examples suffice to show the
character of the central point in the new Magic adopted
by the Gnostics, viz., the mysterious Divine Name and
its substitutes derived from the mystical speculations of
Palestine, and also the general tendency of syncretism and
absorption of various forms and invocations in that form
of Magic which henceforth will have the deepest influence
upon the imagination and belief of the nations of the West.
From that period, then, up to the twelfth or thirteenth
century there is a gap which neither Psellus nor the
Testament of Solomon fill sufficiently. All those ancient

magical books, being declared the work of the evil spirit, were successfully hunted up and destroyed. The link which binds the literature of the second half of the Middle Ages with the past is missing, and we find ourselves often face to face with the problem whether a book that appears after that period is of recent origin, or is an ancient book more or less modified? Such a book is, for instance, the so-called Sefer Raziel, or the book delivered to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after he had left Paradise. It is of a composite character, but there is no criterion for the age of the component parts. The result of this uncertainty is that it has been ascribed to R. Eleazar, of Worms, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot, however, say which portion is due to his own ingenuity and which may be due to ancient texts utilized by him. I am speaking more particularly of this book as it seems to be the primary source for many a magical or, as it is called now, a cabbalistical book of the Middle Ages. Trithemius, the author of "Faust's Hoellenzwang," Agrippa, and many more, are deeply indebted to this book for many of their invocations and conjurations, although they must have had besides similar books at their disposal, probably also the Clavicula Solomonis, the Great Grimoyre, etc.

I must still mention one more fragmentary relic of that literature, viz. the inscribed cups and bowls from ancient Babylon with Aramaic inscriptions. These belong partly to the Lecanomantia, and are another example of the constancy of these formulas; for centuries these remain almost unchanged, and even in their latest form have retained a good number of elements from the ancient prototype.

It so happened, then, that some inquisitive men living in Kairouan, in the north of Africa, should address a letter to the then head of the great school in Babylon, Haya Gaon (d. 1037), asking him for information on various topics connected with magic rites and the miraculous powers ascribed to the Ineffable Name. I give here the gist of some of their questions, which date therefore from the second half of the tenth or the commencement of the
eleventh century. They ask first, what it is about that Ineffable Name and other similar mysterious Names of angels through the means of which people can make themselves invisible, or tie the hand of robbers, as they had heard from pious men from Palestine and Byzantium that if written upon leaves of reeds (Papyri!) or of olive trees and thrown in the face of robbers would produce that effect; and if written on a potsherd and thrown into the sea, calms it; or placed upon a corpse, quickens it to life; and, further, that it shortens the way so that man can travel immense distances in no time. They have also books with these terrible, awe-inspiring Names, and with the seals of those celestial powers of which they are terrified; as they know that the use of these mysterious Names, without due and careful preparation, brings with it calamity and premature death. To these and other questions the Gaon gives a sensible and philosophic reply, warning them, in the first instance, not to place too much credence on the statements of people who pretend to have seen, but to try and see with their own eyes. Then he goes on to tell them that such books with mystical names are also to be found in his college, and that one of his predecessors was known to have been addicted to these studies, and to the writing of amulets and the knowledge of incantations, but, he adds, "only a fool believes everything." As for the books with formulas, he goes on to say: "We have a number of them, such as the book called 'Sefer ha-Yashar,' and the book called 'The Sword of Moses,' which commences with the words, 'Four angels are appointed to the Sword,' and there are in it exalted and miraculous things; there is, further, the book called 'The Great Mystery,' besides the minor treatises, which are innumerable. And many have laboured in vain to find out the truth of these things." In the course of his reply Haya touches also upon the Ineffable Name and the name of seventy-two (elements), which, according to him, was the result of the combination of three biblical verses (cf. above, p. 159, where reference is made to Exodus xiv, 19–21), but he neither knows which
they are nor how they were uttered; as to the other of forty-two, he says that it consisted of forty-two letters, the pronunciation of which was, however, doubtful, resting merely upon tradition. This name commenced, according to him, with the letters יְהִי נָבַי הַאַבְּגִיתָּה Abyit, and finished with נֶאֶזְרָע Skusit. He mentions further the books—"The Great and the Small Heavenly Halls" and "The Lord of the Law," full of such terrifying names and seals which have had that dreaded effect upon the uncalled, and from the use of which those before them had shrunk, lest they be punished for incautious use.\(^1\)

These abstracts suffice to show that the mystical literature had not come to an end with the third or fourth century, but had continued to grow and to exercise its influence throughout the whole intervening period. The reasons why so little is mentioned in the contemporary literature is, that each period has its own predilections, subjects which absorb almost exclusively the general interest, and are therefore prominently represented by the literature of the time, whilst other things, though in existence, are relegated to an obscure place. The best example we have is the modern folklore literature, that has assumed such large proportions, no one pretending that the subject did not exist throughout the centuries, although neglected by scholars. It must also not be forgotten that we have only fragments of the literature that flourished in Palestine and among the Jews in the Byzantine empire, to which countries this mystical literature belongs. Christian literature leaves us also in the dark for this period, for the reasons stated above; only Syriac might assist us somehow to fill up that gap, but as far as I am aware very little is to be expected from that quarter, as in the whole magnificent collection of the British Museum I have not found a single MS. of charms or magical recipes, except one single, rather modern, Mandaic text. Two very small, and also rather modern, Syriac MSS. of charms are in the possession of the Rev. H. Gollancz.

Of those books now mentioned by Haya Gaon in his

\(^1\) Taam Ze'Kenim, f. 54b ff.
reply—all of which, by the way, seem to have been irretrievably lost—I have had the good fortune to discover one, viz. that called "The Sword of Moses," of which he gives us the first words. From the answer of Haya it is evident that he considered this book to be old and to be the most important, for he is not satisfied with merely giving the title as he does with the other books, but he makes an exception for this to indicate the commencement and to add that it contained “exalted and wonderful things.” A glance at the contents of the newly-discovered text will justify the judgment of Haya, for it is a complete encyclopaedia of mystical names, of eschatological teachings, and of magical recipes.

Before stating the contents I must first give a short description of this MS., now Cod. Hebr., Gaster, 178. This text has come to me with a mass of other leaves full of magical formulas, all in a very bad state of preservation and apparently hopelessly mixed up. Happily there were custodes at the ends of the leaves, and by their means I was enabled, after a long toil and careful handling of leaves falling to pieces on account of old age and decayed through dampness, to recover a good portion of the original MS. and the whole of this text, which occupies twelve small quarto leaves. The number of lines varies. The writing belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and is in Syrian Rabbinical characters. It is evidently a copy from a more ancient text, and the copyist has not been very careful in the transcript he made. Many a letter is written wrongly, having been mistaken for another similar, such as /notification for /notification and /notification for /notification. In many a place there are evident lacunae, and the copyist has often not understood the text. The language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, Hebrew prevailing in the first part, which I call the Introductory or historical, as it gives the explanation of the heavenly origin of this text, and deals with all the preliminary incidents connected with the mode of using the text in a proper and efficacious manner. In the last, which I call the theurgical or magical
part, Aramaic prevails. All the diseases are mentioned in the language of the vulgus, and so also all the plants and herbs, and the other directions are also in the same language. To no language, if I may say so, belongs the middle part, which is the real text of the "Sword." This consists of a number of divine and mysterious Names, a good number of which are the outcome of all those modes of manipulations with the letters briefly indicated above. It would be a hopeless task to try and decipher these names, and to transliterate them into the original forms of which they are the transformations and mystical equivalents. In this section we can recognize besides the unchangeable character of some of the magic formulas. What I said before of the Egyptians, who would not change any sacred Name, however barbarous it may sound, for fear of destroying its efficacy, holds good also for another number of Names found here in a bewildering variety. Almost every religion must have contributed to the list that makes up the "Sword." Eclecticism would be a mild word for this process of general absorption, that has made the "Sword" thus far the most complete text of magical mysterious Names which has come down to us. A small encyclopaedia of a similar character is the Greek Papyrus of the British Museum, No. cxxi, and the Leyden Papyrus (J. 395), with which our text shows great similarity, but these Papyri mark as it were the first stages of this process of growth by the assimilation of various elements and combination into one single complete eadem necum for the magician or conjurer. In the "Sword," we have the full development of that process, which must have run its course at a very early period.

Nothing is more fallacious than to try etymologies of proper names. The omission or addition of one letter by a careless copyist suffices to lead us completely astray. It is, therefore, difficult to advance any interpretation of even a few of the names found in this text that have a familiar appearance. If we were sure of the reading, we might recognize among those in No. 6, Isis (Apraxia,
Veronica), Osiris, Abraxas, and others; but, as already remarked, such an identification might easily lead us astray, and the coincidences might only be the result of mere chance. No doubt can, however, be entertained as to the complex character of this text, and to the astounding form of many of the names which it contains. It is a systematically arranged collection; in the apparent disorder there is order; and the names are placed according to certain leading features which they have in common. Thus we have a long string of names that are composed with the word Sabaoth (Nos. 24–37); others that are the components of the divine -el (Nos. 102–34). More startling still is a list of supposed names of heavenly powers that are represented as sons of other powers. These are undoubtedly derived from many sources, the author welding smaller texts and lists into one comprehensive list. The third part contains the directions for the application of these various Names. These are also arranged according to a certain system. The diseases follow, at any rate in the first portion, the order of the members in the human body, commencing with the head and its parts, then descending to the lower members; after which follow recipes for ailments of a different nature, to be followed by the directions for performing miracles and other remarkable feats.

Each of these 136 items (numbered by me) corresponds with a certain portion of Part II, the words or the mystical Names of those portions in Part II being the mysterious words that alone were the proper to have the expected magical result. In order to facilitate research, I have subdivided Part II into such corresponding portions to which I give the same number. There is thus an absolute parallelism between the two parts—one the text and the other its magical application. We see that the book has been very methodically arranged by one who intended to prepare as complete a magical book as possible. By this parallelism, and by the partial repetition of the mysterious words in Part III, we have the means to satisfy ourselves as to the accuracy of the copyist, who does not
come out very satisfactorily from this test. It may be that the original from which he copied was already partly corrupt, and the fear which such books inspired prevented him from attempting to correct what are obvious mistakes in the spelling of those Names. It not seldom happens that the same Name is written in two or three different forms in one and the same recipe. I have also not attempted any correction, as we have no means to decide which of these *variae lectiones* is the true and which the corrupt. Another reason why the copyist may be exonerated from at least some of these inconsistencies, is the fact that he gives in many places what are intended to be different readings. He starts his copy with the marginal note, unfortunately half gone, the paper being destroyed in that place, that "there are differences of opinion as to the readings of the text and of the Names," or, as I would interpret this mutilated gloss, "the marginal readings are *variae lectiones*." For, in fact, there are a good number of marginal glosses throughout Parts I and II.

There also are some in Part III, but these are of a totally different character. They are purely philological, and furnish one powerful proof more both for the antiquity of the text with which we are dealing and for the country where the MS. has been copied. Most, if not all, these glosses are, namely, *Arabic* translations of the Aramaic words of the original. By the mistakes that have crept into these Arabic glosses, it is evident that they have not been added by the copyist, who surely would have known how to write his own translation, but who would make mistakes when copying another MS., especially if it were in any way badly written or had suffered in consequence of age. The translation further proves that the original was written at a time when Aramaic was the language of the people, and that at a certain time when the copy was made from which this MS. is a transcript the language of the original had begun to be forgotten and required a translation, which, by the way, is not always exact. The Aramaic of this text is, in fact, not easy to understand; there occur in it many words
of plants and diseases which I have not found in any dictionary in existence, and many of the grammatical forms present peculiar dialectical variations, which point to Palestine as the original home of our text, and deserve a special study. Here again we have to lament the fact that we deal with an unique manuscript and have no means to test the accuracy of the text. But even as it is, this text will prove an extremely valuable contribution to Semitic philology, and would enrich even Löw's book on Aramaic names of plants, where I have in vain searched for the names and words occurring in our text. I have therefore added a translation, which, however, in some places, does not pretend to be more than an attempt to grapple with a very recalcitrant text.

The title of the book seems to be derived from the last words spoken by Moses before his death. He concludes his blessing of the Children of Israel with these words (Deuter. xxxiii, 29): "Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and that is the Sword of thy excellency," or "thy excellent Sword." The figurative "Sword" spoken of here must have been taken at a later time to signify more than a figure of speech. Under the influence of the mystical interpretation of Scripture flourishing at a very early period, it was taken to denote a peculiar form of the divine Name, excellent and all-powerful, which served as a shield and protection. It therefore could be made to serve this purpose in magical incantations, which did not appeal to the assistance of demons but to the heavenly hosts obeying the command of the Master of that "Sword." There is no wonder, then, that it came to be connected with the name of Moses, the very man who spoke of it, and whose last words were of that "Sword." In the Greek Papyri, Moses is mentioned as one who keeps divine mysteries (Brit. Mus., Pap. xlvi, of the fourth century, lines 109 ff., ed. Kenyon, in Catalogue, 1893, p. 68, and note to it); and again, in another Papyrus, cxxi, of the third century (ibid. p. 104, l. 619 and note), a reference to one of the magical books ascribed to Moses, called "The Crown of Moses." But what is
more important still, the Leyden Papyrus calls itself the eighth Book of Moses. It resembles very much our text, which has thus preserved the old name by which many of these magical books went. Dieterich, who published the Leyden Papyrus (Abraxas, Leipzig, 1891), looks to Orphic origins for that magical composition and lays too great stress on the Cosmogony in it. In the light of our text it will become evident that these go all back to one common source, viz. to the mystical speculations of those sects, which he himself enumerates (pp. 136 ff.) ; and the "Logos ebraikos" quoted by him from the Paris Papyrus (ibid pp. 138–141) shows more clearly still the same sources for all these compositions. The overwhelming importance assigned in these texts to the "holy Name" consisting of a number of letters, and the book calling itself "The Work of Moses on the Holy Name," justify us in seeing in it an exact parallel to the Hebrew text, recovered now by me. There is much internal similarity between the Hebrew "Sword" and the Greek Papyri. The order of subjects is similar; all commence with an eschatological part, which in the Greek is more in the nature of a Cosmogony, in the Hebrew that of the description of the heavenly hierarchy. In both follows the "Name," and after that a list of magical recipes which refer back to that Name. The constant refrain of the Leyden Papyrus after each recipe is: "Say the Name!" Here the Name is still simple; in the Hebrew text it is represented by the rich variety which I have pointed out, but an intimate connection between these various texts cannot be doubted.

There exists besides another small treatise (B), also unique, that goes under the same name as "The Sword of Moses" (Cod. Oxford, 1531, 6). It is a short fragment of a different recension, and has only a remote resemblance with the first text (A). It consists of a list of mystic Names, different in their form from the other text, and has only sixteen recipes, which do not correspond with portions only of the first part, but, as in the Leyden Papyrus, the whole of this was to be repeated
after each recipe. Immediately upon this short text follows an invocation of the heavenly Chiefs, attributed to Ismael, the High Priest, the reputed author of the "Heavenly Halls." This addition corresponds to a certain extent with the first part of the "Sword" (A). In none, but very few exceptions, of B is there any trace of Aramaic, and a totally different spirit pervades the whole text. It is in the first place doubtful whether we have here the whole of it or merely a fragment. In two places we find the letters Ἴ (NG) and ἱ (ND), which taken as numerals mean 53 and 54. If they stand for such, then we have here only the last two or three portions of a long text, of which the preceding 52 are missing. Again, on the other hand, as it is regularly recommended to repeat the scholæ of the "Name" after each recipe, an operation that would be well-nigh impossible for the inordinate length of that text, those NG and ND may not stand as numbers of paragraphs. This text presents besides many more peculiar traits that make it rather remarkable. We find here thus far the only trace in Hebrew literature of the "Twins" or "Didymoi" which appear in the Gnostic hymns of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas, and are brought into connection with the system of Bardesanæ. The heavenly Powers mentioned in the "Sword" (A) under the form of sôns of other Powers, point also to the same system of Bardesanæ, of whom Ephraem Syrus said: "He invented male and female beings, gods and their children." He may have taken these ideas from older sources. However it may be, this coincidence is none the less remarkable. We find further angels with double names, the one of which I translated "Kunya," i.e. the proper name, and the other the explicit, i.e. Ineffable unutterable name, corresponding entirely with that of the Testament of Solomon, where we find "the angel called Apharoph interpreted Raphael" (τῷ καλομένῳ Αφαρῳφ, ὁ ἑρμηνεύεται Ῥαφαϊλ. — Orient, 1844, col. 747).

2 Lipsius, i.e., p. 310.
In the Gnostic prayer from the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, the Sophia is spoken of as the one "who knows the mysteries of the Chosen," or, according to the Syriac version, "reveler of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets." With this the passage in the Hebrew text (B) may be compared, where the same idea is enunciated; and one feels almost tempted to see in the inexplicable word בְּנִק ("Kinn") the Greek "Koinón," the companion or partaker of the mystery; although it seems rather strange to find the very word in the Hebrew text. But there are many words that have a peculiar appearance in this text, and they look like transliterations of Greek words in Hebrew characters, such as "Chartis Hieratikon," etc. I have added, therefore, this second text also, making thus the publication of the "Sword" as complete as possible.

As a second Appendix I have added two conjurations found in the MS. of the "Sword" (A), both in Aramaic, and extremely interesting also for their similarity with the inscriptions inside the bowls brought from Assyria and Babylon. A detailed study of some of these magic bowls and their inscriptions has been published by M. Schwab.1

I have reproduced all these texts as closely and accurately as possible, without attempting any corrections or emendations, except in the case of obvious mistakes, which are pointed out by me as corrections. The glosses are given as notes, and the few corrections of obvious mistakes. I have refrained from referring to inscriptions on Gnostic gems and amulets, where we find "Ephesia grammata" similar to those of Part II of the "Sword" (A) and to some of Appendix I, and to the magical formulas in the terra-cotta bowls, which present a striking similarity with some portions of "The Sword." One cannot exhaust a subject of this kind, and the utmost one can attempt to do is to place as ample a material as possible at the disposal of those who make the study of Magic and theurgy and of the so-called practical Cabballah the object of special enquiry. I have limited myself to

draw attention to the relation that exists between these, the Greek Papyri, and the Hebrew texts which I publish here for the first time, and to point out the important fact that we have now at least one fixed date from which to start in the enquiry of a subject in which dates and times have thus far been very doubtful. It is, moreover, a contribution to Semitic philology, and by the addition of a facsimile of the first page a contribution to Semitic paleography.

The origin of the "Sword" is none the less somewhat difficult to fix. From the letter of Haya Gaon it is evident that it must have been at least a few centuries older than his time (tenth century). But it must be much older still. As the Leyden Papyrus belongs at the latest to the third century, and those of the British Museum to the third or fourth century, we are justified in assigning to the first four centuries of the Christian era the origin of our Hebrew text, which throws so vivid a light upon those remnants of Greek Magic buried hitherto in the soil of Egypt. Herein lies also one side of the importance of our text, that it shows how the connection between antiquity and the later ages was maintained. The Greek texts had become inaccessible and practically lost to the world, whilst the Hebrew text, written in a language which was considered sacred, the knowledge of which was never allowed to be extinguished, preserved the ancient magical texts, with their curious mystical names and formulas, and carried them across the centuries, keeping up the old tradition, and affording us now a glimpse into a peculiar state of the popular mind of those remarkable times. The careful study of those Greek fragments side by side with the Hebrew will assist very materially in the understanding also of those often very obscure texts, and lift the study from the narrow groove in which it has hitherto been kept by the classical scholars who have devoted their attention recently to them. It will also help us in laying bare the fountains from which flowed the whole of the magical arts of the Middle Ages.
II. Translation.

I. The Sword of Moses.

In the name of the mighty and holy God!

Four angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names—SKD HUZI, MRGIOIAL, VHDDRZIOLO, TOTRISI. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, X, the Lord of Lords and the honoured God; these are their names—X. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names—X. And the name of the Lord and king is X, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily before leaving X, who is the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to

1 X stands for the mysterious names, which have not been transliterated. N for the name of the person who conjures.
the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of God X saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honoured Me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:—

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the mysteries of the Universe, and they are practised only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:—

"'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Israel Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this..."
and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfil all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfil instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, X, Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called X, King of the Universe. Thou art called X, merciful king. Thou art called X, gracious king. Thou art called X, living king. Thou art called X, humble king. Thou art called X, righteous king. Thou art called X, lofty king. Thou art called X, perfect king. Thou art called X, upright king. Thou art called X, glorious king. Thou art called X, youthful king. Thou art called X, pleasant king. Thou art called X, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfil my desire, for everything is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favour."

"I conjure you, Azliel called X; I conjure you, Arel called X, Ta'aniel called X, Tafel called X, and the most glorious of these Yofiel Mittron called X, the glory from above. With the permission of my king (I conjure) Yadiel called X, Ra'asiel called X, Haniel called X, Haniel called X, Asrael called X, Yisriel called X, A'shael called X, Amuhael called X, and Asrael called X, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring X, the twenty-four letters from the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this
"Sword," the secrets from above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my words hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name—X, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called X. Fulfil for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of his name, and is called X; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not be found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of X, the guardian of Israel. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe.'"

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of heavens, saying: "I want a light (swift) messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfils my message my sons will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke X, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, Assi Asish and Apragaih, the light (swift) messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with
their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord over all commanded me thus, I, X, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?"

And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the Lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, X, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of X."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man—X, holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers.—And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man—Mittron, Sgrdtsih, Mqttro, Sngotiqtel, etc., etc., etc. (28 names)." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God X, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of X, blessed be He! Sabaoth, Sabaoth, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of X, who lives for ever, and in the name of Ditimon, etc., X, and in the name X of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens and is called X. And the King of the
Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus—X. You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of X, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHVH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, X, the Lord Sabaoth is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which X communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: 'X, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name X, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amen.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by Mrqtiel, X, by Trotrosi, X, etc. (the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses). "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him: 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire': 'Blessed art Thou, X, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is X. Send me X, who is the cover of the Cherubim, to help me. Blessed art Thou, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his
usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say: "I conjure you four princes, X, servants of Hadirion, X, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of the Lord of wonders, which is interpreted thus—X." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, X, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name X." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, X, the beloved of X, who is Hadiririon, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me X, who are standing under your rule, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name X." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee, X, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attachest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfill my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name X, which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" ere he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

II. This is the "Sword."

[It consists of a series of mysterious names of God or angels, to which the recipes in Part III refer. The first list commences with Tobat, Tsbr, etc. (1–5). These numbers are added by me to make the formulas run parallel with their magical applications in Part III, as already explained in the Introduction. I refer to them as they break up this
part in convenient smaller portions, and are easily discernible. After these follow the words: "With these your Names, and with the powers you possess, to which there is nowhere anything like (I conjure you) to show me and to search for me, and to bring me X to do all my bidding in the name of X," and, again, a list of names, that have no special characteristic in common. Nos. 20–24 are all names commencing with JJ; some of these finish with JH. 24–36 all these names have the word Sabaoth attached to them. To 41–47 HVH is added. From Nos. 51–93 all the names are composite; they appear as names of sons, the name of the father being added to each of these, close upon 160 names, e.g.: Ssgnis, son of Srngia; Ssgn, son of 'Arqgis; Atumi, son of Batumi; Ahsuti, son of Kkthus; Agupi, son of Abkmi, etc. Every name from 102 on to the end of this part finishes with -el, after which follow varying syllables and words: some are only JH or JV (Nos. 102–105), or a word commencing with 'A- and finishing with -JH (Nos. 106–111). Nos. 112–121 are followed by AHVH, whilst 122–127=JHVHH, and Nos. 128–134= HVJH. They conclude with the following words: "Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of X, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfil by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, X, in the name of X the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of X the most high God; through you I see X in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon earth in the name of X, as it is written in the Law, 'I am the Lord, this is My name!'"

III.

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another,
to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from Tobar, etc. (No. 1).—2. To break mountains and hills, to pass dryshod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (genipa).—3. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3.—4. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4.—5. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5.—6. Against a demon (shidda) write No. 6.—7. Against shingles write No. 7.—8. Against quinsy (erysipelas?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face.—9. For pains in the ear whisper in the painful ear No. 9.—10. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it.—11. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye with it during seven mornings.—12. For grit in the eye say over Kohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings.—13. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed.—14. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, “that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah”; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, “I conjure you” till “Amen, Selah,” and hang it round his neck.—15. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck.—16. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck.—17. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards.—18. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it
with oil of "Idi" (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm).—19. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand.—20. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it.—21. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of "Idi" (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils.—22. For pains in the stomach (lit. heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it.—23. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it.—24. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them—25. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head.—26. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth.—27. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing.—28. For a woman who has seen blood before the time say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and she be smoked with it.—29. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth.—30. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink.—31. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck.—32. For stone say over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it.—33. For hemorrhoids take tow and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it.—34. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink.—35. For sprains, either
you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain.—36. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow.—37. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it.—38. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it.—39. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?).—40. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days.—41. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool.—42. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live.—43. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it.—44. To conjure a spirit write on a laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas, in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee.—45. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face.—46. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure—Selah," and hang it round his neck.—47. For diarrhoea write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck.—48. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48.—49. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take... from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say... which art called
on the . . called . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49;¹ and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee.—50. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch.—51. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (Artilochia), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command.—52. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces.—53. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison.—54. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river.—55. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.—56. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards.—57. For a tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit.—58. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it.—59. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink.—60. For one bitten by a rabid dog,

¹ There is something probably missing here.
write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him. — 61. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck. — 62. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?). — 63. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . — 64. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64. — 65. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper. — 66. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the sun, and once to the prison (?) house. — 67. To conquer (collect ?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house. — 68. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and may NN be destroyed . . . — 69. To send plagues, take (parings ?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house. — 70. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone
down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of X, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfil my wish."—71. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up.—72. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherid or on a rounded flintstone and throw it against it into the sea.—73. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go.—74. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them.—75. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil.—76. If thou wishest to pass dryshod through the sea, say upon the four corners of the head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee. —77. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' No. 77, in the name of X.—78. To speak with the dead, whisper No. 71 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?).—79. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces.—80. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces.—81. To open a door, take the root of lotos reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door.—82. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82.—83. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat.—84. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands.—85. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherid and throw it into his house.—86. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of . . . and smear it at the bottom of his jug (?).—87. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel.—88. To
make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup
of water and throw it over her lintel.—89. To make
a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint
himself with it.—90. To know whether a sick person will
die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face
towards you he will live; if away, he will die.—91. To
catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots
in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with
each knot, and you will catch him.—92. To make thy
renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an
amulet and bury it in thy house.—93. To shorten the way,
say No. 93 over a single lotos reed.—94. To cure
hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates... and burn them
in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and
place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good.—95. For
every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round
the neck.—96. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and
calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine,
and repeat over it the same words and then drink it.—
97. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring
(round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot
you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97.—98. To go
before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion’s skin
dipped in black hemp (?) and pure wine, and take it with
thee.—99. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak
it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday,
and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water
over the field.—100. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take
a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say
No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that
place.—101. To free a man from prison (?) shame), say over
the grounds of Kappa (?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give
it to him to eat.—102. For a field that does not produce
fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them
with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from
eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and
pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight
paths.—103. If one does not know what a man is ailing
from, soak mullein (*verbascom*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty.—104. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee.—105. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of the Synagogue.—106. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon a chart (paper) and carry it always with thee.—107. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing.—108. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face.—109. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you take it out from the earth.—110. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same words again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop.—111. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer.—112. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee.—113. If thou fallest into a (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace.—114. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee.—115. When thou fallet into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace.—116. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved.—117. If the king’s servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee.—118. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say
No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move.—119. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards.—120. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will be opened unto thee.—121. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat.—122. If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know).—123. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart.—124. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "in the name of the Lord over the holy ones (No. 136) to the end of the 'Sword,'" and "Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power," and he will then disappear(!).—125. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk.—126. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them."—127. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours.—128. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel.—129. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it.—130. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it
No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery.—131. To tie and to fasten thieves and robbers, say No. 131, and whilst saying it put your little finger in the ear.—132. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear.—133. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house.—134. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.—135. To guard thyself from Mazikim, say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1–5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you meet them.—136. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

And upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is Mzopiasiael; the name of the leader of the angels of ire is Zkzoromtiel; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is Ksooppghriel; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is N'mosnikttiel. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.
APPENDIX I.

In the name of the Lord. The Sword of Moses.

I. [A long list of mystical names; then follows:] and the angel over the animals, whose name is Ittalainma; and the angel over the wild beasts, Mttniel; and the angel over the wild fowls and over the creeping things, Trgiaob; and the angel over the deep waters and over the mountains, Rampel; and the angel over the trees, Maktiel; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, Arias; and the angel over the garden fruits (vegetables), Sofiel; and the angel over the rivers, Trsiel; and the angel over the winds, Mbriel; and over man, X.—. . . hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

. . . . . . X give me healing . . . .

Which is the great light? All the . . . . X, I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [Michael], in the name of God [Gabriel], . . Raphael (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones (Archons?), and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, IH, IHVH, IHVH, I, N, son of N . . .

II. Verily, this is the ("Sword of Moses") with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world.—1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and
utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise, and it will dry up.—2. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date), and repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand.—3. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace.—4. To run quickly (?), write the "Sword" on "Chartis hieratikon," then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious!—5. To break it (?), write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (\textit{kyprino}n) and put it in ... and they will be broken.—6. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand thy (?) name upon thy gate, and write thy name upon a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee.—7. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them,\(^1\) and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding.—8. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "Chartis hieratikon," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olive-wood, and lie down.—9. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil and repeat the "Sword" over the oil and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee.—10. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another.—11. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the "Sword," and no harm will befall thee (?)—12. To destroy

\(^1\) There is something probably missing here.
thy enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes, and say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down.—13. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street.—14. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherds, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder.—15. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house.—16. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

Write X upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III. R. Akiba asked R. Eliezer the great: "How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to man the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?"

He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me."
replied): "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say: 'I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of my heavenly servants—I conjure you in the name of X, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the head of ...' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say: 'X, chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee AVZHIA, angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfil my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfil my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is X, of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can
withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (Kunya): Spirit Piskonnit, kunya, X; Atimon, kunya, X; Piskon (?), Hugron, kunya, X; Sanigron, kunya, X; Msi, kunya, X; Mokon, kunya, X; Astm, kunya, X; Sktm, kunya, X; Ihoaieil, kunya, X; Iofiel, kunya, X; Ssnialiah, kunya, X; Kngieliah, kunya, X; Zabdiel, kunya, X. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets and mysteries and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Hayoth (Holy Creatures), namely—X, the lord of powers; X, master of miracles; X, master of purity; and X, master of the yoke. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely—X, three times holy; X, Adir, Adiri, Adiron, etc., the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the Ofanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. i, 21); and these they are—X, who is the mightiest over all; X, who rules over all the inhabitants of the heights (?), and in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are—X, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; X, besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious
throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

"'I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form—X. I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory—X. I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfil the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river Rigayon and place another in thy stead.'" Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfil my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfil my wish, and do not tarry.

"'I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent—X, and the
other in the language of purity (permutations of the letters Yod, He) is read so—X. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honour everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is X, and its equivalent by means of JHVH is X. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name X, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name X, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, Ih, Zii, Ziin, and all His ministers, and in the name of IH, Ziin, Sabaoth, Z, El Z, Shaddai Z, X revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

"With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and ... and Shiddim, and Satanim, that you depart and disappear from N, son of N."

APPENDIX II.

I. Against an enemy.—I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takes away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels Puziel, Guziel,
Psdiel, Prziel. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen, Selah.

II. Against an enemy.—Write upon a new-laid egg on a Nazarene cemetery: "I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from his wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Shemittah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel Tmsmael, and in the name of the angel Iabiel, and in the name of the angel Drsmiel, and in the name of the angel Zahnuk, and in the name of the angel Ataf, and in the name of the angel Zhsmael, and in the name of the angel Zsniel, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from his wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>שמות ושנים</th>
<th>שם מרחב</th>
<th>שם ביבליוגרף</th>
<th>שם בתפקיד</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10, 19</td>
<td>ספירה</td>
<td>ספירה</td>
<td>ספירה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 25</td>
<td>מהדורות</td>
<td>מהדורות</td>
<td>מהדורות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 35, 35</td>
<td>وماגד</td>
<td>وماגד</td>
<td>وماגד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 16</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 17, 33</td>
<td>שימור</td>
<td>שימור</td>
<td>שימור</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 10, 10</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 31</td>
<td>הנפק</td>
<td>הנפק</td>
<td>הנפק</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 15</td>
<td>פרסם</td>
<td>פרסם</td>
<td>פרסם</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>חותם</td>
<td>חותם</td>
<td>חותם</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 20</td>
<td>רמיזות</td>
<td>רמיזות</td>
<td>רמיזות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 22</td>
<td>הכותבים</td>
<td>הכותבים</td>
<td>הכותבים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 31, 32</td>
<td>תורכי</td>
<td>תורכי</td>
<td>תורכי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 33, 32</td>
<td>עזרה</td>
<td>עזרה</td>
<td>עזרה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 26, 31, 19, 30</td>
<td>שימוחות</td>
<td>שימוחות</td>
<td>שימוחות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 19</td>
<td>לוחות</td>
<td>לוחות</td>
<td>לוחות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 6, 11</td>
<td>חומרים</td>
<td>חומרים</td>
<td>חומרים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 21, 22</td>
<td>מסמכים</td>
<td>מסמכים</td>
<td>מסמכים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 32, 32</td>
<td>תקנות</td>
<td>תקנות</td>
<td>תקנות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 5</td>
<td>פקודת</td>
<td>פקודת</td>
<td>פקודת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 18, 19</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 30</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
<td>הוראות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 31</td>
<td>הפנים</td>
<td>הפנים</td>
<td>הפנים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, 4, 5</td>
<td>פנים</td>
<td>פנים</td>
<td>פנים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 21</td>
<td>תחומים</td>
<td>תחומים</td>
<td>תחומים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 21, 21</td>
<td>בתיוים</td>
<td>בתיוים</td>
<td>בתיוים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 2</td>
<td>מלא</td>
<td>מלא</td>
<td>מלא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 6, 8</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
<td>מתכון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 12</td>
<td>התוכן</td>
<td>התוכן</td>
<td>התוכן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 12</td>
<td>תוכן</td>
<td>תוכן</td>
<td>תוכן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 14, 16</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 18</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>רמה</td>
<td>רמה</td>
<td>רמה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 38, 38</td>
<td>שמה</td>
<td>שמה</td>
<td>שמה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 9</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
<td>מהדורה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 32, 32</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 17, 32</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12, 32</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
<td>ערכה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

כ conteo: 26

ספירת המש comunidades ד' ביבליוגרף: 12

ספירת המש comunidades ד' בתפקיד: 15

ספירת המש comunidades ד' ביבליוגרף ובתפקיד: 28
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>דפי הערך</th>
<th>ערכים</th>
<th>דפים</th>
<th>ערכים</th>
<th>דפים</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8, 16</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 16</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, 16, 18</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>10, 17</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 32</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>9, 6</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 16</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>7, 2</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 33</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 7</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 32</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>2, 33</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 11</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>10, 5</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 7—8</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>9, 20</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 33—34</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>15, 5, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 6</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>9, 18</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 14</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 20—21</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 2</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 10</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 33</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 10</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 5</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 32</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 2—23</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 6</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 30</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 5</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 14</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 14</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 2</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 4</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 34</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 16</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 1</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 14</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 1</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 5</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 26—27</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 9</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 6</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 9</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 9</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 6</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>5, 26</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 26</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 17</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>11, 19</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 3</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>10, 2—3</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 3</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>5, 2</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 5</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>15, 22</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 13, 19, 5, 10</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>15, 22</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 14</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>12, 19</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 22, 24</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>12, 20</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 8</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>5, 11</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 11</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>5, 11</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 6</td>
<td>דפונה</td>
<td>5, 11</td>
<td>בשונגדלאות</td>
<td>14, 16, 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

הערה: ערכים שלא מופיעים במפתח ההבנה עשויים להיות מועדים למחזורים אחרים ולשונות שונות.
| 9, 4  | אפורים | 10, 11 | ג' סיイメージ | 5, 2  |
| 10, 4 | אשלים | 8, 20 | סאות | 8, 12 |
| 17, 18 | קצפים | 3, 32 | 4, 10 | ספגטי | 8, 33 |
| 8, 23 | רפסונים | 16, 23 | מזון | אכילה |
| 15, 31 | אפוקסיה | 16, 24 | מזון | אכילה |
| 9, 31 | קַנֶנָה | 8, 11 | ספְלֵיס | 10, 23—9 |
| 5, 20 | קַנֶנָה | 11, 6 | ספְלֵיס | 9, 7 |
| 10, 20 | קניון | 4, 3, 10, 8, 4 | ספְלֵיס | 9, 7 |
| 15, 16 | קַנֶנָה | 3, 32, 4, 3, 10, 8, 4 | אמטר | 11, 11 |
| 4, 20 | קניון | 8, 4 | אמטר | 9, 7, 14, 17, 18 |
| 16, 8 | קַנֶנָה | 8, 33 | אמטר | 15, 33, 16, 2 |
| 2, 33 | גאָלָל | 12, 5—6 | גאָלָל | 10, 1 |
| 8, 19 | גאָלָל | 10, 26 | גאָלָל | 10, 9 |
| 9, 19 | גאָלָל | 17, 9, 10 | גאָלָל | 10, 9 |
| 11, 3 | יָשֶׁר | 6, 12 | יָשֶׁר | 8, 32 |
| 11, 3 | יָשֶׁר | 7, 16 | יָשֶׁר | 11, 12 |
| 9, 9 | יָשֶׁר | 16, 30 | יָשֶׁר | 11, 12 |
| 8, 24 | יָשֶׁר | 8, 31 | יָשֶׁר | 11, 12 |
| 11, 19 | יָשֶׁר | 4, 31 | יָשֶׁר | 11, 12 |
| 9, 9 | יָשֶׁר | 1, 8, 6, 3, 7, 10, 17 | יָשֶׁר | 8, 5 |
| 4, 30 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 3 | בֵּשֵׂים | 10, 3 |
| 6, 11 | בֵּשֵׂים | 10, 9 | בֵּשֵׂים | 11, 27 |
| 8, 34 | בֵּשֵׂים | 11, 2 | בֵּשֵׂים | אֶפְץ |
| 12, 5 | בֵּשֵׂים | 15, 12 | בֵּשֵׂים | אֶפְץ |
| 12, 7 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 22 | אֵפְץ | [ג"א מס' 287] |
| 9, 24 | בֵּשֵׂים | 15, 10 | אֵפְץ | 4, 17 |
| 3, 1 | בֵּשֵׂים | 15, 10 [127] | אֵפְץ | 8, 21 |
| 10, 22 | בֵּשֵׂים | 10, 33 | אֵפְץ | 4, 17 |
| 12, 5 | בֵּשֵׂים | 17, 19 | אֵפְץ | 11, 11 |
| 11, 1 | בֵּשֵׂים | 17, 21, 23 | אֵפְץ | 7, 34 |
| 11, 8 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 34 | אֵפְץ | 11, 23 |
| 2, 21 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 34 | אֵפְץ | 4, 32 |
| 15, 16, 18 | בֵּשֵׂים | 8, 15 | אֵפְץ | 15, 14 |
| 9, 21, 26 | בֵּשֵׂים | 14, 13, 14 | אֵפְץ | 9, 13 |
| 11, 1 | בֵּשֵׂים | 14, 13, 14 | אֵפְץ | 16, 4, 6 |
| 8, 12 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 3, 14, 11 | אֵפְץ | 10, 3 |
| 8, 14 | בֵּשֵׂים | 9, 8 | אֵפְץ | 11, 10 |
| 8, 12 | בֵּשֵׂים | 10, 22 | אֵפְץ | 18, 2, 5 |
| 9, 26 | בֵּשֵׂים | 16, 29, 31 | אֵפְץ | 1, 15 |
| 9, 8 | בֵּשֵׂים | 10, 15 | אֵפְץ | 6, 3 |
| 14, 18, 19 | בֵּשֵׂים | 6, 34 | אֵפְץ | 9, 4 |
| 9, 3 | בֵּשֵׂים | 7, 1 | אֵפְץ | 9, 10 |
| 15, 14 | בֵּשֵׂים | 3, 32, 4, 4, 10, 8, 4 | אֵפְץ | 9, 5 |
# INDEX OF THE MYSTICAL NAMES.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name 1</th>
<th>Page 1</th>
<th>Name 2</th>
<th>Page 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7, 36</td>
<td>אֵלֶּלֶּל</td>
<td>10, 31</td>
<td>אַהְוָה</td>
<td>9, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 2</td>
<td>אוֹמָלִים</td>
<td>7, 9</td>
<td>אוֹמָל</td>
<td>1, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 9, 13, 1, 2</td>
<td>אֹמָלִים</td>
<td>6, 29</td>
<td>אַוֹתרֵית</td>
<td>6, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 5</td>
<td>אֵוָדָרִים</td>
<td>10, 17</td>
<td>אַוֹורָנִים בַּאָשֶׁר</td>
<td>12, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 35</td>
<td>אֵפְרָהֵמִים</td>
<td>11, 2</td>
<td>אַוּר</td>
<td>8, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 28—29</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין הבָּשָׁר</td>
<td>11, 22—3</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>8, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 17</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 35</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 18</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>6, 31, 7, 23, 19, 7</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 9</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 30</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>16, 15, 17</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>16, 15, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 6</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>10, 7, 17</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>10, 7, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 23</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 18</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 34</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 24</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 11</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 36</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 35</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 33</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 4</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 22</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>9, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 3</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 3</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 9, 19, 23, 19, 26</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>7, 33</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>7, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 32</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 1</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 35</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 4</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 35</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 36</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 11</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 27</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 21 [221</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 9</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 14</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 34</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 1</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 1</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 1</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
<td>אוֹרְבִּין</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Numbers refer to page and line.
APPENDIX B.
יתכן ש�〰シュר משלוחי ינו של המאובנים...

1. יונתן "חי ט"
ודש וכסת אוחז ב_hyperlink_מעש שמן ו_hyperlink_תומע ממס השלוש בדחים פורים וhyperlink_תיישב ביבת מותר ו_hyperlink_עמלץ ו_hyperlink_מעשים וhyperlink_تجديد יושב עמקו וhyperlink_وضوع על מעשה מחשבות מראות רティング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רティング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רタイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw ר.LinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עמקו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב עассивו וhyperlink_ düw רLinearLayout_タイミング יושב Unaligned_タイミング יושב Unaligned_槜ל_タイミング יושב Unaligned_ampilinel_タイミング יושב Unaligned_ampilinel_タイミング יושb Unaligned_タイミング יושb Unaligned_]</ref>
אמות הוהי הזה תרבו ושתה חיות יפה ובון בזאת
ויוכל כל כָּסִיפְךָ; כָּסִיפְךָ נָלָלָה לָכֶם בְּכָנְבָּתְכָּה וּלְחָמֶה נוֹדוּת
הָמֹמֵא וּשְׂמֹא הָאָרֶץ; אוֹתוֹ כָּסִיפְךָ וּלְחָמֶה נוֹדוּת הָאָרֶץ אַלָּא לְבֹשֵׁה
לְאָלַחֲתֶם וּלְמָסֵיקְךָ, צַיְדוּ בְּכָנְבָּתְכָּה וּלְחֶבֶא בְּכָנְבָּתְכָּה אָּדָם לֹא יִרְאֵה
וְיִכְלֶּג בְּכָנְבָּתְכָּ, שְׁמַע אָדָם לִרְאוּ רבָּא קִּסָּה כָּנֵבֶּה נוֹדוּת אָדָם לֹא יִרְאֵה.

הָרוֹב בָּא כְּלָלֶּה וְיַעֲבֹר כָּלֶּה תּוֹמְאֵה וָאָבֶּקָה, שְׁמַע אָדָם לִרְאוּ רבָּא קִּסָּה כָּנֵבֶּה נוֹדוּת אָדָם לֹא יִרְאֵה.

יִשְׁתִּיא, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, לְשׂוֹרֵב קָרֵיסֶת מַעֲרֶם הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקָה, הָרוֹב נִזְקוּ, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוּ, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב נִזְקָוְוַת, הָרוֹב

יַעֲבֹר כָּלֶּה וְיַעֲבֹר כָּלֶּה תּוֹמְאֵה וָאָבֶּקָה, שְׁמַע אָדָם לִרְאוּ רבָּא קִּסָּה כָּנֵבֶּה נוֹדוּת אָדָם לֹא יִרְאֵה.
אפרת אימהת תחתל חេgne יברוה אסייאל בד אֶפָּס אַמאַת אַבה אברבה אַנֵאָמ בּאַבֶּד אַרְשָׁאָוף שֵׁיאָמָא וְאֵיא אַמאַת אַבה אברבה אַנֵאָמ בּאַבֶּד אַרְשָׁאָוף שֵׁיאָמָא וְאֵיא

הרות מְעַבּ אַחֲרוּב אַבֶּד אַרְשָׁאָוף שֵׁיאָמָא וְאֵיא אַמאַת אַבה אברבה אַנֵאָמ בּאַבֶּד אַרְשָׁאָוף שֵׁיאָמָא וְאֵיא

1. א. א. בּ@. 4 so in Ms. 3 1. א. א. בּ@. 4 ? חַ# 5
APPENDIX A.

בשם י"ח חרבו דמשה [f. 61a]

I. דקמאו, יكيف. dotMelכימא זהות או התא עונק בירד [וספיקו]
והינן שמות מקובלים אוול ראביהו. מייסת. מואה בל ראבוד. רמות. שמה בל אמגוד. להא
אינו. שמאר לאור עידות. נותר עמל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
תניאו עיבה מסעדה. ויאו אולבת. תמקה שבר גאון. התאר
15
בוזל. בוזל קוליא. אספם. נכרי. ה던 fray והיתו. 'אור נונדוי
הפרנס בכפיי. בקואר. אייסים. משמי. והנה בל כמיה ותא. לברות
הכרך. לולאלאס אברות. בהא בל בית אשאם. נוריאל. והזמנה.
מקהל. נזרו. בל כבשי. אתל行き. וקเชื่อว่าו. וברידל. ונוריאל.
ודמות. שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
20
[וספיקו]. בתאר דגן. ריב יזרו. אתו אנונALLED. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה.
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
25
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
30
[וספיקו]. בתאר דגן. ריב יזרו. אתו אנונALLED. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה.
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
35
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
40
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
45
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
50
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא
55
וזורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. באט החותם. אשר בל מוה. ועליהם. זורו. אואו. לולאלאס אברות. אייסים. ובא צוריה. שלג. ב שלג.
ואף שמה י"ח חרבו דמשה, אויל יבריהו. וכחך היה. ושמה בל אמגוד. להא

1 Cod. Oxford. 1531, 6. 2 So in Ms.
םב הוא או מ"ה בתיי מלאי יתדות וישו מ"ה נניי רמי יבוח ומלוח
ומ"ה ביתיו זמיא עלאיה מ"ה אינא סאטאה נ"ה וינון זיוולך על
קרוא תורי ובוחר יאונה ב כוון על שבלול 103. קוליא דודון
ולא ידע תמי ידיין מלק שברעם ב"ה ז"י על ידני מ"ה מז
ספיהל דו רוכי ושתי נ' כ"י 104. שלמעד קרה עם עִי
רוכל ו מרגיש א"ו עליה מ"ה רוכי ידיין קבקואן. חורא
פרישו והתריע מאסי קרבא עבידי קרבא 105. כא עניית הדיעה
אימות על כל עניי אין חות על סוס ראבירה מ"ה קבקואן
ונוע הדיעה נהורה 106. בא עניית דראבדה אל חורה
וקבר דבר ינות שווי על מ"ה מ"ה עניית דראבדה א"ו רוכס
בשעת שדחה חות על קרבא מ"ה נ"ה נהורה עד זיוולך
נקום על אם מתה דיבעה 107. המ"ה בתה פעיל לכל זיוולך
א"ו נהורה בהנה על ב"ה מצרית שרי החיה 108. לא נהורה
ולא בטע התדשד והבור והיא תעידי כל
התחדש דרבעה 109. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
מרוח מחסדו הרודי ח"ה ובהנה עלי תדה לה
חות [f. 119]" 110. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
ומ"ה בטע התדשד והבור והיא תעידי כל
יתודש וערובה והיא תעידי כל
ורחון מ"ה מצרית 111. תודש וערובה והיא תעידי כל
זיוולך ויבוע זיוולך ח"ה מצרית 112. לא בטע
וגה עלתו דרבעה 113. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
ואמי מ"ה מצרית 114. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
ויבוע זיוולך ח"ה מצרית 115. לא בטע
ובובון עד לא ידע אמור בקבלות מ"ה מצרית
וזיול המצרית 116. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
ולא ידע אמור בקבלות מ"ה מצרית
オンיה תודש וח"ה מצרית 117. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 118. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 119. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
ולא ידע אמור בקבלות מ"ה מצרית
לผู้หญิงויא תודש וח"ה מצרית 120. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 121. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 122. לא בטע
ויבוע זיוולך ח"ה מצרית 123. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 124. לא בטع
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 125. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 126. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 127. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 128. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 129. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 130. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 131. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 132. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 133. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 134. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 135. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 136. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 137. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 138. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 139. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 140. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 141. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 142. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 143. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיה אותו יתודש ח"ה מצרית 144. לא בטע
ויודש וח"ה מצרית 145. לא בטע יקופט✈️ על מ"ה מצרית
והיהcoration confidential
עלו הרעא (1) שמעושמעו העוה ונהו העוה שמעו שמך זריר, יכלו רקע
מן אשלוהזא ערבע במעלאו.65 שאיבעה ערבע ממשלאו בהרכabalמה אַמ לא רבע
העמה ינאלת יבשומיא אַמארויא הוֹק תַּקְלָל שמש אַמּרִי
מן תַּקְלָלָת והא יִסְתַּכֶּלֶת יִכְּסָלִמָה
לַעיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִקְּחַה עַד אַמָּלֶךְ עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶךְ
יִתְגַּלְבַּא עַל אַמָּלֶךְ עַל אַמָּלֶךְ
יִכְּלוֹשְׁמוּ לַפיִית עַד אַמָּלֶכ
לְמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְׁמַאֵשׁ בַּבֵּית אָן דַּבְּרָה ְיִרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָם לְכַּבְּלָא:
ְיַרְכָּא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ בַּבֵּית אָן דַּבְּרָה ְיִרְכָּא.

1. יַרְכָּא ְיִרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָמָא לְכַּבְּלָא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ.  
2. יַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא.
3. יַרְכָּא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָמָא לְכַּבְּלָא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ.
4. יַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָמָא לְכַּבְּלָא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ.
5. יַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָמָא לְכַּבְּלָא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָּא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ.
6. יַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא ַזְּקֵדָא קְוָמָא לְכַּבְּלָא ְיַרְכָּא אָלמָא ְיַרְכָּא דְּרָכָּא ֶלְּמֹתוֹן שֶׁשְּמַאֵשׁ.
לכל ימין ולחודד: 

1. פסוקות 
2. שבטים 
3. ימי השבת 
4. ימי רבים 
5. ימי רבים
6. ימי רבים
7. ימי רבים
8. ימי רבים
9. ימי רבים
10. ימי רבים
11. ימי רבים
12. ימי רבים
13. ימי רבים
14. ימי רבים
15. ימי רבים
16. ימי רבים
17. ימי רבים
18. ימי רבים
19. ימי רבים
20. ימי רבים
21. ימי רבים
22. ימי רבים
23. ימי רבים
24. ימי רבים
25. ימי רבים
26. ימי רבים
27. ימי רבים
28. ימי רבים
29. ימי רבים
30. ימי רבים

לוד מいません "הבוטל שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא" "איש שלא שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא"
"עהלא שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא" "וכל שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא"
ולבדה לוד מ сообщает ק Einsatz" "ודל כלא בשקל_params ממקומנו הוא" "וכל שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא"
ולבדה לוד מ сообщает ק Einsatz" "ודל כלא בשקל_params ממקומנו הוא" "וכל שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא"
ולבדה לוד מ сообщает ק Einsatz" "ודל כלא בשקל_params ממקומנו הוא" "וכל שבקל_params ממקומנו הוא"
ולבדה לוד M сообщает K Einsatz" "ודל כלא בשקל_params Mמקומנו הוא" "וכל שבקל_params Mמקומנו הוא"
דבר שיעולו מוטמעת ב-
חדירות ברוריות וལֵינוֹת
ל PLUGIN. ב-

5

E. [15]
והנעשים לבלונון
ום-
בר
והשוואתו
והשיטה
וה

10

אקט

3


20

25

30

35
בכשחית דאה גובא הקירש

1. ארכבת מלואים הממונים על התורב הגותנה מפי: ואהיה...
2.andid ידויים יומינו על התורב והרואים במקורה, כי לא מועלה
3. המים בדרך שיחם קדיש חוה. מרגניאל "וזחרית" פסיפיס "ותעלת
4. המים והמים שהים קדרים וענויים והמים כל เมטרב מטhraי ויהי
5. בַּעֲלוֹת שבכש שעת ים מומנו על אלף אפרים רבעים ואלף
6. מרכבות מובאות לשון רון [קנוכ] "אפרים" "אתר" "אמר" "ương" "אדוות"...
7. ולא כלם נבדלי. "ואל" שמלות "מדהויה" פסיפיס "אספרא" "✂︎
8. שעריתעיה" קָטִּנִירא "כל מרכבות מרכבות שוק מומנו עליה על
9. הם כל İşte התו" מתפדה "אמר" "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
10. שיר כל אתת התו" מתפדה "אמר" "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
11. שמחובב פבר ולב כל ארכבת תכל" ומצעת שמלת פבר "אמר יהי...
12. שלש ימים שלוב ים במעור ברעך ויהיו עלי כל פועלו יὩוי ממק[token] ש" ו"יך מרכבות שמחובב פבר ולב על
13. כל תכלית הדהו" גלעד שמלות "ספרא" "(pb) הדה " بدا תכנית כוזבנהו" "ספרא" "(pb) הדה...
14. כל תכלית הדהו" גלעד שמלות "ספרא" "(pb) הדה " بدا תכנית כוזבנהו" "ספרא" "(pb) הדה...
15. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
16. בַּעֲלוֹת שבכש שעת ים מומנו עליה עליה לע פּוּכָדנואו חירש "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
17. אפרים רבעים ומורו אפורי אז שמות אפורי ואפרים רבעים ומורו אפורי
18. או כל אפרים אפורי יומנו עליה עליה עליה עליה עליה עליה ועליה ועליה
19. בַּעֲלוֹת שבכש שעת ים מומנו עליה עליה לע פּוּכָדנואו חירש "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
20. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
21. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
22. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
23. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
24. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה
25. "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה "אמר יהי מוסר לברית ופקודה

1. מרגניאל והדריו
2. פלונית מ. סְבִּנְלִיָּה וַגְּשֹׁמָה
3. 1. וַגְּשֹׁמָה
CORRESPONDENCE.

1. THE ARITTHAKA STONE.

CHER MONSIEUR RHYS DAVIDS,—Voici les termes du Commentaire du Samyutta-nikāya relatifs à Māru-samyutta, I, §§ 2, 3:—

**Mahā ti** mahanto
**Aritthako ti** kālako
**Maṇī ti** pāsāṇe (sic)
**Evam assa sīsāṃ hotī ti** evam tassa kāḷavanṇa-kuṭāgū-ra-pamāṇa-mahā-pāsāṇa-sadisam sīsāṃ hoti ||.¹

La tête de l'éléphant ressemble donc à une "roche noire ayant les dimensions d'une haute maison." Cette explication ne confirme nullement l'hypothèse de M. Windisch : elle s'approche de la vôtre, mais elle en diffère en ce qu'elle affirme la couleur *noire*, tandis que vous avez cherché la couleur *blanche*. Vous jugerez, sans doute comme moi, que le "noir" est préférable, puis qu'il s'agit de faire peur, et que le "blanc" en général, en particulier chez l'éléphant, est un signe de bénédiction, un signe rassurant.

L'interprétation du Commentaire me paraît claire, simple, naturelle, et juste. Ce qui n'est ni juste, ni naturel, ni simple, ni clair, c'est l'emploi des mots du texte *aritthako mani*, qui autorisait parfaitement M. Windisch à chercher —un peu loin, peut-être— son ingénieuse et savante interprétation. Qui se serait imaginé que *aritthako mani* désigne

¹ Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Pâli, No. 622, l. 24ril, ll. 2–4.
tout simplement une "roche noire"? Le sens de *ariṭṭho-*
*kālako, "grain de riz noir, tache," était inconnu; *manī* est
très connu pour désigner un joyau, une pierre précieuse,
et non une pierre sans valeur. On oppose même *manī* à
*pāsāna*; il est, donc, étonnant de les voir donnés comme
synonymes. Parmi les sens de *ariṭṭha*, celui de "heureux,
de bon augure" peut se transformer en son opposé,
"malheureux, de mauvais augure"; c'est ce dernier sens
qu'il doit avoir ici; de là sans doute l'équivalent *kālako*
donné par le Commentaire.

Maintenant, on peut se demander si l'explication du
Commentaire, toute satisfaisante qu'elle est, est la vraie, si
*ariṭṭho manī* n'a pas un sens obscur et secret, auquel le
commentateur, pour se tirer d'affaire, aura substitué une
interprétation de son grû. Mais c'est là une question qui
touche à la confiance que mérite le Commentaire en général;
je n'ai pas à la traiter. Vous m'avez simplement demandé
"l'opinion de Buddhaghosa"; je suis heureux d'avoir pu
vous la donner.—Croyez, cher Monsieur, à mes meilleurs
sentiments.

L. Feer.

2. The Several Pali and Sinhalese Authors Known as Dhammakitti.

*December 2nd.*

Sir,—In the course of preparing Catalogues of Sinhalese
books and MSS. in the British Museum, I have come across
the name of Dhammakitti Thera as the author of several
ancient works in the Pali and Sinhalese languages. Judging
from their contents and the style in which they are written,
it becomes obvious, even to a beginner as I am, that they
cannot have been written at one period, and still less
by one and the same person. Further research into the
literature and the historical records of Ceylon has con-
firmed this view. It appears that there have been no
less than five Buddhist friars bearing this name who distinguished themselves as authors, and held at different times high positions in the Buddhist Order.

The earliest of them was Dhammakitti Thera, a pupil of Sāriputta of Polonnaruwa. The latter is well known to Pali scholars as the venerable author of (1) Sāratthadīpani, (2) Sāratthamañjūśā (a ṭīkā on Manorathapūraṇī), (3) Vinayasāṅgaha,† (4) Abhidhammattha-Sāṅgaha-Sanna,‡ and (5) Pañjikālankāra,§ a commentary on Ratnamati’s Pañjika, which is itself a commentary on the Cāndravyākaraṇa, the valuable Sanskrit grammar of Candragomin.

No copy of the Pañjikālankāra has as yet been met with in Ceylon.† It must, however, have been extant in the fifteenth century, for we find references to it in Tōṣagamuvē Śrī Rāhula’s grammatical work “Moggallāyanapañjikā-pradīpaya.”§ We have thus another work on Candra’s grammar, which must be added to those mentioned by Dr. Bruno Liebich in his learned essay on the subject.¶

Sāriputta lived at Polonnaruwa in the reign of King Parākrama-bāhu the Great (1164–97 A.D.). He had several disciples—Sāṅgharakkhita, Sumanāgala, Vāgīśvara, Dhammakitti, and others—who were themselves celebrated authors. Sāṅgharakkhita wrote (1) Khuddasikkhā Abhinava Ṭīkā, (2) Subodhālanka, (3) Vuttodaya, (4) Susaddasiddhi, and (5) Sambandha Cintā,¶ and took a prominent part in the convocation of monks held under the auspices of King Māgha or Kālinga Vijaya-bāhu (1215–36) for the suppression of schisms in the Buddhist Church.¶

This Dhammakitti, whom we may call “the first,” was the composer of the well-known Pali poem, Dāthāvamsa, on the Tooth-relic of Buddha. He wrote it at the request of

---

† Colophon to Dāthāvamsa (edited and tr. by Sir Mutukumāra Svāmi), p. 81. See also P.T.S. Journal, 1884, p. 151, verse 1.
‡ Introd. to Anuruddha-sātaka (ed. 1879, p. 2), by Pandit Baṭuvantudāve.
¶ Subhūti’s Nāmamālā, p. xxxv.
¶ Introd. to Vimalajoti’s edition of Vuttodaya.
¶¶ Nikāya-sāṅgraha, p. 23.
the minister Parākrama, who restored Līlāvatī, the widow of Parākrama-bāhu the Great, to the throne in 1211.

The second Dhammakitti lived in the reign of King Pandita Parākrama-bāhu of Dambadeniya (1240–75). He came to the island from "Tamba-rata," or, according to Mayūrapāda's Pūjāvaliya, from "Tamalingamuva," at the invitation of the king. The following is the account in the Mahāvamsa, clothed, as is to be expected, in religious language:

"And it came to pass that of the many and pious priests who dwelt always in the country of Tamba, there was a certain great elder known as Dhammakitti, who had become famous by his great zeal and piety. And when the king heard that a lotus had once sprung up in the path of this elder as he went on his way begging, he was greatly astonished, and sent religious gifts and offerings of perfumes and sandal ointments, and such substances that were touched against the Tooth-relic, and other royal gifts also, to the Tamba country, and caused the great elder to be brought to the island of Lankā. And when the king saw him he was glad and rejoiced greatly, as if he had seen an Arahant, and made great offerings unto him, and ministered carefully, with the four requirements of a monastic life, unto him who was a vessel worthy of offerings and honour."  

And this Buddhist saint may have been the same Dhammakitti who, under the patronage of the king, compiled that portion of the Mahāvamsa which treats of the history from the period of Mahāsena, A.D. 275–301, to his own times.

A third Dhammakitti seems to have flourished during the reign of Bhuvaneka-bāhu I (1277–88). He belonged to the fraternity of Buddhist monks whose chief seat was at Puṭabhattasela (Pālābatgala), but he resided in a monastery near Gaṅgāśripura (Gampola).  

---

2 Wijesinha's Mahāvamsa, p. 284, vv. 11–16.  
3 Saddhammalaṅkāra, Brit. Mus. Or. 2277, fol. lri ś.
His pupil was Dhammakitti the fourth. He lived at Gaḍālādeṇī Vihāra during the reigns of Parākrama-bāhu V and Vikrama-bāhu III (1351–72), and was the learned author of Pāramimahāsataka, an important Pali poem on the ten Pāramitās of Buddha. He was the Saṅgharāja (hierarch) of his time, and held a great convocation of Buddhist monks in 1369 under the auspices of the minister Niśāṇkha Alagakkōṇāra, and effected reforms in the Buddhist Church.

The fifth known Dhammakitti and the last of the series, succeeded his master in the office of Saṅgharāja. He was also called Devarakkhita or Jayabāhu Mahā-thera, and lived in the reigns of Bhuvaneka-bāhu V and Virabāhu III (1372–1410). He was the celebrated author of about six important works, viz.: Saddhammālāṅkāra, Jinabodhāvali, Saṃkhhepa, Nikāya-saṅgraha, Balāvatāra, and probably Gaḍālādeṇī-sanna and Saddhammasaṅgha. In conjunction with his colleague Galaturumūla Maitri Mahāsthavira, he, further, held a synod of Buddhist monks, and by suppressing unorthodox doctrines is said to have rendered great service in the purification of the religion.—Yours faithfully,

Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe.

3. Mahuan’s Account of Bengal.

8, Christ Church Avenue, Brondesbury, 29th November, 1895.

Dear Sir,—It will be remembered that in my paper relating to Mahuan’s account of Bengal, which appeared in the July number of this Journal, the names of the kings of that country sending embassies to China in 1409 and 1415 could not be determined with anything like certainty owing to the discrepancy of dates.

1 Nikāya-saṅgraha, p. 28.
2 Ibid.
3 Saddhammālāṅkāra, Brit. Mus. Or. 2277, fol. 178b.
I stated that the king sending an embassy to China in 1409 was called in the Chinese annals Gai-ya-szú-ting, which name seemed to fairly represent King Ghiyas-ad-din, but who did not appear to have been reigning in Bengal at that time.

Mr. Beveridge, with whom I had a conversation and some correspondence on the subject, informs me that Ghiyas-ad-din was living in 814 (1412), and there are coins of his up to 812 (1410).

In addition to this information kindly given me, Mr. Beveridge sent me an extract from his paper on the "Rajah Káns," which he wrote for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in vol. lxi, part i, No. 2, 1892, in which he fully enters into the subject concerning the time that Ghiyas-ad-din lived and reigned.

If we accept the dates given in his paper as correct, the Gai-ya-szú-ting of the Chinese annals may with almost certainty be accepted as Ghiyas-ad-din, who was king of Bengal at the time the embassy was sent.

Being thus tolerably certain as to the name of the king sending the embassy in 1409, I again turned my attention to the embassy of 1415, to see whether the initial character given in the name of the king sending it could be read in any other way. I stated that the Chinese annals called him Kien-fuh-ting, 鍾弗丁, but I am inclined to think that the name should be read Sai-fuh-ting, 賽弗丁; the initial character Kien,鍾, being easily printed in error for Sai, 賽.

The king of Bengal thus sending the embassy in 1415 would be, in Chinese, Sai-fuh-ting and not Kien-fuh-ting, the name given in my paper. Again quoting Mr. Beveridge, we are informed that a Sai-fud-din, the son of Ghiyas-ad-din, succeeded his father as king of Bengal in 1412. He reigned three years and four months, and consequently would be reigning in 1415, when the embassy started for China. In duly weighing the above facts, I think we are warranted in supposing that the Sai-fuh-ting of the Chinese annals is King Sai-fud-din of Bengal.
There is now the question, what city was the capital of Bengal from whence these embassies came? Mahuan gives no name to the capital, but simply its approximate distance from Sonargáon. Sonargáon in the Ming annals is also the starting-point for the capital, but the directions and distances given are misleading.

In a Chinese encyclopaedia, the Yuen-chien-lei-han, there is to be found a short account of Bengal, in which is given the name of the capital, and from which I quote the following:

"Sona-urh-kiang, Sonargáon, is a walled city, where much trade is carried on; beyond which [no direction given] there is the city of Pan-tu-wa, in which the king of the country [Bengal] resides, it is a walled city and is very large. The king’s palace is very extensive, and the pillars supporting it are of brass, on which are engraved figures of flowers and animals. In the throne-room there is a raised dais, inlaid with every kind of precious stone, on which the king sits crossed-leg with his sword lying across his knees. The king and all his officers are Muhammadans."

The characters can also be read Pan-du-wa, and in the Amoy dialect P'êng-du-wa.

Mr. Beveridge, to whom I submitted the above extract, informs me that he thinks Panduah answers to the whole of the description of the Chinese Pan-tu-wa except the distance.

Mr. Beames, with whom I have been also in correspondence, states that Panduah was the capital of Bengal at the time the embassies went to China, but, owing to the direction and distance from Sonargáon given by the Chinese writers, hesitates somewhat in accepting Pan-tu-wa as representing Panduah.

On due consideration of the subject, I think it would be as well to dismiss the Chinese accounts of the direction and distance of the capital of Bengal from Sonargáon, as faulty and contradictory, and this being done, I think we should be warranted in assuming that the Chinese Pan-tu-wa
fairly represents the Bengal Panduah, which, according to Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," vol. xi, page 39, was at the time the capital of that part of India of which we have been treating, viz. 1409-1415.

My best thanks are due to Dr. Codrington and Messrs. Beames and Beveridge, for the help they have afforded me in my attempts to identify the names of the kings of Bengal sending embassies to China, and also for kindly aiding me to identify the ancient Bengal capital Panduah with Pan-tu-wa of the Chinese annalists.—Yours truly,

Geo. Phillips.
I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

November 12th, 1895.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—
Lady Brooke, Rānī of Sarawak,
Mr. Gazafar Ali Khān,
Mr. Justice Khuda Baksh Khān Bahādūr,
Mr. Khuda Baksh,
Dr. E. Hardy,
Captain Gerini,
Mr. C. Fernando,
Professor Mukerji of Jaipur,
Professor M. T. Quinn,
Mr. T. Callan Hodson,
Mr. Rajesvar Mitra, and
Dr. E. B. Landis

had been elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read a paper by Professor Hirth on Chao Ju-kua, a Chinese geographer of the thirteenth century.

In the discussion which ensued Professor Douglas, Mr. Delmar Morgan, Sir William Wilson Hunter, Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Thomson Lyon, and Dr. Gaster took part.

The paper appears in the present Number.

Mr. Herbert Baynes exhibited a clay tablet with a Buddhist inscription upon it, from Burma.
December 10th, 1895.—Dr. Thornton in the Chair.

It was announced that—
Mons. E. Blochet,
Mr. Tahl Ram, and
Mr. Abdullah ibn Yusuf Ali
had been elected members of the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Gaster read a paper on the newly discovered MS. of the “Sword of Moses,” a mediæval work on Magic.

In the discussion Dr. Gollancz, Professor Bendall, and Mr. Mead took part.

The paper is published in the present Number.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESellschaft.
   Band xlix, Heft 3.

   Bacher (W.). Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik (Fortsetzung und Schluss).
   Oldenberg (H.). Noch einmal der vedische Kalender und das Alter des Veda.
   Mills (L. H.). On the ambiguity of certain characters in the Zend Alphabet.

2. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. N.S. Tome vi, No. 1.

   Rapport Annuel.

   Tome vi, No. 2.

   Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).
   Mêly (F. de). L’Alchimie chez les Chinois et l’alchimie grecque.
   Lévy (S.) and Chavannes (E.). L’itinéraire d’Ou-K’ong (751–790).
III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk.

The Nederlandsche Spectator contains an obituary notice, by Professor Kern, of Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, in whose death we mourn the loss of the greatest Malayan scholar of this century. Born in the Dutch East Indies, and educated in Holland, he brought out, as the fruit of eight years’ residence amongst the Bataks of Sumatra, a Batak dictionary and reader (the latter in four volumes), and a grammar of the Toba dialect. Subsequently he spent some time in London in cataloguing the Malay manuscripts of the East India House and the Royal Asiatic Society; and before his second return to India he brought out two Malay text-books, and several important treatises on the Lampong language and literature. Some twenty years ago he took up his residence at Buleleng, in the island of Bali, for the purpose of elaborating a Kawi-Balinese-Dutch dictionary. He had only just commenced to carry this important work through the Press when death overtook him. He was also the author of a revised edition of Von de Wall’s Malay dictionary in three volumes, and contributed many valuable articles to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Batavia and of the Asiatic Society of the Hague.

Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra.

Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra was born at Kounagur on the 2nd of May, 1844. His father, Babu Joy Gopal Mitra, was a clerk in a merchant’s office. His was a large family, and it was not without difficulty that he managed to make both ends meet. Young Trailokya Nath grew into a vigorous, diligent, and self-reliant boy. He was first sent to Serampur to receive his rudimentary education. Subsequently he went to Utterpara, and was admitted into the local school on the 11th May, 1855. In April,
1859, when he was practically in the Second Class, he passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. In 1860 he went up for and successfully passed the Senior Scholarship Examination, heading the list of the successful candidates. In the next year, 1861, he passed the First Examination in Arts, and stood second in order of merit. In 1863 he passed the Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and secured the first place. In 1864 he obtained the Degree of Master of Arts, and again headed the list of the successful candidates. In 1865 he passed the Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Law in the First Division, standing second in order of merit. In 1867 he received Honours in Law, and in 1877 the University of Calcutta conferred on him the Degree of Doctor in Law, the highest honour it can bestow.

A career so brilliant could not pass without recognition. In 1864, just after he had obtained the M.A. Degree, Dr. Trailokya Nath was appointed Lecturer in Mathematics at the Presidency College. This he held till 1865, when he was appointed Law Lecturer and officiating Professor of Philosophy in the Hughli College. The Chair of Philosophy fell vacant when Mr. (now Sir Alfred) Croft went on leave, and it was no mean compliment paid to the varied learning and brilliant intellect of the young man that he was chosen to fill it. He held both these offices for about a year, when he resigned his appointment as Professor of Philosophy and joined the Bar, retaining his appointment as Law Lecturer. It is said that Mr. Atkinson, who was then Director of Public Instruction, offered him an appointment in the higher grades of the Bengal Educational Service, but Dr. Trailokya Nath chose to follow the profession of Law. And no one can doubt that his subsequent career amply justified his choice.

It was in 1867 that Dr. Trailokya Nath joined the Hughli Bar; within a year he became a prominent member, and, step by step, he rose to the very top of the ladder. He practised at Hughli for about eight years with great distinction and uniform success. We are
informed that it was Mr. Justice Markby who advised Dr. Trailokya Nath to try his chance in the High Court of Calcutta. Justice Markby was then at Hughli on a tour of inspection, when the forensic talents and eloquence of young Trailokya Nath made so favourable an impression upon him that he encouraged him to go and practise in the High Court. So Dr. Trailokya Nath secured a Law Lectureship in the Presidency College, and joined the High Court in 1875. His achievements in this field need not be dilated upon, but this much may be said, that his position was very high indeed, and that he was well within reach of the highest prizes which the profession can offer.

Dr. Trailokya Nath was made a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1879, along with his friends Dr. Guru Das Banerjee and Dr. Rash Bihari Ghosh. He was appointed Tagore Law Lecturer in 1879, and his work on the Law relating to the Hindu Widows is a standard work on the subject. He was Chairman of the Serampur Municipality for about ten years, and greatly distinguished himself in the Municipal Board, especially in his controversy with Dr. Lidderdale about the sanitation of Serampur, in connection with which he wrote a minute which won for him the admiration of all classes, and elicited the encomium even of the Times newspaper. He was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in November, 1893. Lately, on the resignation of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghosh, the Faculty of Law of the University of Calcutta elected him as their President, and he was also elected a member of the Syndicate. He was a candidate for election to the Legislative Council of Bengal, and had a very good chance of being returned; but on the 18th of April, 1895, Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra died of fever at Bhowanipur. The universal expressions of regret which followed the announcement of his death indicate the high esteem in which he was held by all who knew him.

Jogendra Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.
(Vakil of the Calcutta High Court).
IV. Notes and News.

The Buddhist Jātakas.—Professor Fausböll is far advanced with vol. vi of his edition, 300 pages having been struck off. Meanwhile the Cambridge Translation is also progressing, the second volume being already in type.

Arabic Grammar.—We hear that Professor De Goeje (Hon. M.R.A.S.) is well advanced with his new edition of Wright's Arabic Grammar, and the first volume will probably appear early this year.

Inscriptions in Swāt.—A box full of squeezes of inscriptions discovered in Swāt during the recent expedition has been forwarded to Hofrath Dr. Bühler in Vienna. They are all in characters unknown in the rest of India, but the technical execution of the engraving is the same as that of certain Sanskrit inscriptions from the same district which belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

Palestine Exploration Fund.—At the request of the Honorary Secretary, the Library has been supplied with a copy of the Report by the accomplished Secretary, Sir W. Besant, of "Thirty Years Work of this Society" since its establishment. The amount of work done, or in course of being done, is wonderful. The Society has been fortunate in securing the services of a succession of most distinguished co-operators, Sir Charles Wilson, Colonel Conder, Professor Petrie, Mr. Bliss, and others: the subject is really an Asiatic one, and deserves allusion in our pages. The discovery of the so-called Hittite Inscriptions, and the Revelations of the Library of Cuneiform Tablets at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt, have aroused an interest in the subject, and it is important that the work of excavation in and around Jerusalem should be vigorously prosecuted.

Purchase of the Morris MSS.—The Society has not hitherto been able to purchase any MSS., not even single ones. This quarter we are glad to be able to announce
the purchase of a valuable collection of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Burmese MSS. from the executors of the late Rev. Dr. Richard Morris, the well-known Pāli scholar. It is a matter of great importance, in the interests of historical enquiry, that MSS. should be in the hands of such bodies as our Society, which is always ready, under proper precautions, to lend its MS. treasures to any scholar seriously engaged in original work. The following is a detailed list of the MSS. acquired by this purchase:—

I. PĀLI.

8. Anguttara Nikāya. 7th, 8th, and part of 9th Books. 186 consecutive and 8 other leaves. Burmese letters.
17. Puggala Paññatti. 32 leaves. Sinhalese letters.
II. Sinhalese.

III. Burmese.

IV. Transcripts from MSS. 6000 leaves.
30. Buddhavamsa (i–vii, and xxii to the end).
31. Puggala Paññatti.
32. Saṃyutta, Nidāna Vagga.
33. The following Suttas from the beginning of the Majjhima Nikāya:
   Dhamma-dāyadā Sutta.
   Bhaya-bherava Sutta.
   Anangana Sutta.
   Vatthiparnā Sutta.
   Cetokhila Sutta.
   Ānūpānasata Sutta.
34. Buddha Vamsa.
35. Anguttara Nipātas, i–iv.
38. Suttanta Bhajaniya.
NOTES ON INDIAN LITERATURE.

In the course of cataloguing the Sanskrit MSS. of the British Museum, I have come across several points of literary interest. It may, I think, serve several useful purposes if I briefly note two of the chief of them here.

1. The Sanskrit Poem Sūryaśataka.

At p. 555 of last year’s (1894) issue of this Journal Prof. Rhys Davids called attention to this poem, under the impression that a MS. of the work, with a Sinhalese commentary, in his possession was unique in Europe. But there is a copy of both text and commentary in the British Museum (Or. 4147).

It may be seen from my Catalogue of Sanskrit Books in the British Museum that a printed edition of both text and commentary or paraphrase appeared at Colombo in 1883. Had Prof. Rhys Davids had an opportunity of reading the Sinhalese preface to that edition by the late D[on] A. de Silva [Baṭuvantudāvē], he would have discovered no disposition on the part of that eminent Sinhalese scholar to claim Mayūra as a countryman; and, indeed, the references¹ given by Aufrecht s.v. Mayūra in his Catalogus (including quotations from him by authors who lived long before the thirteenth century) entirely preclude the proposed identification with the Sinhalese poet Mayūrapāda.²

A few words as to the Sinhalese commentator. Prof. Rh. Davids appears to take ‘Wilgam-mūla’ as a name³; Pandit Baṭuvantudāvē, however, in his preface describes the commentary as composed ‘by a certain chief elder of the

¹ Those who may look up the subject should not fail to read Mr. FitzEdward Hall’s delightful footnote on p. 8 of his Introduction to the Vāsavadatta (ed. Bibl. Ind., 1859).
² [It should have been mentioned that in the letter the possibility of two Mayūras was clearly referred to.—Rh. D.]
³ [Not at all. Just as Galaturu-mūla is used at the end of this note as a name, so Wilgam-mūla, which is an epithet of a distinguished member of the Wilgam-mūla fraternity, may be rightly used as a designation without supposing it to be a family name.—Rh. D ]
Vilgam-mūla sect” *(Vilgam-mūla nikāyehi 1 mahatera kenekun visin) about Śaka 1200, i.e. at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. The commentary, nevertheless, states that the laic name, at all events, of its author was Parākrāma-bāhu, and that he was (as Prof. Rhys Davids points out) the pupil of Galaturu-mūla Mahāsvāmi.

I find at p. 30 of the printed edition of the Nikāya-saṅgraha 2 that a Galaturu-mūla (probably the same person) was a contemporary of the author of that work, Devarakshita Dharmakīrti, and was living in A.D. 1396.

2. Note on Al-Bīrūnī’s Indica.

In the *Indica* of Al-Bīrūnī (cap. lxxiv., sub fin. = p. 286 Sachau’s text, or ii., 174 of his translation) occurs a citation from a Sanskrit work called Vishnū-dharma. In the course of a very elaborate review of Dr. Sachau’s translation (*Ind. Antiq.*, Nov. 1890 = vol. xix., p. 403), Dr. Bühler compares the reading of a Sanskrit MS. of the Vishnū-dharma preserved at Berlin with the Arabic as rendered by Dr. Sachau. This reading is *varā*, rendered by Dr. Bühler ‘myrobalans,’ with the addition of a note stating that ‘this may possibly be the same as Bīrūnī’s *galangale.*’ There can, however, be no doubt that the correct reading is that which is preserved in a Nepalese copy (saec. xv.) of the Vishnū-dharma (British Museum, Or. 2207), namely, *vaca.* This agrees with the Arabic text *waqq,* and I may add that two independent authorities 3 agree in interpreting

1 Sometimes called *samāgama* ‘confraternity.’ See M. Dharmaratna’s preface to his edition of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, p. 1 *ad fin.,* where the Uttaramūla and Vilgam-mūla are given as the leading *samāgamas* in the twelfth century A.D.

2 Edited at Colombo, 1890, by my friend Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe (Vikramasimha), whose kind assistance in the present note I have to acknowledge. It would be a most useful work if some of our friends in Ceylon (e.g. the Asiatic Society there) would undertake a translation, or at least an abstract in English, with an index showing names and chronology.

3 These are Udayachandra Datta’s ‘Hindu Materia Medica’ cited by Böehlingk, and the Arabic writer Ibn al-Baitar, who may be consulted in ‘Notices et extraits’ (*Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, tom. xxvi., p. 403), a reference given to me by my colleague, Mr. A. G. Ellis.
these words by the herb called *Acorus calamus* by Linnaeus. This appears to grow both in Europe and Asia, and to be sometimes known here as the ‘sweet-flag.’ Al-Beruni no doubt belongs to the very first rank of Oriental writers, and it seemed worth while to save his credit, even in a small detail. I reserve some minor particulars as to the second MS. cited.

Cecil Bendall.

**Asiatic Philology.**

I. Mr. Lewis Rice, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, has published a volume of Epigraphia Carnatae, or inscriptions in the kingdom of Mysore. The date of the eighth century A.D. is postulated as that of the earliest, and there is a continuous series down to the present time. The inscriptions are exhibited both in the original written character of the Karnata or Canarese, and in the Roman, with an English translation. There are other architectural plates: this volume is only the forerunner of many to follow: historical results of importance may be anticipated. We hope to have a full review in a subsequent number.

II. Maspero’s Chaldaea. In his important volume on the “Dawn of Civilization” Prof. Maspero treats at great length upon Egypt, his peculiar Province, but his three chapters on Chaldaea are of extreme importance: allusion to them was omitted in the late Review of this book in our Journal, which treated exclusively on Egypt, but the Summary of the history of Chaldaea should not be lost sight of.

III. The Dutch Bible Society have published a translation of the Gospel of Luke in the language spoken in the Island of Rotti, in the Malay Archipelago: it belongs to the Malayan Family of Languages, and is an addition to our knowledge contributed by a Missionary.

IV. Mr. E. B. Michell, legal adviser to the Siamese Government, has printed and published at Bangkok, in 1892, a Siamese-English Dictionary.
African Philology.

A Nyanga-English Vocabulary has been published by the S.P.C.K. for the Mission at Likoma, on Lake Nyasa: it is the Vernacular of the inhabitants of the Island.

Seven years ago Mr. Holman Bentley, of the Baptist Mission on the Kongo, published a Dictionary and Grammar of first-rate excellence of the great language spoken in that Region, and known by the name of the Great River. It was an admirable book, and marked an epoch in our knowledge of West African languages South of the Equator. A special interest was attached to it, as the wife of the Missionary, a most competent scholar, had largely contributed to the work. Other books have followed, and translations of the Bible, and a bi-monthly Magazine in the Vernacular, have been started: it has taken about ten years to make an intellectual stride in West Africa, which it took one thousand years in Europe. The necessity of an appendix both to the Dictionary and the Grammar of this exceedingly luxuriant language was soon felt. New ideas had to be represented by newly developed words without foreign loan words; knotty points of grammatical construction had to be solved: the tongues of men, women, and children had been let loose in the School, the Mission Hall, and the Village; and it is the art of a true linguist to catch words alive, as they issue from the lips of unconscious barbarians. Mr. Bentley has now published in London an appendix of 4,000 words in addition to the previous 10,000: the Roman alphabet is adapted to suit new sounds. A young native, named Niemvo, materially contributed to the work of compilation and translation, and exhibited great aptitude and intelligence. The great Bantu race are born orators, and have in them the stuff, which Education will develop into Culture and Civilization.

Herr A. Seidel has published at Vienna, Pest, and Leipzig (Hartleben's Verlag) practical Grammars of three South African languages.
(1) The Nama, a Hottentot language of Namáqualand, South Africa.
(2) Hereró, a Bantu language, South-west Africa.
(3) Ndonga, a Bantu language, South-west Africa.

They are in the German language, accompanied by reading Selections and Vocabularies.

The same accomplished and indefatigable scholar has issued two additional parts of his useful Zeitschrift für Africanische und Oceanische Sprachen at Berlin in the German language.

Part III contains:

(1) A Vocabulary of the Tikuu (a new language) and the Pokómo, both Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By F. Wurtz (German).

(2) A Grammatical Note of the Chagga language, Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel (German).

(3) A Beast Story of the Bondei tribe, Bantu, in E. Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel (German).


(5) The place of the Temne language, in the Bantu Family. By Dr. G. A. Krause (German). This language is spoken by a tribe on the West Coast of Africa, North of the Equator, within the Negro Region, and up to this time considered to belong to the Negro Language Group. In my "Modern Languages of Africa," 1883, I grouped it as Negro on the best information then available: it is supplied with considerable literature by a most competent scholar, Schlenker. Dr. Krause has been led, by a searching inquiry into certain features of this language, to start the theory that it belongs to the Bantu languages, South of the Equator: the question is a most interesting one, and must be left to time to decide.
(6) Preliminary observations to a comparative Vocabulary of the Bantu Family of Languages. By Carl Meinhof (German).

Part IV contains:

(1) Continuation of the Vocabulary of Tikuu and Pokómo in Part III (German).

(2) On the mode of forming adverbs in Mbundu or Bunda, a Bantu language on the West Coast of Africa, South of the Equator. By Heli Chatelain (German).

(3) Remarks on the Bali, a Bantu language, in the Kamerún Region, West Africa, North of the Equator. By E. Zintgraff (German).

(4) Songs in the Pokómo, a Bantu language, E. Equatorial Africa. By F. Wurtz (German).

(5) An obituary notice of Büttner, an unwearied contributor to the study of African languages. By Carl Meinhof (German).


**Oceanic Philology.**

Zeitschrift für Africanische und Oceanische Sprachen, Part iii, No. 6.

Texts of the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago, Oceania, with translations by Sidney Ray (English). This is a most important contribution to our knowledge, in an entirely new field, by an industrious and promising scholar.

**Translation of the Bible into New Languages of Asia, Africa, and Oceania in 1894.**

A. Asia.

I. In the Dehra Dún, North-west Provinces of British India, the language of Gurwáli or Tiri is spoken by a rural population, and a Gospel has been translated into it and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

II. In the same locality there is a language, called Jaunsári, which has also been honoured by becoming the vehicle of communicating the Gospel to an Indian tribe. In both these cases there has been a distinct addition to our linguistic knowledge. Whether these two languages will retain their position in collision with the lordly Hindi remains to be seen.

B. Africa.

A tribe exists on both banks of the great River Kongo in Equatorial Africa, not far from the confluence of the River Kasai: their name is Bangi; they have a distinct language, and a Gospel has been translated into it.

C. Oceania.

I. The Dobu are a tribe in British New Guinea, and their language has been studied, and the translation of a Gospel made.

II. The same may be said of the Panaiétéi, also in New Guinea.

These facts may seem small and unimportant, but they indicate that annually fresh languages are being discovered: the translations are, at any rate, genuine, and furnish material for skilled Grammarians to find out new phenomena of linguistic variety in word-store and structure.

R. N. C.

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.


We cannot but admire the energy and ability with which this stupendous work has been accomplished, and it is wonderful that we have not long ago had some sinologist eager to translate the book of one who has been called the Herodotus of China, and whose Records really form the
main source of our knowledge of the early history of that country. These Records, dating from primeval and mythical times, are the model on which subsequent dynastic histories have been compiled. M. Chavannes prefaces his labour with a long introduction in five chapters. In the first of these we have short biographies of the two Ssu'mas, father and son, and an attempt is made to determine the respective shares taken by each in the writing of the Records, the translator basing his judgment on the supposed difference of their religious opinions. He says that Ssu'ma Ch'ien was undoubtedly a Confucianist, as he gives the sage a place of honour in a part of his work reserved for the biographies of great men, and refers to the enthusiastic manner in which the historian recounts a visit he paid to the temple of Confucius; while he remarks that any traces of Taoism found in the Records must be assigned to the influence of Ssu'ma Tan alone. He admits, however, that in this opinion he is opposed to the views of San Piao, father of the author of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, who, living about 120 years after Ssu'ma Ch'ien, reproaches him for 'specially revering Huangti and Laotzü and speaking lightly of the five canonical books.' The phrase here referred to is doubtless Huang-lao, literally 'Yellow ancient,' which occurs so often in the Historical Records. If, as I believe, this expression simply refers not to Taoism but Buddhism, it cannot of course be admitted, as M. Chavannes says in the second chapter of his introduction, that there is no passage in the Historical Records which alludes to the latter religion. The author is speaking of the capture by the Chinese general Ho Chü-ping, in the year 121 B.C., of a 'golden man' from a tribe of Hsiung-nu near the present Liangchow, in the Kansu province. The Chinese commentators on this passage think that this must have been a Buddhist image, but M. Chavannes ridicules the idea of Buddhism having penetrated into China so early as the end of the second century B.C., and believes that the image must have been that of one of the ancestors of the King of Hsiuchu. Now on referring to the biography of Ho
Chü-ping, as recounted in the History of the Former Hans, we find the image referred to as the 'Hsiuchu's Heaven-worshipping golden man,' and it is more than likely it was carried into the battle as a sort of talisman. Some nine years ago I pointed out in the pages of the China Review that Buddhism seems to have found its way into China as early as 221 B.C., when the 'First Emperor' cast bronze images after seeing similar figures at Lintao in South-west Kansu. The late Dr. Lacouperie refers to a story in the T'ai-ping-yü-lan ('Origin of Chinese Civilization,' p. 2086) to the effect that this emperor conversed with some persons, professing Hindu views on the beginnings and transformations of the universe, who had come to Lintao by river from North-west Szuch'uan, where recluses had for years been established in caves, and thinks that there is a connection between the two stories. In B.C. 219 Buddhist priests were certainly seen by the same emperor at Puhai, near Laichoufu; and considering how actively the Buddhists spread their tenets in all directions, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the faith was fairly well known in China 100 years later. The sources of the Records, the method of compilation, and the interpolations and criticisms are gone into fully in later chapters of the Introduction. When half through the volume we reach the text of the translation, which it must be admitted is very carefully worked out. On p. 133 M. Chavannes observes in a note that the pond of Tuyeh, although referred to in the time of the Hsia dynasty, could not have been known to the Chinese until the year 115 B.C., so he forthwith marks the passage as an interpolation by some one in the reign of the Emperor Wu, then living. There are plenty of other anachronisms, and we may conclude that the only solution of the difficulties is this—that the whole history was forged after the year 115 B.C. M. Chavannes notices that the historian does not mention the famous eclipse of the sun said to have occurred in 776 B.C., which is thought by some to be the first authentic date in Chinese history.

Herbert J. Allen.

The author takes one by one the reasons adduced by the late Mr. Justice Telang for considering the Gitā the older of these two works, and maintains that not only are they not convincing, but, in fact, are only reconcileable with the contrary hypothesis. A question of this kind cannot be properly discussed on the basis of one or two isolated passages without due regard being paid to the general tone of the whole of the works in question, and the Professor very properly points out that the principal questions raised in the Brahma Sūtra have ceased to interest the author of the Gitā, who is concerned, on the contrary, with quite other matters belonging to a later stratum of thought. The whole argument is well thought out, and time will probably show that the author of this interesting brochure is in the right.


By the courtesy of the manager of the Clarendon Press a copy of this new grammar, prepared on a new system, has been forwarded to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is with great pleasure that notice is now taken of it in our periodical Reports. The language is well known to all Anglo-Indians, as it is the lingua franca of the whole of India, and the special vernacular of the Northern Provinces: it is a beautiful and highly refined form of speech, having incorporated with the Hindi, which is its linguistic base, vast loans of words, sentences, and inflections from the Persian and Arabic: its other name is "Urdu," or the Camp-language of the Mahometan invaders of India from the Regions West of the Indus.

Col. Green was interpreter to the Bengal Sappers and Miners at Rurki, and, as far back as the year 1875, formed a desire to write a grammar of this language, which was
his ordinary official vernacular, based upon the lines of such works as Otto's German, French, and Latin Grammars. For the convenience of the learner the book is divided into two parts. Part I contains a concise Grammar, the rules being illustrated by copious exercises, to which are appended a well-known vernacular Romance to be used as a Reader, and a selection of lithographed Manuscripts on various subjects. These are printed in the well-known Semitic Arabic written character, with additional symbols to represent the peculiar sounds of an Aryan language. In an appendix the author adds a few remarks on the Nāgari or Indian square written character, which is also used to record the literature of this language.

Part II contains a key to the exercises and stories in Part I: these translations are not only printed in the Arabic character in the regular form adopted by the Press, but lithographed in a written series of gradually increasing difficulty to accustom the beginner to the handwriting of native letter-writers. A free translation into English is also given of the Romance above alluded to in Part I, and the other Hindi selections, and the handwriting is both transliterated and translated.

The type and style of this work reflect the greatest credit upon the Clarendon Press: it is a pleasure to a proficient in the Hindustani to read it. It is impossible to predict whether this elaborate handbook of the Language will supersede its predecessors: experience alone can decide this point: under any circumstances this is a most praiseworthy and creditable performance of one who knows the language, which he treats scientifically and thoroughly.

R. N. C.

THE BUDH GAYA TEMPLE CASE.

Messrs. Newman and Co., of the Caxton Press, Calcutta, have published a complete report of this now celebrated case in a substantial volume of close upon 300 printed
pages of foolscap size. The report includes the proceedings and judgments in all the courts, with all the correspondence and legal documents referred to in the course of the action. As will be in the memory of our readers, the case was not a civil one to claim the possession of this ancient Buddhist building for the Buddhists, but a criminal one against the Hindu Mahant who has taken possession of the building for the purpose of violently interrupting Buddhist worship. The action was brought under a clause of the Indian Act directed against the forcible interruption of any established religious service, and in the result it was held that the particular occasion in question did not come under the terms of the Act.


This book forms a very welcome supplement to Dr. Glaser's previous researches on the early history of Arabia. It is full of startling discoveries and ingenious theories, throwing light on ancient cultures hitherto shrouded in mist. Dr. Glaser's aim is to demonstrate that the original home of the Āthiopians, or Ḥabasāt, is not Africa, but Asia, and especially that part of Arabia which is now called Maḥra. Apart from the material gathered from classical authors, as Herodotus, Eratosthenes, the Author of the "Periplus," and others, the demonstration is mainly built on the incense-producing character of this territory. The derivation of the name of the Āthiopians from a Sabaean plural, ʾatyūḥ¹ (pronounced ʾatyōb?), is uncommonly

¹ This form is not to be confounded with the Āthiopic plur. fract. aqtāl, which, according to Dillmann (Gramm. d. Āth. Spr., p. 241), is a development from Arab. ُنثول, but in Sabaean it seems to correspond with Arab. أفعل and أحمار, ZDMG. xlvi, 537. Perhaps the Āthiopic aqtāl is also nothing but a differentiation from aqtāl.
convincing. As to Ḥabaṣat, Glaser very properly thinks of Arab. حبتش ‘to gather.’ Now the existence of a kingdom of the Ḥabaṣat, Glaser argues, cannot be disputed, as it is mentioned in several Sabæan inscriptions, in particular in the “Treaty Inscription” (Glaser, 1076), which cannot have been composed later than 100–50 B.C., but probably earlier. Axum mentioned in the “Periplus” was then too insignificant to figure as an independent power in that treaty, and therefore the country of the Ḥabaṣat is not to be sought for in Africa, but in South Arabia, east of Hadhramöth. To make this evidence all the more striking, Glaser identifies Ḥabaṣat not only with the Ḥbsti of the old Egyptians (for Pwent) but also with Ḥasna of Pausanias and Uranus—who likewise place it next to Hadhramöth—and the Abissa of Ptolemy. This Arabic kingdom of Ḥabaṣat must have ceased to exist at the time of the author of the “Periplus” (i.e. in the second half of the first century of the present era), and was probably absorbed by Hadhramöth. Now in the Greek text of the bilingual Axum inscription of King Aizanas Ἀθυπία is mentioned as one of his dominions, which in the parallel Ṣthiopian text (written in Sabæan characters) is rendered by Ḥabaṣat. It is greatly to Dr. Glaser’s credit that in one of his previous writings (“Skizzen der Geschichte Arabiens,” p. 36) he already suggested that identity before the Ṣthiopian text—of which the first squeeze was brought to Europe only a short time ago—was known. From all these items Dr. Glaser concludes that the Ḥabaṣat, beginning with those designated in the above-mentioned Ḥbsti, was the general name employed for the incense-producing countries as early as the second pre-Christian millenium. About this period large immigrations took place from Arabia into Abessinia. The possible objection that it may have been the reverse, Glaser justly meets with the counter evidence that there is no proof in favour of it, whilst everything advocates the movement towards Africa. The question is, of course, in close connection with that other and more complicated one respecting the wanderings of
the Semitic tribes. The great plausibility of Glaser's arguments has undoubtedly brought the solution of this question somewhat nearer. His book, although anything but bulky, is full of other interesting details, among which are explanations of inscriptions from which he draws his conclusions, and of the Greek names of places mentioned in the Adulis inscription. In these matters, however, the final word still remains to be spoken. That Glaser also took the opportunity of touching upon the famous Minaean question is not surprising, and his remarks certainly tend to strengthen his theory. The diction is attractive, though sometimes rather polemical. An excellent index is appended.

H. Hirschfeld.


The first of these two remarkable volumes is composed of a preface and six essays, and the second volume is made up of a preface and three essays. Each volume is furnished with an excellent and very useful index.

The object of the essays in the first volume is, in the author's words, "to help those who, like myself, are trying to trace the paths worn by the ruling races of the world through the tangled jungles of past times, and thus to learn the real history of the childhood of humanity during the ages when national life began its troubled journey towards its ultimate and, as yet, unseen goal. They call especial attention to the chronological data supplied by social laws and customs, mythic history and ritual; and prove that these, when studied, provide guiding marks from which we can deduce, even in ages which have been hitherto called prehistoric, the order in which leading epochs of civilization succeeded one another."
The first is somewhat of an introductory character, and tells how the author was led to begin the inquiries which have resulted in these volumes. In it we find a good deal about St. George showing his development from a rain-god, and also about the Cross.

Essay ii treats of "The primitive village, its origin, growth into the province, the city, and the State, and its methods of record."

The third essay is devoted to "The early history of India, South-western Asia, Egypt, and Southern Europe, as taught by that of the worship of the Hindu Soma, the Zend Haoma, the Assyrian Istar, and the Egyptian Isis." This is a long and learned, though rather confused, disquisition. In it the author claims to "have traced the history of the worship of the goddess Istar and of the god Soma, and have shown that both derived their origin from the worship of the two earth-mothers, the mother-grove of the Indian village communities and the mother-mountain of the Northern races, and of the thunder- and storm-god as a father-god, the husband of the land." He also shows that "the history of the evolution of religion, culminating in Soma worship, discloses its absorption into a form of ascetic doctrine, in which the desire for personal holiness characterizing Semitic belief in the fatherhood of the God of Righteousness predominated."

The fourth essay treats of "Astronomical myths, showing, on the evidence of early Akkadian astronomy, how the Hittites, Kušhites, and Kušhite-Semites measured the year."

Essay v is entitled "The history of the rule of the Kušhite-Semite races as told in the early forms of the Soma festival and the worship of the Sun-god Rā."

The sixth essay, which is a very interesting and ingenious one, is headed, "The first coming of the fire-worshipping Heracleidae to Greece, their conquest of the Dorians and Semites, and their victorious return as worshippers of the Sun-god."

In the second volume we have Essay vii, which treats of "The astronomy of the Veda, and its historical lessons."
The author shows how the "Indian conception of history as the records of events in the cycle year of destiny" is repeated in Buddhist history and theology.

Essays viii and ix deal respectively with history as told in the mythology of the Northern races and with the "History of the worship of Ja or Yah, the all-wise Fish-sun-god, as told in the mythology of the American Indians," etc.

From this short summary of the contents of this treatise it may be seen that the author has taken a wide and comprehensive view of the origins or foundations of historical civilization. In the mythologies handed down from primitive tribes he sees history, and he has endeavoured to ascertain and show what were the facts embodied in the mythologies. The two volumes contain a vast amount of curious learning and ingenious conjecture. But facts, deductions, and conjectures seem to be all inextricably confused at times, and occasionally whole paragraphs are bewildering from this mixing up of things which should have been kept apart. The author seems to go too far, with regard to the present state of knowledge, in the identifications which he makes in the matter of objects of worship in widely separated lands, and in the derivation of religious and cosmic theories. The treatise is the work of a great reader, a man with wide sympathies and active imagination, and many of the analogies pointed out by him are suggestive and curious. But the method of argument takes so much for granted that it is very difficult for the specialist in any one of the many fields he touches to follow it, and of course the book is not meant for anyone not a specialist.

T. W.


Dr. Holden has succeeded in writing a very pleasant book, having used his materials with great skill and effect. The first paragraph of the introductory note was, it must
be confessed, a little disconcerting: for, what could we look for from a man who, having accidentally acquired a few miniatures of Mogul emperors, casts about for books to tell him something of their history, and lays the result before the public within the twelvemonth (pp. v and xiii)? After that, to find the book so good was an agreeable surprise. It would, at the same time, be affectation to pretend, in this Journal, that Dr. Holden’s pages contain any information not known before to every student of the period. Still, his production is an excellent effort at what the French call vulgarisation; and it is the more remarkable for the fact, rare in my experience of such works, that there is hardly a statement to which a specialist could take serious exception.

Whether a Shāhjahān-nāmah (p. ix) could include portraits "by contemporary artists" of Bābar, Ḥumāyūn, and Akbar, is a little doubtful, unless interpreted as meaning "copies" of such work. I fully agree with Dr. Holden (p. xi) that we may have confidence in the authenticity of Indian portraits. They were not purely fictitious, like those of the early kings of Scotland at Holyrood. They are true to life, so far as the artist’s skill could carry him, and the originals have been most faithfully copied ever since. I rest this opinion upon the researches in India of Mr. A. Constable, who put himself in direct communication with still-living painters, to whom these originals have been transmitted from generation to generation. Mr. A. Constable is one of the three or four Europeans who have any intimate acquaintance with this branch of Indian art. It is one which, from its great interest, would well reward anyone who went into it thoroughly.

On p. 98 Dr. Holden asserts by implication that the cruel removal of all heirs to the crown, so common throughout the Mogul period, sprang from the Hindu, and not from the Turkī blood of the reigning house. Here, I think, he might reverse the position. If he will read again Bābar’s Memoirs or the book of Bābar’s cousin, Mirzā Haidar, the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, I think he will confess
that to Central Asia, with its confused, never-ending struggles for lordship over its petty states, and not to India, were due the frequently repeated and finally disastrous contests among competitors for the throne. Hindus have long been, and are to this day, strong, even bigoted, upholders of hereditary right; and in the succession to their states, large and small, they observe the rule of primogeniture, tempered by the grant of appanages or fiefs to the younger sons.

Being for the nonce a critic, “I am nothing if not critical,” and would therefore suggest (p. 104) that Sind is not “the province just south of Kābul.” South of Kābul we may call it, roughly speaking, but just south it is not, there being the intervening province of Qandahār. Again, “the successive raids, sieges, captures, flights”—did they cease four centuries ago, when the Moguls were permanently established in India (p. 111)? Did they not rather continue as before, until the subversal of the dynasty early in this century? William Erskine’s work, quoted on p. 125, is not a Life, but “A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur—Babar and Humayun”: see therein the passage quoted, ii, 530. Of Ālamgīr a much more characteristic portrait than that opposite p. 309 might have been given: I refer to one in British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 18,802 (Rieu, 783), which shows that emperor as a decrepit, bowed old man, just as Gemelli Careri saw him, clad all in white.

Dr. Holden remarks (p. 165) that the Turki language was known at the Indian Court as late as Jahāngīr (1605–27); but I think the period of such use might be extended safely to 1719, and possibly for forty years later. The harems were guarded by Qalmaq women, supplies of them being one of the most valued parts of the presents sent down from time to time by the various rulers of the Central Asian Khanates. These women were, no doubt, the source from which the knowledge of the language was maintained. There is direct evidence that in 1719, on an important occasion, one of the nobles, a native of Samarqand,
communicated with the emperor, Muḥammad Shāh, in Turki, a language not understood by the Hindustani nobles.

I would remind Dr. Holden that the Mogul Empire did not end with 1707; there were at least nine emperors after that date, of whom authentic portraits could easily be produced. Of one, Shāh 'Ālam II, there is a personal description and character by an easily accessible European writer, Alexander Dow—"History of Hindostan," ii, 497, edition of 1803—who gives also (at the end of vol. iii) portraits of five of these later sovereigns. We may now hope that Dr. Holden, having once nibbled at the subject, will be tempted to devote further time and research to it, and provide us hereafter with a much-needed monograph on the history of figure-painting in Persia and India, its origin, the names, dates, and abodes of the chief artists, and a critical list of their productions, so far as known to us. As Dr. Holden points out (p. 68), pictures are prohibited by Muḥammad, and to trace out the origin of this discrepancy between precept and practice would be one of the not least piquant parts of a fascinating subject.

Before concluding I must say a word or two in praise of Sir W. W. Hunter's chapter, "The Ruin of Aurangzeb." I admired it when I read it long ago in some magazine; it is full of felicitous phrases, and I have never forgotten the true though epigrammatic contrast (p. 319) between "the ruddy men in boots" from Central Asia and their degenerate descendants, the "pale men in petticoats." It is probable that I hold different views from those of Sir William Hunter as to the amount of underground, or preparatory, work required before writing anything satisfactory in the way of Indian (Mahomedan) history; but setting that on one side, no more admirable use of the readily available materials could be wished than we find in this short essay, where, as so seldom happens, the known facts are stated with complete accuracy, even if it be only in outline.

As Dr. Holden has found in America a liberal publisher,
who has brought out his book in such tasteful and becoming form, we trust that he will be encouraged to go into the subject more deeply, and treat in greater detail the question of Indian portraiture.

WILLIAM IRVINE.


This first complete edition of the Pahlavi Minū-khirad, as it is called in Persian, has been prepared chiefly for the use of Pahlavi students at the Bombay University, where Avesta and Pahlavi have recently been added to the list of classical languages prescribed for the B.A. and M.A. examinations.

When the complete transliterated Pāzand-Sanskrit text was published, with an English translation and glossary, in 1871, from the best existing copies of the versions prepared by Neryosang about the end of the twelfth century, there was no copy of the original Pahlavi text accessible. The few Pahlavi MSS. of the Minū-khirad then existing in India were evidently only reproductions from Neryosang’s Pāzand version. But Westergaard, in 1843, had brought a manuscript of miscellaneous texts from Persia, one of which was an incomplete copy of the Pahlavi Minū-khirad written in 1569; and a facsimile of this text was published by Andreas in 1882. This Pahlavi version had been copied from an original which had already lost its first folio, and ten other folios of the copy had also disappeared. Its colophon states that it was derived, through two intermediate copies, from a manuscript in India. As this Pahlavi text, though agreeing very closely with Neryosang’s Pāzand, supplies several small corrections of his manifest errors, and one or two short passages which he omits, there can be little doubt that it is derived from the
same original as his Pāzand version. The contents of the ten missing folios have been recovered from a Bombay copy of another Iranian MS. which belongs to Ervad Tehmurias, while the text of the first lost folio has been transcribed from the Pāzand version.

The Minū-khirad professes to be a selection from the wisdom of the Mazda-worshipping religion, prepared by a wise enquirer who had wandered from place to place in search of wisdom and truth. In response to his prayers, the Spirit of Wisdom presented itself and offered to be his guide and preceptor. The sage then propounds a series of 62 questions, or groups of questions, on religious and mythological subjects, which the Spirit of Wisdom duly answers. But, as the series terminates abruptly and without any peroration, it is doubtful if the work be complete.

As to the age of this treatise, we have seen that both the Iranian and Indian copies can, as yet, be traced back only to some Indian MS. of the twelfth century. But the work itself is decidedly Iranian in character, though the internal evidences of age are slight and admit of much difference of opinion. The allusion, in i, 18, to an evil religion which does harm to that of the Yazads, and the praise of wine, when drunk in moderation, in xvi, 25–29, 36–48, might be considered as referring to Muhammadan practices and prohibitions; but the descriptions of good and bad government, in xv, 16–39, do not specially allude to any foreign domination. Perhaps the period a.d. 550–625 is that most clearly indicated by the contents of the treatise, but the indications are scanty and readily misunderstood. The conflicts of the Arumans and Turanians with the Iranians, alluded to in xxi, 23–26, have been much too frequent to afford a safe clue to any definite period for their occurrence.

The Pahlavi text has been carefully edited, and the book is dedicated to the memory of the editor's learned great-grandfather, Dasturan-Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana, Parsi High Priest of Bombay from 1830 to 1847, whose portrait and pedigree are given, as well as a metrical account of his
life in Gujarāti, which is an abridged second edition of the Cherāge Dānesh, or Lamp of Learning, originally published in 1854.

E. W. West.


This pamphlet is reprinted from the "Centenaire de l'École des langues orientales vivantes." The Fragments are a supplement to M. Cordier's "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des études chinoises en Europe, jusqu'à l'époque de Fourmont l'aîné," published in the Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux in 1886. Together with these Notes, moreover, the Fragments are part of the "Histoire des études chinoises en Europe," on which the author has been engaged for several years.

Among the writers on Chinese matters in the eighteenth century were Fourmont and the missionaries Premare and Gaubil. The mention of the missionaries leads M. Cordier to take a short survey of the early history of the French missionaries at Peking. One of these, P. Noel (born 1651, died 1729), translated into Latin the Four Books, the Small Learning, and the canonical treatise on Filial Piety. P. Noel was also the author of works on the mathematical and physical theories of the Chinese, and of an important treatise on the Chinese knowledge of God, the ceremonies observed to the dead, and the ethics of the Chinese.

Of the amateur sinologists of Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century we have Masson and Vandermonde, the former an eccentric theologian who affiliated Chinese to Hebrew. Then we come to Fourmont, the one positively mean and wicked man among past sinologists. M. Cordier tells the story of Fourmont's meanness towards Premare, the missionary well known by his Notitia Linguae Sinicæ. We have notices also of the works of Daniel Webb and John Webb in England. The latter, in 1639, published
his Essay in which he endeavours to show that Chinese is the primitive language of man. The former, in 1787, published a short treatise in which he gives reasons for thinking that the Greek language was borrowed from the Chinese.

In China P. Parennin laboured at two dictionaries of the language which still slumber in MS. M. Cordier gives also bibliographical notices of the Chinese dictionaries of P. d’Incarville and P. de la Charme, and of the works of P. de Ventavon.

The great De Guignes, father and son, and the distinguished missionaries Gaubil, Amiot, and Cibot, are reserved for a future opportunity, and the pamphlet closes with a short notice of Deshauterayes. This last, who died in 1795, wrote against De Guignes’ theory of the Egyptian origin of the Chinese, and he also translated the “Spring and Autumn” of Confucius.

The present pamphlet, like the other bibliographical works of M. Cordier, gives dates and authorities in a careful, precise manner. The information contained in it may be of an antiquarian rather than a practical value, but it will always be interesting to the student of the Jesuit missionaries in China and to the workers on the Chinese language and literature. The career of the villain of the Fragments is exceedingly instructive, and shows how a bad man may have good teachers and good disciples.

T. W.


This pamphlet of thirty-eight pages with two tables is a contribution by Dr. Fr. Kühnert to the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The author has lived in China at Peking and Nanking, and he has been told by the Chinese Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Peking that he speaks Chinese like a Chinaman.
The Secretary has probably made a similar statement to every foreigner who has tried to speak Chinese to him!

Dr. Kühnert in this pamphlet uses a transcription of his own for the Chinese sounds, and it is one which cannot be recommended. It is not good in itself, and the use of it would make the comparison of sounds impossible.

The author gives a number of terms and phrases to illustrate Chinese as spoken at Nanking. But many of these seem to be the ordinary Mandarin used by those who talk that language in any part of China. At p. 37 we find an expression which we are told means, "Whence come you, sir, and whither go you?" This is shortened down, the author says, to *Hsien-shêng-chü-lai-a* (先生去來口阿), which he says means, "Sir, whither whence?" But as I have heard this question asked, it was used in the sense of, "Sir, from going whither are you come?"—that is, Where have you been to, sir? But should not the word *na-li* be inserted?

Dr. Kühnert has some remarks on the tones of the words and the rhythm of the sentences in Chinese. These remarks, however, are of little use to the student of the language, for, as the learned author would admit, the proper and practical use of tones and rhythm can be learned only by hearing the natives and imitating them.

The two Tables give a syllabary of the sounds of Nanking Chinese expressed in the author's peculiar manner. There is a third Table at p. 18, which gives all the syllables in the author's transcription with the characters and Mr. Mateer's transcription.

T. W.

**DIE PHILOSOPHIE DES KONG-DSY (CONFUCIUS) AUF GRUND DES URTEXTES. Ein Beitrag zur Revision der bisherigen Auffassungen. Von Dr. Fr. Kühnert, Privatdocent an der Universität in Wien. Wien, 1895.**

This pamphlet—like the one noticed above, by the same author—is an extract from the Proceedings of the Imperial
Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The author thinks that a revision of our translations of the Confucian classics is justified and required. These venerable old books should be interpreted according to reason and the authorized use and construction of Chinese words and phrases. In his present contribution to the work of revision Dr. Kühnert confines himself to the Ta Hsio or Great Learning.

The transcription of Chinese characters which the author uses is his own, and it cannot be recommended. Thus, we have "Kong-dsy" for K'ung-tzū, although the Nanking pronunciation of the character for the first syllable is given by Dr. Kühnert as Keng and by Mr. Mateer as K'ong. The title of the Chinese work he gives as "dā-hjo" or "dāi-hjo," which he translates by Philosophy. This translation is not sanctioned by the words of any Chinese commentator, and it is at variance with the received meaning of the words. Nor can the author’s distinction between dā-hjo, great or high learning, and dāi-hjo, highest learning, find any authority.

The Great Learning has a threefold scope according to the text. Of its three objects the first is said to be ming-ming tē (明 明 德), that is, to bring into clear evidence the clear moral constitution; or, according another interpretation, to restore this constitution to its original clear brightness. But Dr. Kühnert takes the second ming here to be used as in such terms as ming-t'ien, to-morrow; ming-nien, next year; that is, as meaning future, not present, coming. Then he makes ming-tē denote merely a capacity or capability for virtue. But this is neither Confucian nor in accordance with the general use of the terms. The word tē denotes the perfect moral constitution with which man is endowed at his birth, and also the innate or inherent qualities or virtues of animate and inanimate objects generally. It has also several secondary meanings, such as are given in the dictionaries.

Dr. Kühnert proceeds to give his interpretation of the text, with criticisms on Dr. Legge’s translation and commentary. At p. 18 we find another instance of incorrect
rendering. The Chinese sentence begins Fan-yen-té-cho (凡言德者), and this is rendered, "Alle sagen té ist"; but the meaning is, wherever the word té is used. Then, on the same page we have a very interesting passage from that clearest of writers, Chu Hsi ("Tschu-hi"), mistranslated in a hopeless manner. At p. 26 we have some remarks about the terms ta-jen (大人) and hsiao-tzú (小子), which show an imperfect acquaintance with the Chinese language and are misleading. The author gives to ta-jen and hsiao-tzú the meanings of men of superior and men of inferior mental endowments respectively. But this is undoubtedly wrong. A sentence is quoted from the beginning of Chu Hsi's Preface, and Dr. Kühnert translates it—"Das Werk 'Philosophie' ist die Philosophie der Alten, wodurch sie die Gesetze der Menschen lehrten." But the words mean: "The book Great Learning is the great learning of the ancients, the means by which men were educated" (大學古之大學所以教人之法也). The context shows that men is the emphatic word here, and if Dr. Kühnert had read the next page he would have seen that Chu Hsi understood and taught that the Great Learning was for adults of all sorts and conditions.

At p. 32 there is a wrong translation which makes nonsense, but is apparently due to a misprint in the original text. Dr. Kühnert prints 忘動 and interprets the clause as meaning that the spirit does not move about forgotten, but the correct text is 安動, to move recklessly or at random.

It cannot be maintained that Dr. Kühnert's study on the Great Learning is an improvement on existing interpretations. The Chinese text and the Commentaries, both the earlier and the later, would repay a thoughtful reading. But the book itself must be taken, as the Sung scholars taught, as a part of the Confucian curriculum of education. It cannot be read and understood by itself, and when Dr. Kühnert has made some progress in the study of Confucian literature he may, perhaps, be able to give a satisfactory interpretation of the Great Learning.

T. W.

Notwithstanding the modesty of its title and its subject, which is apparently a very special one, the volume which M. de Blonay has just published is a worthy addition to the series of memoirs devoted to the study of India in the library of the École des Hautes Études. It is the first among all the volumes of that collection which treats of Buddhist history and religion, and to many persons it will come as a revelation. The only Buddhism known to the reading public is the Pali Buddhism, so excellently described by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, the religion of the "sons of Cākyā," with its impassive founder, its treatises upon monastic discipline, its collection of doctrines, its monks, given to meditation in place of prayer, who gave equal thought to self-training and to charity, and contemned that more or less mystical magic which takes such hold of the passionate, fiery temperament of the Hindu. The Buddhist civilizations are so numerous, the seeds sown upon fertile soil by the greatest of ancient spiritualists have produced such a luxuriant vegetation, that Buddhism, everywhere differing from itself, presents a unique spectacle in the variety of its forms amid the unity of its essential conceptions and of its sacred terminology.

These ramifications are little known and barely understood. The worshippers of the mysterious signs of Barhut, the worshippers of the statues of Gandhāra, the readers of the Lalita, the contemplatives of the Prajñā, the Tantrikas of the different sects, the ascetics, who called themselves Bhikshus, those who aspired to the name of Bodhisattvas, the faithful devotees of Amitābha, and all those who aspired to the Buddhist heavens are members of the vast spiritual family, of which Buddha is the eponymous ancestor, whatever be the varied aspects in which he is regarded.

Round Buddha, in the pantheon of new churches,
crowd a multitude of other divinities, and their splendour threatened to eclipse that of the Master. Popular imagination continued its work, hand in hand with the enlightened piety of learned devotees. In place of the self-controlled sage, the type of perfect humanity, there was substituted a protecting goddess, kind as a mother. The living Bodhisattva took the place of the extinct Buddha. And as the idea of the divinity changed, the rules of life and the conditions for gaining salvation became modified.

The faithful is now he who loves, and who prays to, any Buddhist divinity whatever, the ishtadevata of his family, his country, or his monastery.¹ It is neither by Bkikshutā, nor by Jnāna, that salvation may be gained; but by Bhakti, the fervent devotion, the slavery (dāsatva), both material and moral, of man with regard to the deity. But it is not in every environment that religion preserves this character of intelligent piety, which gives to certain Buddhist pages so striking a resemblance to numerous passages of the literature of the Bhāgavatas. In India the old superstitions reappear along with the newer religions; sacrifice and prayer are both magic and sacramental operations: the doctrines which teach Bhakti are in direct opposition to those called Tantric, in which the female divinities play so important a part.

From among all the divine personalities belonging to Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhism, M. de Blonay has signalled out one of the most characteristic—Tārā, a Brahmanic goddess, of naturalistic origin (for her name signifies a star), she who became the mystical spouse of the "meditative" Buddhas, the mother of the Bodhisattvas, the Saviour, par excellence (yā tārayati). With a zeal worthy of a devoted follower of the kind goddess, he describes the Buddhist, Indian, and Tibetan Tārā; he recounts or suggests the popularity of his heroine and the evolution of the worship paid to her. In so doing he gathers together valuable information upon the internal

¹ Compare the parallel evolution of orthodox Brahmanism: the Karmakāṇḍa, the Upanishads, the Vedāntasūtras, the Bhāktisūtras.
history of Buddhism, and notably upon the character of its monasteries during the seventh and eighth centuries.

For compiling a history of Tārā, we have at our disposal documents of various kinds. I. Inscriptions and monuments, which supply a solid basis for chronological research. Three inscriptions, of which the second betrays a certain amount of literary influence; the first, belonging to Java, dated approximately 779 A.D., establishes the popularity of Tārā amongst the Mahāyānīst communities who achieved the conquest of the Archipelago; the two others, dated 1095 and 1219 A.D., give proof of the survival in India of the Buddhist religion and ideas, which has been hitherto contested. Hiouen-Tsang bears witness to the existence of statues of Tārā in Magadha and in the kingdom of Vaiśālī; the name transcribed by the Chinese traveller (Tārābodhisattva) is worthy of attention—Tao-Suen (650 A.D.) indicates a stūpa of Tārā in the kingdom of Tsau-Kūta, in the midst of Central Asia. Resemblances to Tārā will very probably be found among the sculptures of Gandhāra.

II. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, who was so devoted to the goddess that he adopted her name, relates the oftentimes marvellous biography of the Masters of Buddhism. Nearly all of them, according to him, were inspired by Tārā. M. de Blonay has gathered together the scattered matter relating to the goddess, and has thus compiled an interesting monograph, notwithstanding the limited extent of his essay and the small space reserved to historical discussion. Thus, according to Tāranātha’s account, Čāntideva must have been a mystical Thaumaturgus, a pupil of Tārā and of Moṇjuĉrī. According to the Russian orientalist, Tāranātha wrote the life of Ācāryās in a tendenzios style, and the actual example proves this to be the case, for nothing in the Bodhi-caryāvatāra, a work of Čāntideva, leads us to believe that the author was a Tāntrika, a worker of miracles, an adorer of Tārā or of her sister divinities. I do not doubt that M. de Blonay rejects these ideas of a rather exaggerated criticism.
Without wishing to discuss so wide a problem in these pages, may I be allowed to remark how very little we know of the relation between the various sects and doctrines? When Tārānātha relates the history of Āsvabhāva, the author of the hymns to Tārā, the fact appears to be incredible, for Āsvabhāva was a Mañḍhyamika and his name itself points out the uncompromising character of his school. But do we not find the pantheistic poet of the Gīta profess his faith in Krishṇa? The Buddhists of the South and the Santrāntikas give as good a reason for the justification of the worship which they paid to the defunct Buddha—"As the pole erected by snake-charmers still continues to cure venomous bites even after the death of the charmer." ¹ The school which professes to deny the existence of the sva bhāva, admits that we may pray to and adore divinities. The idea of the void is made to agree with that of adoration and with that of charity. The practice of Tantric ceremonies is not repugnant to believers in the most abstract spiritual theories.

I think some credit must be given, provisionally at least, to tradition. The cult of the Bodhisattvas and of the Tārās is certainly a very ancient one. The schools of the Yoga possessed a long history of their own before Asaṅga. If the details of the biographies of Tārānātha appear to be in many cases doubtful, as were also many of the legends of the Middle Ages, we believe that the type of the great Master of Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries is faithfully described by the Tibetan author in the fourteenth. The latter had ancient documents at his disposal, the greater number of which are lost for ever, unless they be hidden in some Tibetan library. M. de Blonay has had the good fortune to discover a Sanskrit text which serves as a specimen of the sources from which Tārānātha drew his information. This is the commentary on the Srādgārāstotra, full of details about Sarvavajñāmitra, author of a hymn to Tārā. The comparison between this commentary

¹ B.C.A. ix, 37.
and the history of Buddhism shows the antiquity of the traditions from which Tāranātha gathered and compiled his information.

III. Literary documents. From the vast mass of Sanskrit literature consecrated to the memory of Tārā, M. de Blonay has chosen three texts, typical of the two principal styles of its sacred literature.

The first of these is a hymn to the “Wearer of the Crown.” The author, Sarvajñamitra, may be placed, with certainty, at the end of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century. He was “a distinguished writer, who moves easily amidst the difficulties of a complicated metre, and who employed a learned style in the service of an ardent faith and an exalted devotion.” His work “surpasses in literary merit the Buddhist hymns which have been published so far.”

Side by side with the commonplaces of classical poetry, this little poem is full of delicate and sometimes touching sentiments. It would be placed in the front rank of any anthology of Indian prayers.

The two other documents which M. de Blonay presents us with offer a complete contrast to the Kāvya of Sarvajñamitra. “The praise of the hundred and eight names of Tārā” and the eulogy in twenty-one verses are a string of Tantric fragments, “a litany of colourless epithets” easily transferred “from one divinity to another,” in which “language, metre, and reason are abused” with equal indifference. We have no longer to do with the personal composition of an artist, but with extracts from a ritual of which the essential object is to cast a spell upon a divinity by the material possession of a mudrā. The India Office Library possesses a number of books consecrated to the Tantric Tārā, in which these ceremonies are described. M. de Blonay has reserved the analysis of these works for a future volume. He has contented himself with indicating the culminating point in Buddhism of female divinity. Tārā is but an instrument of cult, the docile slave of him who is familiar with the mantras. Her personality, so pre-
cisel[y defined in the Sradharaśtoṭra, becomes completely
effaced, or is revived under different aspects according to
the fancy of theorists of the Yoga. She, with her four
sisters, represents the elements, and plays a part in the
operation called the Vagrakāyasādhanā.

To conclude, this book, which touches upon so many
problems at present insoluble, is a skilfully compiled and
broadly conceived chapter in the history of later Indian
Buddhism. Tārā, by her Brahmamic origin, her literary
and religious developments, and the popularity of her
worship, is worthy of our attention. She has found in
M. de Blonay a learned and scrupulous historian.

L. G. V. Poussin.

Ghent, December, 1895.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

Panjab Customary Law. Customary Law of the Main
Tribes of the Sialkot District, by J. R. Dunlop-
Smith. 8vo. Lahore, 1895.

Markham (Clements). Voyage of Pedro Sarmiento de
Gamboa to the Straits of Magellan.

8vo. London, 1895.

Mahomed Yusof Khan. Mahomedan Law relating to
Marriage, Divorce, etc. Vol. I.

8vo. Calcutta, 1895.

Presented by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Thirty Years’ Work in the Holy Land. 1865–1895.

8vo. London, 1895.

Presented by the Delegates of the University Press.

Parts 1 and 2. 8vo. Oxford, 1895.

Presented by the Cambridge University Press.


Presented by the Authors.

——— Coins of Musalman Kings of Malabar. pamphlet. 8vo. Calcutta, 1895.
Burgess (Dr. J.). Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets. 8vo. Leyden, 1894.
——— Orthography of Foreign Place Names. pamphlet. 8vo. 1892.
Kühnert (Dr. Fr.). Die Philosophie des Kong Dsy auf Grund des Urtextes. pamphlet. 8vo. Wien, 1895.
——— Die Chinesische Sprache zu Nanking. pamphlet. 8vo. Wien, 1894.
Modi (J. J.). Charms or Amulets for some Diseases of the Eye, and a few ancient beliefs about the Eclipse. pamphlet. 8vo. Bombay, 1894.
——— Bas-relief of Beharām Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and the Horse in Ancient Iran. 8vo. Bombay, 1895.
Casartelli (L. C.). Note sur la terminaison ambiguë en Pehlevi. pamphlet. 8vo. Leide, 1895.
Tomaschek (W.). Sasun und das Quellengebiet des Tigris. pamphlet. 8vo. Wien, 1895.

Presented by the British Museum Trustees.

Presented by the Publishers.

Presented by Lady Burton and Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot.
A bronze medallion of Sir Richard Burton.

Presented by Professor Tcheraz.
Rendelmann (Oscar Bey). Le Choléra de la Mecque. 8vo. Angers, 1895.

Presented by the Parsi Punchayat.

Presented by the Mahārāja of Bhaunagar.
Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions. 4to. Bhaunagar.

Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.

Purchased.
The Morris Collection of Pāli and Burmese MSS.
ART. VII.—The Early Years of Shāh Isma‘īl, Founder of the Safavi Dynasty. By E. Denison Ross, Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

The most exhaustive, if not the best known, source for the history of Shāh Isma‘īl the Șafavi, is undoubtedly the Habib-us-Siyar of Khwāndamīr. Though this large and important work has been lithographed, both in Tihrān and in Bombay, it is but too little known in Europe, where it has generally been regarded as a mere epitome of the Rauzat-uş-Şafā; whereas, besides being an original source for much valuable biographical and geographical matter, it contains detailed accounts of many little-known dynasties. Khwāndamīr’s work is thus in many respects more interesting than the ponderous universal history of his grandfather.¹ Now, there is a work, of which the British Museum possesses one copy,² and the Cambridge University Library a second.³

¹ Dr. Rieu (see “Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum,” vol. i, p. 87) was the first to point out that Mīrkhwānd was the grandfather of Khwāndamīr, and not his father, as hitherto generally supposed.
² B.M. Oriental, 3248 (see Dr. Rieu’s Supplement).
³ Cambridge University Library, Add. 200 (see Mr. Browne’s Catalogue, p. 147).
which is devoted entirely to the biography of Shāh Isma‘īl. Neither MS. bears a title nor gives any author’s name, and in no part of the work have I been able to find a clue to the author’s identity. MS. L\(^1\) bears the title جهاذاشي خانان صاحب، which is taken from the Epilogue, and in the very last line after المحمد ولله وسلم تسليماً we read ذر بمقدار محمد علي بن نورا, which, according to Dr. Rieu, is most probably meant for the transcriber and not the author. The work ends with a short account of the accession of Isma‘īl’s son Tahmāsp, and with prayers for the prosperity and long life of the young prince. This would lead one to fix the completion of the history soon after the accession of Tahmāsp Mīrzā in a.H. 930. On the other hand, on fol. 277a of MS. L, we are told, in a momentary digression from the main narrative, that Moḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was drowned in the Ganges in the year 947, on the occasion of Humāyūn’s retreat from Bengal.\(^2\) It does not seem evident that our history was completed after this date; and therefore this incident was probably added by some copyist. There is in the British Museum a MS.\(^3\) containing the lives of Shāhs Isma‘īl and Tahmāsp. It is the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, and was commenced in a.H. 955 (fol. 5b). Now I have attempted to show below that Maḥmūd made use of our history, which was therefore in existence in a.H. 955. Maḥmūd mentions that he had used many histories in the compilation of his work, but of them all he only mentions by name that of his father. In the opening pages of Maḥmūd’s history there is much close correspondence with the beginning of the work we are discussing.

MS. A,\(^4\) fol. 1b, and B, fol. 8b, have a verbal agreement of several lines, and then follows a passage of about one

---

1 For brevity we will speak throughout of the London MS. as L and of the Cambridge MS. as C.
2 See Elliot, v, 203.
3 Oriental, 2939. I believe there is no other copy of this work to be found in the libraries of Europe.
4 A = History of Isma‘īl. B = Maḥmūd’s History.
folio in each, where the two MSS. only differ in this, that B is more ornate in style and contains two additional sentences in Arabic. Hereupon in B follows a life of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn Ishāk, while A, no longer corresponding, gives some facts concerning Fīrūz Shāh, of whom B says nothing. In A, fol. 8b, and B, fol. 10b, we have a description, similar in diction, of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn's dream. B, fol. 19a to fol. 23b, contains a biography of Shaikh Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, to whom A devotes only half a page (fol. 11b). I have given these details [and I give no more, for I think them sufficient testimony] in order to show how little probability there is of our history (A) being also the work of Maḥmūd, son of Khwāndamīr, as was suggested by Dr. Rieu after a very cursory inspection of the two MSS.

A comparison of our history (A) with the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar will show that there is a very close correspondence in them; nearly always in arrangement and not unfrequently in actual wording, which is especially remarkable in the opening sentences of chapters. The headings of chapters, though generally agreeing in matter, never correspond verbally. The verses which abound throughout our history are usually the same as those occurring in the corresponding passage in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, but in many cases the quotations are not so long. This all points very clearly to a case of plagiarism.

On the other hand, there are many biographical and geographical details in our history which are not to be found in the work of Khwāndamīr, and which, therefore, go to prove that our author did not, at any rate, use the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar as his only model or authority. Khwāndamīr completed his history in 930—one month before Shāh Isma'īl's death; up till this time, at any rate, he seems to have lived in Khorāsān, and we have no mention of his having visited other parts of Northern Persia. He, therefore, did not probably obtain his information about Shāh Isma'īl on the spot, but got his facts either from some of Shāh Isma'īl's courtiers who came to Khorāsān, or from some contemporary history
unknown to us. He quotes no authorities in his account of the Safavis except in the case of the history of Shaikh Safi-ud-Din; these details he naturally and avowedly derives from the large biography of that saint called Safwat-us-Safa.1 [Khwāndamīr notices incidentally that Maulānā Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī, a contemporary of Hasan Beg, wrote a history of that prince, but he, Khwāndamīr, being unable to obtain a copy, gives no account of his reign.]

Thus weighing these considerations we may suppose that our history was written by a man closely connected with the Safavis, and who, though taking the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar as a general model, had personal acquaintance with the country of which he wrote, first-hand information and perhaps other histories to rely on for his details. With regard to the date of composition we would place it either at the beginning of Ẓahmāsp's reign 2 or about the middle (A.H. 950) according to the genuineness of the note on Mohammad Mīrzā Zamān, mentioned above.

The portion of our history, which offers the most original matter, is that which deals with the early youth of Shāh Isma’īl. Much of this is no doubt legendary and fictitious, but it is probably based mainly on historical fact and is at any rate interesting as showing us the stories current at the time regarding this brave and no less bigoted king. I had originally intended to publish a consecutive extract of the text [ff. 20b–60a of the British Museum MS.] 3 with a translation, references to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar and general notes. But on consideration I have decided to give the text and translation only of those passages that offer details quite foreign to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and which may serve as addenda to Khwāndamīr's important account—of

---
1 See British Museum, Add. 11,745.
2 This is certainly the more probable conjecture. The life of Shāh Isma’īl, though most eventful, was a comparatively short one, and our author might have been a grown man at the time of Isma’īl's birth (A.H. 892) and still have lived to write his history after the king’s death (A.H. 930).
3 In my notes L refers to the British Museum copy of our history and C to the Cambridge MS. In the text I have used the following signs: { }= peculiar to C; [ ]= peculiar to L.
which I would remark, in passing, a new critical edition would well repay the labour any one might bestow on it.

After mentioning that Isma'il Bahādūr Khān¹ was the fruit of the union of Sultān Ḥaider with Ḥalima Begum, known as ‘Alam Shāh Begum, daughter of Amir Ḥasan Beg, the Turkoman, our author recounts a tradition concerning the origin of the name Kizil bāsh. This is not given in the Ḥābīb-us-Siyar, which merely tells us that Ḥaider fashioned a cap with twelve points out of crimson cloth, which was adopted by all his followers.

[MS. L, fol. 20b.]

سلطان حيدر شبری در خواب دید که شهریار مسند هدایت و ولایت عینی حضرت امیر المؤمنین صلوات الله عليه ظاهر کشتئ [21] فرمودند که ای فرزند وقت آن شده که از عقب تو فرزند ما خروج کند و کافی کنیم از روزی عالم برادراند اما میباشد که از برای صوفیان و مریدان خود تاجی بسازی از سفره سرخ و آن حضرت مقبره رابیند داشت و (هیات) ۹ تاجرا برید بدوازد ترک قرار داد چون سلطان حیدر بیدار کرد آن روش را در خاطر داشت وهمان روش سلطان حیدر تاجی برید و صوفیان را مقترکرد که هرکدام تاجی بدان احماء ساخته بر سر گزارند و اورا بنا خیری نام نامه و چون بلفت ترکی سرخا قزل میکونند

¹ In our text his full title is usually Khākān Sāhib Kīrān Sulsāmān-shān Isma‘il Bahādūr Khān. It is curious that our author should have appropriated for Isma‘il the title of Sāhib Kīrān, which is in Persian Histories almost the exclusive “property,” as it were, of the great Timūr. It is interesting to remark how Purchas says that Usūn Hasan moved with the fame of Ḥaider gave him in marriage his daughter Martha, begot of a Christain lady Despina, daughter of Culo Johannes, Emperor of Trebizond “both of them by that alliance strengthening themselves against the Turke,” and this Martha was the mother of Isma‘il, “whom she trayned up in the principles of Christain Religion.” See Purchas “Pilgrim,” 4th ed., pp. 382, 383.

² [هیبت]
بدين سبب این طبقه علیه بقلمباق اشتبار یافتند چون این خبر بحس پادشاه رضی اورکس بخدمت سلطان حیدر فرستاد و اظهار نمود که ای فرزنده تاجی که ساختمه فرستت تا به بینم سلطان حیدر تاجی بخدمت حس پادشاه فرستاد چون جشم (حس) پادشاه بآن تاج افتاد اورا خوش آمده برداشت و بوسید و برسر نهاد و باولد خود کمیت تا آن را برسر نهادند و سلطان یعقوبی بسرش برسرنیهد هرچند پدرش میالته نمود اور قبول نکرد و کمر عداوت سلطان حیدر را بدیجه برمیان جان بست چون حس پادشاه تخت سلطنت را وداع نموده سلطان خلیف پسرش و بعد از آن سلطان یعقوبی پادشاه شد بسیب کیتی که سابقا از سلطان حیدر درل داشمت مردم را منع کر و کمیت [216] وای بر حال آنکس که تاج سلطان حیدر را برسر نهید و باولد شیخ صفاتی دشمن شد و قدمن کر که دیکر مردان شیخ صفاتی تاج برسر نکذارند چون سلطان یعقوبی اعمال حسنی خود را بانفعال سیله تبديل نمود و نسبت باین دودمان ولاوات نشان تغییر سلوك کرد بدان سبب اساس دولت سلطانی آق قوینلو روى بانهام آورد چینانچیه از سیاق (کلام آینده حقیقت آن معلوم خواهدشاد انشا الله تعالى).

Translation:

One night the Prince of the throne of Guidance and Sanctity, that is to say the Commander of the Faithful ('Ali), upon whom be the prayers of God, appeared in a vision to Sultan Haidar, and said to him: "Oh my son, the time is now at hand when my child from among your descendants shall arise and sweep Infidelity from off the
face of the Earth. It now behoves you to fashion a cap for the Şūfīs and your disciples, and you must make it of scarlet cloth.” So saying His Sanctity cut out with a pair of scissors which he had in his hand a pattern of a cap with twelve points [tark]. On awaking Sultan Ḥaidar remembered the form, and having cut out a cap to that pattern, ordained that all the Şūfīs should make for themselves caps like it and wear them. They gave it the name of Tāj-i-Ḥaidarī or Ḥaidar’s Cap; and as in the Turkish language Kızıl means scarlet, this holy body became known as the Kızılbaşh or “Red-heads.” When Hasan Pādishāh heard of these doings he sent a messenger to Sultan Ḥaidar saying: “Oh my son, send me one of the caps which thou hast made that I may see it.” Thereupon Sultan Ḥaidar sent him a cap, and when Hasan Pādishāh saw it he was pleased with it, and taking it up kissed it and placed it on his own head, after which he bade each of his children do likewise. But his son Ya‘kūb did not place it on his head, and in spite of all his father’s entreaties refused to do so. In this manner did he bind round his soul the girdle of hostility towards Sultan Ḥaidar.

When Hasan Pādishāh bade farewell to his regal throne he was succeeded by his son Sultan Khalīl, who was in turn succeeded by Sultan Ya‘kūb. On account of the hatred he had formerly cherished in his heart for Sultan Ḥaidar he warned his subjects saying: “Woe unto that man who places on his head the cap of Sultan Ḥaidar.” He thus became an enemy to the children of Shaikh Ṣafī; and he moreover issued a decree that the disciples of Shaikh Ṣafī should no longer wear their caps. In thus changing his former righteous actions for evil and impious deeds, and in opposing this holy race, Sultan Ya‘kūb brought about the ruin of the dynasty of the White Sheep, as, God willing, will be clearly shown in the following chapters.

The tradition is of course a gross fabrication, and, as Prof. Nöldeke suggested to me, was an attempt to attribute an honourable origin to the somewhat disrespectful name of Kızılbaşh.
After this digression in our history there is a close correspondence of narrative in the two works, containing an account of Sultan Haider’s invasion of Shirwan, his death, and the subsequent imprisonment of his sons in Isfakhr by Sultan Ya’kub. The story of the release of the Princes and of the engagement in which Rustem Mirza defeated the Shirwanis is given much more fully in our history. Space does not admit of my giving the text of this extract, I therefore confine myself to giving a translation of the same, placing within square brackets those details which are also found in the Habib-us-Siyar, and mentioning in a note any details given in this latter work not to be met with in our own.

Baisunkar Mirza having been deserted by his own men in an encounter with Rustem Mirza, fled to his uncle, Shirwanshah, while Rustem Mirza, making a triumphant entry into Tabriz, set himself upon its throne. Here follows a chapter entitled: Liberation of the Princes from the Castle of Isfakhr-i-Fars, and the end of the Turkomân Sultans.¹

¹ L. fol. 255.
² Bâyandari is a name often applied to the dynasty of Uzün Hasan—the white sheep—after the name of a person to whom they trace back their descent.
Sultān 'Alī, being a brave youth, must be sent to fight Bā伊斯ünkār Mīrzā, whom, with the support of his own Sūfīs and the Turkomāns, he will overcome. Having thus got rid of this rival, it will be an easy matter to dispose of Sultān 'Alī. [Rustem Pādishāh agreeing with this plan, sent an envoy to fetch the children of Sultān Ḥaidar from the castle of Iṣṭakhr-i-Fārs.]

Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh entered Tabrīz with all pomp and dignity, and was received with affectionate embraces by Rustem Mīrzā, who paid him great respect and said: "Oh! my life, what they have done to you is now past, and by God's help I will make amends for it. You are as a brother to me, and at my death you shall become king of Īrān." He then ordered to be given to Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā kingly appurtenances, such as a crown with a crest (jiṭā), an embroidered girdle, a sword and a belt-dagger, together with Arab steeds with golden saddles and other articles of luxury. He then said to him: "I have conferred on you the title of king (pādishāh), you shall no longer be called 'Mīrzā.'" [Now, when the Sūfīs and followers of that family, who had crept into the nooks of obscurity and disappointment, heard of these doings, they turned their faces towards the blessed threshold of their sovereign lord; and the band of devotees daily increased in numbers and in strength.]

In the meantime news reached Amīrzāda Rustem's ears of the arrival in Azarbāijān of Bā伊斯ünkār Mīrzā with the troops of Shirwān. He therefore entreated Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to undertake, with his own Sūfīs and in conjunction with Abiya ² Sultān and the Turkoman army, to repulse Bā伊斯ünkār Mīrzā and the men of Shirwān, in order that his (Rustem's) mind might be set at ease with regard to them. [Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh acceding to this request set out along with Abiya Sultān, full of confidence,

¹ L, fol. 26a.
² The reading of this name is doubtful. The Bombay edition of the Habīb- us-Siyar writes 份; the London MS. of same 份; while in both MSS. of our history it is written 份.
to oppose Bāisunkar Mīrzā and the army of Shirwān. They advanced as far as the ford of the river Kur, where they pitched their tents; while on the opposite bank of the river Kur Bāisunkar Mīrzā lay encamped with a large army. Both armies protected their flanks from any attack by means of palisades] and victory did not seem to promise for either side;\(^1\) so that the two forces grew weary of their protracted inaction, and without any encounter or conflict having taken place [Bāisunkar Mīrzā returned to Shirwān and Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh and Abiya Sulṭān to Tabrīz. While this was passing Küsa Häji Bāyandari, governor of Iṣfahān, having declared open revolt against Amīrzāda Rustem, read the Khutbah in the name of Bāisunkar Mīrzā,] and set about collecting an army and making ready for an expedition.\(^2\) It was for this reason that Bāisunkar Mīrzā a second time led a large army into Azarbāijān. [Amīrzāda Rustem seeing himself become on two sides a target to hostile arrows, again called upon Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh to avert from him these two overwhelming dangers.] Whereupon Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh, in compliance with the Amīrzāda’s request, again set out with Abiya Sulṭān, a body of his own followers, and the Turkmān army to meet the insurgents. [He told off Karā Pīrī Kājār\(^3\) with a large body of Sūfīs to engage Küsa Häji Bāyandari] while he himself set out to oppose Bāisunkar Mīrzā, whom he encountered in the vicinity of Ahar Shākhin.\(^4\) The opposing forces then began to make ready for battle: (Sulṭān ‘Alī) placed the right of his army under the command of Ḥusain Beg Shāmlū Lala and Rustem Beg Karamānlū, and over the left he appointed Dede Beg Țalish—known as Abdāl

---

\(^1\) The Ḥabīb-us-Siyār differs in this place, saying: "There was an occasional interchange of arrows, and every day small conflicts took place, but on none of those days did victory declare itself for either side, and one could not distinguish which were the victors and which the conquered."

\(^2\) L, fol. 264.

\(^3\) L and C read Kājār, but the Ḥabīb-us-Siyār says Tawājī, whose name also appears at the end of this chapter.

\(^4\) Thus in L: C reads Ahar Mashkīn. It is noticeable that the Ḥabīb-us-Siyār gives no details concerning this battle, of which our author is able to give us so exact an account. On the margin of the Bombay edition we find the date given as 897.
'Alî Beg—and Khâdîm Beg Khalîfa, while the skirmishing party, composed of the rest of the Turkomâns, was led by Abiya Sulṭân. The Prince himself took up his stand with a body of devotees under the shadow of the victorious standard.

On the other side, Bâisunktâr Mîrzâ gave his right wing to Shaikh Shâh, son of Sulṭân Farrukh Shirwânshâh, and his left to Malik Salîm, one of the renowned malîks of Shirwân, while he took up his own position in the centre of his army facing the Prince's standard. These tactics being completed, valorous youths entered the field and began to encourage and incite the soldiers to battle. When the troops had thus been worked up into a state of fervour, the skirmishers from both sides advanced and fell upon each other. So numerous were the flying arrows and so thick the clouds of dust that the air became dark as the heart of a Sunnî.1 Abiya Sulṭân next charged down upon the Shirwânîs and put them to flight; seeing which Bâisunktâr Mîrzâ sent Malik Selîm to their aid and brought the Shirwânî right and left wings into the field. (In the encounter that ensued) Abiya Sulṭân received a spear-wound, and so severe was the onslaught of the enemy that he was unable to withstand them, and turned in flight. The Prince perceiving the helpless condition of Abiya Sulṭân and the disorder among the Turkomâns, gave a signal to the Şûfî right and left wings to advance to their aid. In obedience to this order Ḥusain Beg Lala and Abdâl 'Alî Beg Dede charged forward, quick as lightning, from either side, and in one brave onslaught threw confusion among the Shirwânî troops. Bâisunktâr Mîrzâ, alarmed by the daring attacks of the ghâzîs, now sent into the fray his foot-archers and mounted-lancers, who had been posted in his centre. (The former discharged a volley of arrows upon the ghâzîs, and so dense was the shower of deadly points that those brave men were panic-stricken. Maddened at this repulse the Prince himself now entered the fray, and

1 L., fol. 27a.
with thrusts from his terrible spear swept his enemies from the field.) Bāisunkar Mīrzā, dislodged by a spear from his saddle, fell dead to the ground, and one of the Šūfīs with a sharp dagger severed his arrogant head from the body, and threw it in the path of the Prince’s steed.

Thus by the blessing of the courage of that holy Prince were the Shirwānis overcome; and in that battle Bāisunkar Mīrzā was slain.

[Meanwhile Karā Piri Tawājī, having encountered Kūsa Hājī near Dar Güzīn, under the blessed auspices of “His Sanctity” had overcome his enemy and slain Kūsa Hājī.]\(^1\) Both these pieces of good news reached Tabrīz on the same night, and Amīrzāda Rustem was delighted and overjoyed at the victories.

Death of Sultān ‘Ali Pādishāh.\(^2\)

The victorious Sultān ‘Ali Pādishāh now returned to Tabrīz. Rustem Pādishāh sent out a party to receive him, and himself, having ridden three forasangs out of the town to meet him with all honour, rode into Tabrīz at his side. [Soon after this he with great state set the Prince and his brothers on the road to Ardabil, in which blessed town the Prince mounted the throne of his ancestors, and became a religious guide to the Šūfīs and devotees.\(^3\) His entry was a most propitious event for that city, which now became a rival to the garden of Irām. The pious began to assemble in Ardabil that they might benefit by attending upon that Upholder of the Faith, and the number of the Šūfīs there collected together soon became very great. When Rustem Mīrzā learned that high and low were thus flocking round Sultān ‘Ali Pādishāh, jealousy enflamed his heart, and he was filled with anxiety lest the Prince might turn against

---

\(^1\) L, fol. 27b.

\(^2\) In this place the Ḥabīb-sa-Siyar has a chapter entitled “Death of Sultān ‘Ali Pādishāh, and the honour done to Lāhijān by the blessing of His Sanctity’s journey thither,” and resolves into one chapter what our author extends to three.

\(^3\) هماخواهان = well-wishers, supporters (of the Safavis).
him; so he sent an envoy to bring back the Prince and his brothers to Tabrīz.]

Though he still treated him with outward regard, he commissioned spies to see that the Prince had no communication with the Șūfis. Nevertheless, his faithful disciples contrived secretly to send him gifts of ready money and various stores, thus putting to the test the coin of their devotion.¹ When Rustem Mīrzā heard of this he was filled with anxiety in regard to the sons of Sulṭān Ḥaidar. [That winter² he quartered in Khūī.] Just as Rustem Mīrzā was leaving this place to move into summer quarters, some malicious men reported to him calumniating stories (of the Prince), and advised him to make an end of that Prince. He, therefore, arranged with his generals that on the morrow they should hold a big meeting and then and there [put to death the princes, together with all the nobles (buzurgān), Șūfis, and disciples of Shaikh Šāfī (in Ardabīl), and likewise those in Tabrīz]. But a certain Turkomān, who loved the children of Shaikh Šāfī, betook himself to the dwelling of Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh and informed the princes of Rustem Pādishāh’s design. On hearing this alarming news, Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh in that same night warned his nobles thereof, saying: “To-morrow they intend to kill me and you; what is to be done?” Husain Beg Lala, Dede Beg Țālish, Қarā Pirī Beg Kājār, and Ilyās Beg said: “May we be thy sacrifice! Arise and let us go to Ardabil, for there and in that neighbourhood you have many disciples. If Rustem Pādishāh should wish to pursue us, we will give him fight. If, however, he neglects to follow us, we shall remain unharmed.”³ The Prince replied “Very well.”

That same night they rode away in the direction of Ardabil. At dawn next day they brought Rustem Pādishāh news that Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh had fled, and was

¹ I, fol. 28a.
² The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date 898.
³ I have thus rendered a short sentence which I found difficult to translate—
on his way to Ardabil. (Rustem) was much perturbed, and ordered his adoptive-son, Husain Beg 'Ali khānī, and Abiya Sultan, the Turkomān, to mount their horses and overtake the fugitives as quickly as possible. For, he said, should Sultan 'Ali once enter Ardabil (which God forbid!) the deaths of 10,000 Turkomāns would be of no avail. Thereupon Abiya Sultan set out, at the head of 5000 Turkomāns, in hot pursuit.

When the Princes reached a village in the vicinity of Ardabil called Shammāsī, Sultan 'Ali Pādishāh comprehended by the power of his sanctity that he would shortly taste the wine of martyrdom. He therefore called for his brother Isma'il Mirzā, and said to him: "Oh! my brother, it is pre-ordained that I shall this day be killed. The disciples will take my body and place it in the mausoleum of my ancestors, by my father's side. I desire you to avenge me and your father and your ancestors upon the children of Hasan Pādishāh. For the die of heaven's choice has been cast in your name, and before long you will come out of Gilān like a burning sun, and with your sword sweep infidelity from the face of the earth." So saying he took Sultan Haidar's cap from his own head, and placed it on his brother's, and then bound his own girdle round his brother's girdle. After this he spoke into his ear those maxims which he had received as an inheritance from his noble ancestors. He next chose out seven men, among them Ḥasain Beg Lala, Ḵarāpiri Beg, Abdāl Beg, and Dede Beg Tālish, and ordered them to proceed to Ardabil with Isma'il Mirzā and Ibrāhīm Mirzā.

Meanwhile the approach of Abiya Sultan and Ḥusain Beg 'Ali khānī with the enemies' troops was reported. Abiya Sultan leaving a body of men in ambush, himself advanced into the battle-field. Sultan 'Ali Pādishāh, having finished his commendations to his brother, hastened out to meet the enemy, and as soon as he perceived that rabble he bore
down upon them with his Şûfûs, and in one daring
charge completely broke their ranks. In that battle "His
Sanctity" ¹ complained that the men of the day had for-
gotten the mode of fighting of Rustem and Isfandýâr.²

When Abiya Sultan saw the valorous onset of the Prince
and the discomfiture of his own men, being overcome by
fear of the fiery lance of that undaunted rider and the
cleaving swords of the brave Şûfûs, he turned and fled with
Husain Beg 'Alikhâni, hotly pursued by the Prince. Mean-
while the ghûzîs ³ entered the Turkomân camp and began to
pillage.⁴ On this account the Prince was not accompa-
nied by more than 300 men; yet he persisted in giving
chase to that rabble, and slew many of them with sword
and spear, till they reached a river which crossed their
road; into this the Prince fell with his horse, and failing
to extricate himself was drowned. Disheartened at this
fatality the Şûfûs dispersed in flight, while those who were
engaged in pillaging ⁵ were put to death.

After the battle 'Alam Shâh Begum ordered the body
of that cypress from the garden of the Imámate to be con-
veyed to Ardabil, to be there interred beside the tomb
of his noble ancestor (may God have mercy on him and his
fathers!). This event occurred in the year 900.⁶

At this place begins an account of the adventures of
"the Princes" in Gilân and the subsequent experiences
of Isma‘îl in Lâhijân. As the Ḥâbîb-us-Siyar affords us

¹ Isma‘îl is also frequently spoken of throughout the work as "‘ân hazrat" (or His Sanctity), but as this title seems strange to European ears thus applied, I have preferred generally to render this (and any other epithet applied to him) by his name only.
² I., fol. 29a. The foregoing sentence is a little obscure. It is at any rate unimportant.
³ It is hard to render this expression in English. It means more than warriors and less than "fighters for the faith." A ghûzât originally meant merely a freebooting-raid. It next became applied to the "holy war" for the propagation of the faith, and after that to any war carried on by believers, for whatsoever object.
⁴ The expression used is كم كم كم كم might mean booty, but I can find no trace of كم كم being employed in this sense.
⁵ See preceding note.
⁶ The Ḥâbîb-us-Siyar gives the date as 898.
scarcely any details on these subjects I have chosen to give the full text and translation of the following chapters of our history which deal with these adventures. The few facts that do occur also in the Habib-us-Siyar I have again placed within square brackets.

(From the minuteness of our author's details, both in regard to Isma'il's adventures and in regard to accounts of small engagements, one might feel justified in supposing that he was in the same districts at the time, and even took part in some of the scenes of which he speaks.)

L, fol. 29a.
شاهزادگان بشهر دیر امده دست ظلم و تعطی براهل اردبیل دراز
کرده بقیل و غارت و گنجشک شاهزادگان با سعادت پرداختند
و حضرت خانقان صاحبقران از بیم اهل بیغ و عدوان از آن آستان
(با احترام)۱ بیرون آمده در خانه تاقی احمد کاکلی که در حوالی
[آشیانه]۲ واقع و او ویکی ازیکچی‌های این دوستان بود پنهان کردند
و قاضی احمد از ورود آخشندرت مسیرو کشته سر در قدمش نهاد,
و آن در یکتای برج شهریارا سه روز در خانه ۳ خود پوشیده
و پنهان نگاه داشت حون از تنهس و تجهس ترکمانان و تاکید
این سلطان در پریدا نمود آخشندر قاضی مطلع کرد از بیم اهل
خطر و تهیه سوزیکری و یک تجهسی این دوستان ولیت نشان
(توهم نمود که مبادا اینه سلطان) از بودن شاهزادگان در خانه او آگاه
شود آخشندر را بجیمانه حورتی که بخانچان موسوم بود [پرهی اسدین]
مدت یکماد در منزل او چون چشمه آب حیوان از نظرها مختی
بود بغير از پاشا خاتون که از مجذولات بانات سلطان جنی و عقتن
مجرده مرشد کامل [که]۴ در عقد ازدواج محضی بیک ترکمان
بود دیکری از حال آن شهریار اطلاعی نداشت عبات از یکماد آن
عفیفه درو دیر ازاه جور ترمیمی مصلحت (دران) دید که آخشندرت
را از[۳۰] خانه خانچان بیرون آورده به عورتی که ابه جُزیاه
نام داشت و از قبیله دلوقد بود سپارند چون با به مشورت نمود

1. [نادر یزدی]
2. (آشیانه)
3. MS. L,
4. (قیمانه)
5. (پریانه)
آن عفیفه صاحب یکت اعتقاد آن اختر برج معاصرت را در حملهٔ رومیان به خانهٔ خود آورد [که دستی آمیزی هدایت [جوین] تکمیل نمی‌شود و خانه به خانه می‌کنیدند و از جنوب رستم میرزا تأکید بسیار داد و بیدا کرد شمال‌زاده‌کان کرامی نزار میشود که به طریق که باشد مرشد کامل را بدهست در آوردند آخوزت را با دکور و انات آن سلسله را بعد از بهار در آوردن آخوزت از سر چشم‌های تیغ سمت بشرت شباند و آن ظالم بد نهاد از خبیث طینه که داشت می‌خواست که علم شاه بیکم والده‌آن حفرت را شکافته نموده حفرت را شاه عالی قانون از گرفته آنچه مکنون خاطرش باشد بعمل آورد و علم شاه بیکم مطلق از احوال آخوزتی اطلاع نداده و روز بروز در مفارقت فرزند ارحم‌ن بی‌خبری و سهم کشمکش سلطان را از حکم نموده بعد از زندیه روز این از بودن آخوزت در آتشک‌کان (اندیشه نموده) ۱ قرارداد که اولا بعمل دیکر یک نقل نماید یا آن حین شخفی از صوفیان و غازیان که در زرگ سلطانعلی پادشاه در حربه ایب‌ه سلطان زخم دار کریبده فرار نموده (بود) و در مسجد جامع اردبیل می‌خوری که شده بود از برای علاج زخم خود [بانزارد این] بی‌خیاب آمد ایب اورا از حال مرسید کامل خبر داد و شاهزادگان بدربه نمود آن صوفک یکت اعتقاد سردرقدم آخوزت نهاده از احوال صوفیان که در کود دیده و (گه‌در)

[الدیشیه]
حوالی‌هایی داره در ارشاد اردبیلی (است) مختلف و جووی‌ای استعماز [306]

ادراک خدمت (آخشندرت) بوطن خیر داد، از آن‌جا باز از آمده بمعمایت آن‌های جرایحی نزد رستم بیک (قرشمانل) اندیشه‌بافی‌ باطل از داشتن و آن مردند مطرب جمع‌آبی‌ دیوان دیوان را فرومود، که مانفی‌ با خانی‌های جمع‌آبی اردبیل در آیند شاید که در خانه‌ای یکی از هوا خواهد آن سو ریاض خلافت‌های بدمد دی آوند جنگ این‌های جرایحی از (اهمت‌ام اینه سلطان درین باب) [آکاد کردن‌های از بینه ضرر [ترکم‌نات] آخشندرت، را بسیج جمعی اردبیل در کم‌بندی که متقرب‌الله و يوم‌ش آقاست برده مشاففه نعمود و در وقت فرست از احوال کرمی آخشندرت علم شاه بیکم را خبر‌داده [3] علم شاه بیکم از وصول این‌گونه جرایحی اثر و سلمانی‌هی ذات مقدوس آن حضرت سیدنام شکر نموده سالمانی وجود مسعود آن سلسله دیوان‌مان احسان وجوی‌ها [306] از درگاه آلی سوال که [او نیز از آن جنگ بیرون آمده در آن کوه اختلاف کنیده بود رفته اورا از حقیقت‌های حال مرسکان کامل آکاد ساخته و رستم بیک مذکور با هشمند نفر صوفی‌که از جنگ فرار نموده دران کوه جمع‌ی‌ت داشتمد نم نسبی خردی بحااولا مسیح جمعی اردبیل رسانیده شزاندرا ملاقات نمود و آخشندرت را در درشتی دیوان کوه تغذیه برد از در قریه کرکان بخانه‌ خطیب فرخی‌زای کرمای فرومود آورندند و خطیب فرخی‌زای بودنی‌فايف خدمت‌های لی‌لقه اقدام نمود و منصور بیک قبی‌خانی و حسن بیک

1 [آمر نمود]
2 [آمال]
3 [ب]
لله ۱ و قرآن سیدی علی و جلیل سی کت و خادم سی کت خلیفه و دهد سی کت و کوک علی سی کت و سایر قویان در باب سکا ۲ و حافظت آن ذکر یکتا بحور سلطنت و شهر باری قریه مشورت در میان انداختند رای همکی بآن قرار کرست که مرشد تمام را بجانب رشت برند و روی چند در آنها رحل اقامت انداخته باشام و فیصل امور صوروره پردازند ۳[۳۱] و چون میانه مصیب‌دار سی کت زوج پاشا خاتون که عقیده محرمره آخترست بود و احمدی سی کت برادر او و امیره استقی رشتی رابطه قدیم بود و پیوسته ابوب مصداقت بارسال رئسل و اتحاد مخفف مخفج بود با بایین رای صواب اتفاق نموه رستم سی کت و احمدی سی کت و مرشد کامل را باهشتجت نفرات صوریان عقیده نشان برداشته بقصب تول و ناو بخانه امیره ۵ مظفر و حاکی تول و ناو آورند و امیره ۳ مظفر کمر میز بانی و خدمت‌کاری بروسای جان بسته دقت‌های از دقااقی بندکی فرو کذات نموه جهن در اردبیل خبر بایبه سلطان رستی که آخترست در خانه امیره مظفر است کس پیش امیر زاده ۶ فرستاد که ولد سلطان حیدر بن بتو آورده شرط اطاعت و انقیاد آنست که اورا با رافق ۸ و انواد نزد رستم باداشته با سنت و هدایا روانه نمایند تا آنکه از شفقت و طلب پادشاهی بهره مر کرده و اکر از ایس امرو تختنی نمایند و سرکش کنی قرین که بغضه و سرعت پادشاهی

۱ (الله).

۲ (مکه).

۳ (امیر).

۴ (امیره مظفر).

۵ (ریفتان).

۶ (امیره مظفر).
کریفتار شوی و (جاکیرا) بیکت پرناک که حاکم خلخال و تو بود آن نیزکس فرستاده بپس یادی اعلام نمود امیره منظم از غایت اخلاص و اعتقادی که بدين دریمان ولایت نشان داشت رضی بتوانست مرشد کامل در تول ناوت نبوود و خاطره زانپ جاکیر بیک جمع نداشت بدين سبب آخیرچیرا برفتن کسک تکليف نمود صوفیان باشارة امیره منظفر در رکاب حضارت شاهی با امیره انشو مالزم امیره سیاوش روی توجه بهدانصوب آوردن و معتقدی بیکت و احمدی بیکت از تول كتابات و سفارشات در باب جان نشانی در راه مرشد کامل امیره استثنی رشته [318] نوشته برشت فرستادند و خوئ بجانب اردبيل مراجعه نمودند و جوين يخر قدم مسیر لزوم آخیرچیرا در کسک امیره سیاوش حاکم آن ولايت رسید بهرام تعظیم و تکریم برداخته استقبال آن حضرت نمود واژروی اعتراف و احترام (شاهزاده‌ها) در خانه‌خان خود فرورآورد تا سه روز بلوم خدمتکاری قیام نمودن روز جهور در موبکب علی آن شهریار بجانب رشت روان کرده‌ها تا حوالی رشت بدستور مهمن دار و خدمتکار جون داخل رشت شدن امیره سیاوش آخیرچیرا وداع کرده مراجعه نمود مرشد کامل با صوفیان بهسیدی که واقعه نیست در رشت و موسوم بسپیدم سفیدامت منزل کریندون جوان طرح و وضع آن مسجد آن حضرت را بسپار خوش آمد لبذا از آنجا بخانه‌امیره استثنی و جای دیکر نقل

1 [جاکیرا].
2 Sie in MSS.
3 (نوش).
بیاناتی مخصوص و سیاستی اجرا کردند که به نیروهای نظامی و سیاسی هنگامی که مطرح شده بودند، مواجهاتی را با وجود موانعی که نتیجه می‌شد، در مسیر پیشرفت آن‌ها قرار دادند.

از این حواله، دو امر در این زمینه در دو نقطه مطرح می‌شود: یکی از این امور دربارهٔ مستندی بود که در آن‌ها خواستاری که به او پیشنهاد گردیده بود، بر سر بیانات و بحث‌هایی که در مورد آن مطرح می‌شد، بر تنها یک نظر درآمد.

این مسئله در صورتی که بر اساس ملاحظات و تجربیات خود به آن مقایسه شود، می‌تواند به عنوان یک مثال مهم در تاریخ سیاست و نظام و سیاست در ایران در نظر گرفته شود.
آن سفر را و توقف خود در اردبیل و کيفيت رفت [شاهزادگان بجانب كيلان و امداد هریک از هواخواهان و توقف] شاهزاده را نژد كارگيا ميرزا علی مشروكا بعرض رستم ميرزا رسانيد نايره غصبه رستم ميرزا شعله ركزيمده آن ضعيفة صالحه را در ميدان تبريزاز کلو كشي و حمدي بيك را مغصوب كردنيد[ه] و ما يعرف ايشان را ضبط نمود آخر الامر با نامين اعمال قراددهد جيرم ايشان را بسي هزار تنکه جريمه بخشيد.

ذکر توقف نمودن خاقان سليمان شان صاحبقران در لاهايجان بعد از آنکه لاهايجان از قدموم ميمشت لزوم آن حفرت رشكت خلد برین كردي رحل اتامت و توقف در آن خطة دلبذير اندخنت و روز بر زبالا خلاص و يکدلي و جان فشاني كارگيا ميرزا علی در تضايع و تزايد بود و بهار نوع خدمت و مراهعت خودرا منظور نظر خجيسته اثر خاقان سليمان شان صاحبقران ميسايخت و مولانا شمس الدین لاهايکي را كه از فضلائ آن ديار بود بتعليم تلقوت وقرات قرار مجيد مهتر داشت و آنحصرة از روی [326] رغبت نيز مولانا مذكور درس قرار و كتب فارسي و عربی ميخوانند در خلالي اين حال ارثاب ارادت و صوفييت يکهيست از الراف و جوانب شخيصا ديار روم و قراجه دران و آخير وغير ذلك با نذر و نياز در لاهايجان بخدمت مرشد كامل رسيده نذورات خودرا بنظر كيميئا اثردر آوردند جوز مهنيمده در توقف نمود در همان لحظه مراجعه مي نمودند و امیر نجيم زرگر كه در رشت بخدمت آن حفرت رسيده بود با كيا سلطان حسین و كيا امیرهاشم برادران كارگيا.
میرزا علی پیشه به‌دامن‌مروش کامل آمد و شد می‌نموند آخشندر او زمان کشت و مجاسب ایشان شکفتگی تمام در طبیعَ هملیون به‌پرسید ۱ بعد از چند‌ها شاهزادگان ۲ عظام سلطان ابراهیم میرزا و سلیمان میرزا اراده‌ی مراجعه‌ی سلطان حیدر میرزا که شعار صوفیان این دیده‌ها خلافت و امامت است از سر برکنده دستور تراکمه‌ی آق قوی‌الله طاقی برناکی برسر مبارک نهاده به‌صورت خصت فردوش نشان و رفته‌ی مالیک آشیان جد به‌نرگوار خود راوهی کردن‌دند بعد از روانه شدن سلطان ابراهیم میرزا مزاج و هما حضرت خاقان سلیمان‌نشان جالب‌ترین از جاده‌ی اعتدال روز بوده اجحاف آورد به تساکل آن حضرت می‌پرس و‌صاحب‌فرش بودند مولانا نعمت الله در علاچ و دفع آن مرض مسی بلیغ نمود تا آن‌که حکمی علی الاطلاق از شفاهانه‌ی و نقل من القرآن ما هو شنگنه و رحمه للمؤمنین شنای عاجل کرامت فروده دار اقدس علی روز به بیبودی آورد و چون آن حضرت را بنان رزه میل تمام بهد و از عقَّہ جمیره خود پاشا خاتون (۳۳) طلب نموده بودند آن محکم‌را سرائیاق عصمت و عنقل تبرگات با نان رزه از اردبیل بفرستند آن حضرت ارسل داشت و‌احوال سلطنتی‌ذات مقدّس‌را نرسید نمونه کردن‌را به‌پرسه‌ی نمونه‌ی فرستادکان برشت رسیدن و خبر آمدن ایشان بسم‌ اشرف همیون رسید کوشت علی را باستعمال ایشان فرستادن و فرستادن ۳

۱. (پیام می‌رسید)
۲. (کاهارزادگان)
۳. (فرستادگان)
پاشا خانوی بانکان میر احمد زکری و میر حسن ولد میرموسی و میر جهانگیر وکیل[۱] امیر اسقفی رشتی با کوشی بر رویانه ملزَم‌ت کردنده و بعد از دریافت شربت پابوس هدایا را با مکتوبات و ده و برادران و هم‌شیکان و عَمّ آن حضرت بنظر انور رسانیده سیدات شکراللهی بسب سالمندی ذات اشرف چنای آوردن و آنحضرت مهمانداری بجسته ایشان تعین فرمود از هدایا که آورده بودند بخشی از برای کارکیا میرزا علی و برادران او ارسلان فرومودند بعد از سه روز آن جمع‌آوری را مرخص ساخته تسنونات لایه ازاقمشه و استمده و مرغ ممسَن و ماهی و نورچن (نارنجه) و سایر ارگانان کیان بجانب اردبیل رواجه کردندند جوون آن جمع‌آوری بقره کوریم از قریه اردبیل رسیدند و سلو ایشان ببایاب خانوی و مجموعی بیکت رصد از اردبیل متوجه قربه مذکور شده آن تجزیات را بر داشته بجانب دار السلطنه تبریز روانه شدند که سعید بایین وسیله استرداد املاک و وجهات خود به طریق صونک ببطرف رستم میرزا در آرامده بود نمایند دیکر باره بقرده دهد توسل جسته بوساطت او بخت و هدایاه خودرا بنظر رستم میرزا در آوردن [۳۳] و رستم میرزا آن هدایا را قبول کرده املاک و وجهات ایشان‌را با ایشان مستم داشته و حکمی نوشته بایشان داد که مسی بعد از منع احوال ایشان نشود و مجمع‌ی بیکت را بکلعت خاک اختصاص نموده رخصت مراجعات داد

۱ MS. C.
۲ (وکیل).
۳ (روایت).
۴ (کوریم).
۵ MSS. have not.
ذکر کس فرستادن رستم میرزا نزد کرکیا میرزا علی بلالی‌چاک
طلب خاقان صاحبقلان
سابقا مروق کرکد که ایبه سلطان ترکمان و حسین بیک علی‌خانی
بعد از رفت حضرت خاقان صاحبقلان بجانب کیان به تبریز رفت
که چنین احوال را باحوزه که مروق قلم و بابع نگار شد [برستم]
میرزا رسانیدند بناپر این رستم میرزا کس بطلب شاهزادگان
مکان نزد کرکیا میرزا علی و لاهیجان فرستاد و حسین فرستاده او
پناه‌ی وصل به حرمت میرزا با کرکیا میرزا علی شاهزادگان
دقیق لکه ان که نزدیک لاهیجان است فرستاده آن دغر بحر و ایستاده
حیوان که از نظرها [پیمان‌نست] مخیف شاهزادگان رستم میرزا
را کرکیا میرزا علی معانی در دل‌پذیر کفته روانه تبریز کردنید
و شاهزادگان از قریه مذكر مبناز دل آویز خود با آوردید بعثی
در آن منزل پیشت چنین بیشتر قرآن مجدید و تعلیم خواندن
و نوشته مشغول کشتند حیون آن ترکمان نزد رستم میرزا رسید
عذرها(ای) عاقلانت کرکیا میرزا علی را معرق داشت و آن به که
مکرو مکمل کنگش ترتیب داده جهت بدست آوردیان
شاهزادگان والد تیبار کفتنی نمودند تا آنکه قرار [یکان] دادند که
جمعی از ترکمان[نیاز] برهم جاموسی در لباس و کسوت صوفیان
سلسله‌ی ضعیف باطرف فرستادن که احوال ایشان را [34]۷ حقیقت

---

1. (خاطر ریم).
2. (شاهرخ کاپی).
3. (شاهرخ کاریان).
4. (شاهرخ کاریان).
5. (خاطر).
6. (لغمه دعا).
7. (حقیقت).
نموده اعلام نمايندگي سه شاهد تدبيری جهت بدست آوردن آن حضرت توانند نمود بنابرآن رستم مربیز و حسین بیک علیخانی جنگ نفر جاسوس تعيين کرده باراط از رستم و آن که جاسوسان در اطراف ایران میخستند راه جاسوسی با الهیجان افتاد به کتابی که میرسید احوال شاهزادگان را قدرت و اظهار مریده اولاد شیخ صفي محمد تا روزی که کفت اکثریت میکتیی واز جمله ها در آن ولاد شیخ صفي [خودرا] به خدمت کارکیا میرزا عنی گفت پادشاه الهیجان است [برسائ] و اظهار دوستی ایشان بکن شاید اوترا رخصت بدهد تا تو بشرف دیدار آن شاهزادگان مشرف شوی چون آن کلیه صادق ساده لف به عقلی نشان شاهزادگان داد آن ترکمان[ن] بدگمان دیگر در کیل از نکرد خودرا باردلیل رسانید[ند] و علیخانی سلطانانا از آن مقدمه اعلام نموده همانند کس همراه آن جهیس 6 بدنفس کوت ی خدمت رستم پادشاه روانه کردنی جون رستم پادشاه دانست که ایشان در الهیجان میباشد باربارا خودرا بدست آورن و خاطر خودرا از خروج ایشان جمع کردن هرکس سخنی کفتند ایبه سلطان کفت ای شبیر مرا فکری بخاطر رسیده که پادشاه لهیجان با شما دوست و بیک رنکست شاهزادگان 9 به جزشیر شنیدن این (خیبر) با [آن] چند نفر صوفی که با ایشان رفیقند 4 بخدمت خواهد فرستاد یا شما را اعلام

1 Both MSS. read علی.
2 خسیس.
3 (شاهزادگان).
4 (رنکه اند).
نموده شما کس فرستاده ایشانرا می آورید واکا نیز لاف موردی ایشان میزند و هردو را پنهان کرد است (فکری دیگر کنید) میبا ید نامه با نوشته و در نامه [346] قید کرده که (چیز) بعضی از بی دیوانان مرا اینو نمودند و فریب دادند که آنچنان جوانی را که سله رحم و شجاعت و سه سال رنگ می‌زند از بچه در آورد و واحل کسی ندانم[1] که اعتماد این توام کرده‌کا اورا بزرگ سازی که با استیجار آن ام‌وی لا که یک عشای و از قنقا اینچینشش مشخصه از مرا نکود چون کار سلطانعلی پادشاه از درنگد از فرید بست و پنهان من بوده باشد تالیف خون برادر و پدران ایشان نیز شده باشد شنیده‌ام که تو ایشانرا عزت نموده و نسبت باشان کمال مردی و همراهی بعمل آورده[2] بسیار خوب کرده لازم ایشان از خانواده عزت و کرامت اند و آنچه نسبت با لازمان ایشان قدره ثواب آن در عقیبی بتو عادی خواهند شد و ما نیز در تالیف آنچه لازمه مهریانی بوده باشد خواهیم نمود و اکر جمعی از صوفیان و هواخواهان مشایخه درن باب داشته باشند ایشان را بموعظه و پند رانی نموده برفاقت ایشان کمک آمدم دینی صوب[3] نمایند که انشاء الله معالی تدارک همکی باحکس و جهی خواهد شد نامه فرستاده رستم پادشاه بکارکا میرزا علی بکیان و طلب نموده شاهزادگان

امام جوهر نامه رستم پادشاه بکیان رسید کارکیا میرزا علی اظهار شادمانی نموده بحسب ظاهر بسیار مشعوف کردن و با تورجی که نامه را آورده بود کفته که می‌آرایید خبر ندارم شاید که در کیلان باشدند من تفصیل نمایم تو جنده روزی از رنج راه آسوده شو [315a] من آنچه به رسمت تفصیل باشند خواهم کرد و خاطره جمع دار و اورا به یکی از ملازمان شیرد که می‌مانندارو باشد و خود به خدمت آن حضرت شتافت و صوفیان و هوا خواهان را طلب کرد و نامه را باشکوه نمود حس بیگ به دل به خدام بیگ خلیق و ده ده بیگ کفته که خوشهال شدم که رستم میرزا این قسم نامه نوشته باشد ایشان کفته هیبات تو صادقی رستم پادشاه از روی مکر این نامه را نوشته زنبار مقرمشو و (در) جواب بیگیس که مرا آن طالع نبود که آن دو مشتری اوج اقبال از برج آگاهی من (جوهر نشیر اعظم) طالع شوند بسر عزیز پادشاه قسم که فرزندان سلطان حیدر نزد من نیستند و می‌توانم کفته که در کیلان [هم] نباشند زیرا که اگر بکیان آمده باشند نمی‌شد که مرا اعلام نکنند و پادشاه خاطرات من جمع دارد که دشمنان آن شهیریار را نزد خود راه نردهم زنبار که این راز را پوشیده دار و اظهار این امر مکن که عاقبت پشیمان خواهی شد جنون صوفیان این سیمی کفته کارکیا میرزا علی قبول نمود و جواب نامه [تفرجی نوشته] قرچی را روانه کردنید جنون جواب نامه برستم پادشاه رسید کفته البته کارکیا میرزا علی

(الله)
رستم میکورد و اواز شاهزادگان خبری ندارد و آنچه کفته بودند همه دروغ بود دیگر باره معاندان رستم پادشاه‌را خبر دادند که فرزندان سلطان حیدر در کیلائان اند یقین که کارکی میرزا علی خبر دارد پس باردارکر نامه نوشت و تهیه دسریان نامه یاد خرد که جرا حسن مرا منظور نداشت [353] دوشمنان را نگاه ناگ داشته‌ام کر ایشان را فرستادی در میان ما و رو دوستی خواهد بود و الآكس بفرستم با سیاه بیجت تا بیایند و کیلائ (را) و لاکچار را بسورانند و قتل عام‌ نمایند الی که جوان نامه بتو میریصد می‌باید هرودا بکشی و اکر خواهی که در خون ایشان شریک نباشی هرودا (زنده) بخندت ما روانه کنی که دیده‌ام انتظار دارهست جوان نامه بکارکی میرزا علی رسید بسیار ترسرد و با جمع‌تیخ خود صالح دید که (جوان) رستم پادشاه قسم یاد نموده که اکر ایشان را نفرستی کیلائرا قتل عام میکنم ایشان کفتشند صلح در آنست که شاهزاد. [ه] هارا بدهم تابه بزن ایشان خود را در خویش گلی نگرد پس کارکی میرزا علی کفتش هرچند نفر میکنم یقین میدانم که (رستم میرزا) بلاتوافت ایشان را بقتل می‌آور و می‌چکه در خون آن نصیر کرایان معیت و شریک باشم پس نفر کنن پچم خود رفته و در این اندیشه بود که شاهزادگان رستم [پادشاه] دهد جوان بجواب رقت دید که حصرت امیر المؤمنین علیه اسکنل بی‌پدیا شده کفتش ای کارکی میرزا علی در رخ فری کری زین هاره که با فرزندم این‌قسم ادایی نکنی که فرداً تیامت نزد من شروده [میرزا].
خواهی بود و اواز آن هیبت بخود خویید و آن از خواب بیدار شد بر خاسته بخست استعمال میرزا (آماده خوابت) که دست و پای آرا بیوض شاید که حضرت امیر العلماً می‌تواند بلندشان از تقصیر به ذکر جهان جلوالی (مکان) آن شاهزاده رسید و آن موقعی بود در عقب حورشم که آتخارت‌ترا چای داده بود و در چند آن چایی از برای صوفیان [36a] معینی کرد بود و چنین چنین در خدمت آن شهیرای تعمین نموده بود چون [در] عقب در آماد دید که شاهزاده با شخص سخن می‌کود کوش انداده که شهیرا می‌کوید فداهیت نشوم ای شهیرای چنین به کسی که کوی تامه از رستم پادشاه رسیده و می‌بیند بسیار در خواسته من نموده و گر کار می‌رزا علی می‌خواهد مرا فرد بست ملامزمان رستم پادشاه سپاد چون این بکفته ولعده دیکرکد کشت فداهیت نشوم وقت خروج من شده [است] چون کارکی میرزا علی این سخن بشنید آواز داد و کفته ای فرزند در را بکشان شاهزاده در خواب بود بیدار شد و فریاد زد که چه کسی کفته می‌می‌کنشان شاهزاده فرمود چه عجب درین نصف شب تصدیع کشیده کجا بوده آیا آمده که مرا کفته بست ملامزمان رستم پادشاه سپادی کفته قربانت نشوم آن روز مبادا که این کار بکنیم شما بکوئید که با چه سخن می‌کفته که هرچند نظر کردم در این خانه کسی نبود شاهزاده کفته با حضرت امیر العلماً می‌تواند بلندشان از علیه النظام دو سخن بودم و آنچه شنیده بود بکفته کارکی می‌رزا علی کشت قربانت

1 [Lacuna].
2 (ب).
شوم حسن‌رثت امیر المؤمنین العالی نزد می‌بود و در عالم رؤیا
سفارش شمارا به جنگ از جنگ آمده‌اند که پایی شمارا بیوسم تا مرا
بچل کنید شاهزاده اورا حلال نموده روز دیگر کاریک می‌زیز علی ببارکه
خود (آمده) نشست و در آن روز البقیه رستم پادشاه را طلبه‌داشتند.
کنن به رده و دعای می‌زیز بر استم پادشاه پرسان و بکه دریغ بسیم شما
رسانیده اند از سلسله حسن پادشاه جه بُد بما رضیه‌هاه که دشمانان
ایشان‌را جای داده حافظت نمایم، اکرِ (تا) صد سال دیگر [خبری]
ظاهر شود که ما خبری از اولاد سلطان حیدر داشته باشم مهربان
وکناد کاریم [385] و مملوی با بی‌لیه تکلف نموده اورا روانه نمود
آن شخص حیون بخدمت رستم پادشاه رسید و اینچه شنیده بود
عرض کرد که کاریک می‌زیز علی قسم‌ها یاد نمود که از اولاد سلطان
حیدر اطلاع ندارم و بعلت نوازشی که در لاهیجان نسبت بایو بعمل
آمده بود رستم پادشاه از این اراده بار اورد دیگر بار که یکی از اقوام
کاریک می‌زیز علی آمده خون بریستم پادشاه عرض نمود که اولاد سلطان
حیدر نزد کاریک می‌زیز علیست و او خبه بدار آتش در نهاد رستم
پادشاه انتقاد سیستد قورچی ترکمان را مستور نموده که برود اسمعیل
می‌زیز و ابراهیم می‌زیز را از کاریک می‌زیز علی کره‌نه بباری و اکر ایشان‌زا
ندهد و بی‌اندامی کن در آنچه توقیف نموده مرا اعلام کنید و قاسم
بکه ترکمان که از جمعیت قرانیونو بود [اورا فرستاد و [با فی
خدمت مأمور کردنی‌چون او بقاضیان رسید و داخل برکه کاریک
می‌زیز علی شد و نامه رستم پادشاه داد چون مطالعه نمود [نشته‌ه

(تمام) 1
بون] که چرا مارا از خود میرزجنی پسران سلطان‌احیاد را بقاضم
خان بسیار و اگر خود می‌آیم و گله کیلانا قائل عالم می‌کنیم کارکیا
میرزا علی از خواندن نامه بسیار دلکش شد هکن، شاید که در
زمین کیلیت ظاهراً تغییر کم و فرمود قاسم بیک را فرود آوردند
و کارکیا میرزا علی بسیار دلکش شده بود و حجاب میکرد که باشندی ایبتکاره را اعلام نماید اما چون آن سخن بحسین بیک لعله و خلیفه
الخلافا و ابدال بیک دهده رضید [37] که رستم پادشاه قاسم بیک
را بکرزن شما و باشندی فرستاده است ایشان کفتند امر از
خدام عالم مست حسین شد دیکر باره کارکیا میرزا علی
حکمرت امیر المؤمنین [علی] علیه السلام را بخواند دید که آن
حکمرت فرمودند که بعد از حسن روز دیگر به بیان قاسم بیک را بباره
خود طلب کنی و بکمی که چند نفرنا تغییر نموده که خانه بخانه
وده بود کریدند اولاد سلطان‌احیاد درین ملک نیستند اکر باور
ندازی من قسم یاد نمایم که ایشان در زمین کیلیت نیستند و می
باید که قبل از قسم یاد نمود بنا درختی ریسمانی به بندی
و زنبیل در آن ریمان بسته از درخته در آویزی و باشندی در
آن زنبیل بنشانی و در حضرت فرستاده‌ای رستم پادشاه [دست
بقران] قسم یاد کنی که ایشان در زمین کیلیت نیستند [که] تا قسم
تو دروغ نباید حسین حکمرت امیر المؤمنین (علیه السلام) اورا
چنین ارشاد فرود بعد از حسن روز دیگر کارکیا میرزا علی بباره
خود آمد و قاسم بیک را طلبیده آنچه حکمرت امیر المؤمنین

۱(اللّه).
۲(شاهزادها).
على عليه السلام فرموده بود آهنگان کرد و ایشان را خدمت رستم میرزا روانه نمود چون رستم میرزا دید که بامداد و رفت ریوان و امرای ترکمان چنانی لا هیچ چان کارکیا میرزا علی پای از داده‌گر اخلاص و جان فشنایی بیرون نکذاشته به‌چال وجه بودن شاهزادگان و صوفینارا در ملك کیلان اقتران نمی‌گرد رای ناقص او بدن قرار یافته که سیاه عظیم به‌انصار روانه نمایید که بقهر و غلبی ایشان را بخشیدآورد در دین انديشته باطل بود که حقی سبکانه و تعالی بینی اعمال را [376] بفکر استیصال یک دیکر انداخت و جنادان فتور با حال سلطان ترکمان راه یافت که بعون‌های آن نمی‌می‌اشغل الظالمین بالظالمین بیم دیکر در افتادند که بخدمت غیره نتوانستند پرداخت به سب صوفینان و مریدان بخاطر جمع بخدمت آن حصرت تردید می‌نمودند بعنی بعد از دریافت باپروی مراجعت و برخی توافت فرمودند را در الکتالوند و با استسوار کارکیا میرزا علی حصرت خانات سليمانشان صاحب قرن را بستور آب اکنون و اجداد کرام برسره‌ها می‌آید و ارشاد متمکن ساخته بوجود صغرین که در آن وقت هفت سال بیش از عمر شریف نکذاشته بود اما در فراتی ۳ فرستد آینه [بود و] در فهم و کیاست عالمی فروغ کیستی سنانی از ناصیه همايون‌نشیه‌ها و فروغ ایزدی از جبیب می‌نشین پیدا بود ومیلاد ان خاصی کیش از فرضا اعتقاد آن حصرت را مرشد کامل و پادشاه میخیون‌دند و در آن بلده میثم‌میال نشورما می‌یافت و کاهی بنشاط شکار و سیر متمدنیه آن‌دیار مشغول بوده

1 C. places بدیا here.
Further Adventures of the Princes, and their Journey into Gilan.

Before the death of the Prince in the (above-mentioned) battle, Husain Beg Lala and Dede Beg, together with the remainder of the Sūfis and Abdāl 'Alī Beg Lala, had set out in the escort of the princely brothers, that is to say Isma'īl Mīrzā and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, towards the holy town of Ardabil. On reaching this town news overtook them of the death of the Prince. 'Alām Shāh Begum was overwhelmed with grief at hearing of her son's death, and her mind was filled with anxiety lest Isma'īl and Ibrāhīm might fall into the tyrant's hands. She therefore sent them both to the mausoleum of their noble ancestor, that they might, in that holy spot, under God's care, remain in hiding. As soon as they had departed she performed the funeral rites of her dear son.

On the next day Abiya Sulṭān and the merciless Turkomāns entered the town in search of the Princes. They used the inhabitants with violence, and busied themselves with plunder and rapine, and in searching for the Princes. Isma'īl, becoming fearful of these hostile men, came out of the mausoleum and hid himself in the house of Kāzī Aḥmad Kākulī, which was hard by. Kāzī Aḥmad, being devoted to the family [of Shaikh Šafī], was delighted at the arrival of Isma'īl, did him all honour, and kept
him three days in hiding in his house. When he, however, heard of the careful search which the Turkomâns were making, and of Abiya Sultan’s efforts to discover Isma‘il, he was fearful lest some of the envious or malicious Sûfis might report to Abiya Sultan that the Prince was in his house; he therefore took Isma‘il to the house of a woman named Khânjân, and entrusted him to her keeping. There Isma‘il remained one month, hidden like the spring of the water of life, from all eyes, except those of Pâshâ Khâtûn, one of Sultan Junaid’s daughters, and aunt to Isma‘il¹ by her marriage with Mohammadî Beg Turkomân. No one else knew of the Prince’s whereabouts. When a month had elapsed Pâshâ Khâtûn, fearing the tyrants, deemed it advisable to take Isma‘il away from the house of Khânjân and place him in the keeping of another woman named Uba-i-Jarrâha,² of the tribe of Zülkadr. After consulting with Uba, this latter conveyed Isma‘il to her house in the quarter of the Greeks, and hid him there. Meanwhile the Turkomâns, in obedience to the orders of Abiya Sultan, became each day more scrutinious in their spying and searching, passing from quarter to quarter, and from house to house. Rustem Mirzâ insisted more strongly than ever upon the discovery of the Princes, ordering that, having seized the “Perfect Guide” by whatsoever means they could, they should put him to death with the sword, together with all his race, both male and female. That tyrant, moreover, in the vileness of his natural clay, desired that Alam Shâh Begum, mother of Isma‘il, should be tortured, and that having taken the Prince from her, he might carry out his secret intention (namely, of killing the Prince). But she knew absolutely nothing about him, and so deep

¹ He is here called the “Perfect Guide”: a very usual epithet for a spiritual head, or adviser, among the Sûfis.

² jarrâh—the feminine form of jarrâh “a surgeon” (which latter word is derived from the former through the intermediate form chirurgien). We might call this woman Uba the Lady-Surgeon (better in French and German, chirurgienne and Wundartztin). But, as the English expression is awkward, I have preferred to keep the original Arabic word in my translation.
was she sunk in the ocean of grief at separation from her dear son that all that pain and torture had no effect upon her. Abiya Sultan, therefore, abandoned this evil plan, and ordered that good-for-nothing band of Turkomans impudently to enter the houses of all the “congregation of Ardabil,” if haply they might capture Isma’il in the house of one of his supporters. When Uba-i-Jarrâha heard of this design of Abiya Sultan, fearing the violence of the Turkomans, she brought Isma’il into the Great Mosque of Ardabil, where she watched over him in the vault which is the burial place of Allâh Virmish Akâ. While he was there, she took advantage of a suitable occasion to give ‘Alam Shah Begum news of her son. The Begum, overjoyed at hearing of her son’s safety, laid her thanks before the throne of God, and prayed for his safe keeping. After a few days Uba, becoming unquiet for the Prince’s safety in that place, resolved to take him elsewhere. At this juncture a Sufi ghâzi, who had fled wounded from the battle between Sultan Ali and Abiya Sultan, and had hidden himself in the Great Mosque of Ardabil, while his wounds were healing, came to Uba-i-Jarrâha, who told him about Isma’il, and showed him to him. The Sufi, having kissed the ground at the Prince’s feet, told him of the Sufis who were in hiding in the mountain of Baghran, in the vicinity of Ardabil, and who were longing for the opportunity of serving Isma’il. He then, at the advice of Uba-i-Jarrâha, left the mosque, and went and gave news of Isma’il to Rustem Beg Karamanlu, who had also fled from the same battle-field and was hiding in that mountain, together with eighty other Sufis, who had escaped from that encounter, and were collected together in that mountain. At midnight Rustem Beg betook himself to the Great Mosque of Ardabil, and having found Isma’il, carried him off to the mountain of Baghran, where he placed him in the village of Kargân, in the house of Farrukh Zâd Kurkânî, the Preacher, who did him fitting service.

Manşur Beg Kipchakhî, Husain Beg Lala Kirk Sayyidi ‘Ali, Julbân Beg, Khâdîm Beg Khalîfa, Dede Beg, Kük
'Ali Beg, and the rest of the Sūfís now held council as to where Isma'il had best stay and how he was best to be watched over. They all decided for taking Isma'il to Rasht, after remaining a few days where they were for making the necessary arrangements. Now, friendly relations such as the continual exchange of messages and of gifts, had long existed between Mohammādi Beg, husband of Pāshā Khātūn, Isma'il's aunt, his brother Abhādī Beg, and Amīra Ishaḵ of Rasht. Being of accord with the above plan, Rustem Beg, Abhādī Beg, and Mohammādi Beg, with an escort of eighty Sūfís, conveyed the "Perfect Guide" into the district of Tūl-u-Nāv to the house of Amīra Muzaffar, governor of Tūl-u-Nāv. This man received Isma'il with all hospitality, and omitted nothing in the matter of devoted attention and service.

When news reached Abiya Sulṭān, in Ardabil, that Isma'il was in the house of Amīra Muzaffar, he despatched a messenger to Amīra Muzaffar saying: "Sulṭān Haidar's son has sought shelter in your house, the conditions of obedience and subservience demand that you send him and his companions with presents and gifts to Rustem Pādishāb, so that you may profit by the indulgence and kindness of your king. But if you act contrary to this and disobey you will be subject to the wrath and severity of your king." He also sent a message of like purport to Jākir Beg Parnāk, governor of Khalkhāl and Tūl. Amīra Muzaffar, in his devotion to that holy race, would not agree to Isma'il remaining any longer in Tūl-u-Nāv, nor was his mind quite at rest with regard to Jākir Beg. He therefore persuaded Isma'il to go to Kaskar, and at his bidding the Sūfís, together with Amīra Anūsh, a servant of Amīr Siyāvush, escorted Isma'il towards that place. Mohammādi Beg and Abhādī Beg wrote letters of recommendation for Isma'il to Amīra Ishaḵ of Rasht, and sent them to Rasht, while they themselves returned to Ardabil. On learning the approach of Isma'il, Amīra Siyāvush, governor of Kaskar, came out to receive him in honour, and made him alight in his own house, where he entertained him for three days,
and on the fourth set out with him on his way to Rasht. He escorted him as far as the outskirts of Rasht, but when Isma‘īl entered the town he bade Isma‘īl farewell and returned (to Kaskar). The "Perfect Guide" and the Sūfīs alighted at a mosque in Rasht called the "White Mosque," and its architecture and style pleased Isma‘īl so well that he would not go on to the house of Amīra Išāk or anywhere else. Even the entreaties of Amīra Išāk himself were of no avail. Close to that mosque a goldsmith named Amīra Najm had his shop. Being so near at hand he spent much of his time in attendance on Isma‘īl, and thereby daily increased his "grade." However, reports are at variance\(^1\) with regard to the length of Isma‘īl’s stay in Rasht. Some state it to have been seven days, others twenty, and others again say a month.

Kārgiyā\(^2\) Mirzā ‘Ali, governor of Lāhijān, formed an exception to the other rulers in Gilān in his devotion to the cause (of the descendants of Shāikh Sūfī), and when he heard that Isma‘īl, being compelled by circumstances to quit Ardabil, had gone to Rasht, he, knowing that Amīra Išāk was not in a position to protect Isma‘īl and his Sūfī companions, invited Isma‘īl to come to Lāhijān. On receipt of this friendly invitation from the devoted Kārgiyā Mirzā ‘Ali, Isma‘īl decided to go and stay in Lāhijān. He therefore set out without delay. Kārgiyā Mirzā ‘Ali, elated at the joyful news of Isma‘īl’s arrival, rendered him every possible service, and having prepared everything to meet their wants, set apart for him and his companions a dwelling opposite the College of Kāi Āfridūn. A short while after this, Sūltān Abiya, having received news of Isma‘īl’s departure for Lāhijān, set out for Tabriz, and seized on the person of the woman named Uba-i-Jarrāḥa, and taking her (back with him) extorted from her the whole story in detail of Isma‘īl’s journey, his stay in Ardabil, the

\(^1\) This is worthy of note as an instance of our author’s care for accuracy.

\(^2\) Kārgiyā, or Giyā = emperor. It is said to be a Gilānī word. We may here note that Mirzā ‘Ali is always given this title in our history, while the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar never applies it to him.
departure of the princes for Gilân, and the help afforded by each of the "supporters." This he reported to Rustem Mirzâ, who bursting into a fit of rage had that poor pious woman strangled in the market-place of Tabríz. He also poured out his wrath upon Möhammadí Beg, and had the other accomplices arrested, but finally, at the request of Karâ Dede, pardoned them on the payment of a fine of thirty thousand tanga.

**Isma'îl’s Stay in Lâhijân.**

[Isma'îl, having reached Lâhijân, took up his residence there, while Kârgiyâ Mirzâ 'Ali did all in his power to testify to his devotion and willing service.] He appointed Maulâna Shams-ud-Din Lâhiji, one of the learned men of that country, to instruct Isma'îl in the reading and recitation of the Qurân. Isma'îl took delight in the Maulâna’s instruction, and with him studied the Qurân and learnt to read Persian and Arabic books. During this period disciples and single-minded Sûfis flocked in from all sides, especially from the districts of Rûm, Karâja Dâgh, and Ahar, bringing gifts and offerings for the "Perfect Guide"; but immediately returned, as it was not wise for them to remain there. Amir Najm, the goldsmith, who had waited on Isma'îl in Rasht, together with Giyâ Şûltân Husain and Giyâ Amir Hâshim, brothers of Kârgiyâ Mirzâ 'Ali, had frequent intercourse with Isma'îl, and, from the converse and society of these men, Isma'îl’s mind became fully developed.

[After a while,¹ Sultan Ibrâhîm Mirzâ and Sulaimân Mirzâ formed a desire to return to Ardabil, and so having doffed the twelve-pointed cap of Haidar, which is the distinctive mark of the Sûfis of this branch, and having donned the Parnâkî head-dress (fâkiya), as worn by the "White-Sheep" Turkomâns, they set out for the old residence of their great ancestor.] After the departure of Sultan Ibrâhîm Mirzâ, Isma'îl fell ill, and was obliged

¹ The Ḥabîb-us-Siyar says: "after some months."
to keep to his bed for a whole year. Maulānā Niʿmat Ullah tried many remedies in vain, till at length the Absolute Physician sent down miraculous healing, and Ismaʿīl began to recover. Having regained his appetite, he begged his aunt, Pāshā Khātūn, to send him some dainties [nān-rīza]. She thereupon sent him offerings with dainties from Ardabil, and made enquiries after his health. When her messengers reached Rasht, Ismaʿīl heard of their approach and sent out Kūk ʿAli to receive them. The messengers, accompanied by Mīr Najm, the goldsmith, Mīr Ḥasan, son of Mīr Mūsā, Amīr Jahāngīr, the wakils of Amīra Ishāk Rashti, were conducted into the presence of Ismaʿīl by Kūk ʿAli. Having kissed the Prince's feet, and having delivered over the presents and letters from his mother, brothers, foster-brothers, and aunt, they expressed their gratitude to heaven for that they found Ismaʿīl restored to health. The Prince then entertained them hospitably. He likewise set apart some of the presents to be given to Kārgiyā Mīrāz ʿAli and his brothers. After three days the messengers were allowed to take their leave, and they set out for Ardabil laden with suitable gifts, such as stuffs and merchandise, fattened birds, fish, rice, oranges, and other products of Gīlān. When they reached a village of Ardabil called Kuraim, Pāshā Khātūn and Mohammadi Beg, who had heard of their arrival, came thither from Ardabil, and having taken over from them the gifts they bore, set out for the capital, Tabrīz, hoping that they might by this means obtain the restitution of their effects which had been confiscated \(^1\) from them by Rustem Mīrzā. They again sought the mediation of Karā Dede, who, by means of presents, obtained an audience with Rustem Mīrzā, who, accepting these presents, delivered over their effects, and wrote an order that from thenceforward no one should molest them. Having presented Mohammadi Beg with a robe of honour, he allowed them to return.

\(^1\) The expression used is بیرن مینکت. I have been unable to find the word āng in any dictionary. From the context it would appear to mean "con- fiscation," or something akin to it.
Rustem Mīrzā sends an envoy to Kārgiyā Mīrzā in Lahijān to demand the person of Isma'īl.

It was mentioned above that, after the Isma'īl’s departure for Gilān, Abiya Sultān, the Turkomān, and Husain Beg ‘Alī Khānī went to Tabrīz. They there reported to Rustem Mīrzā the events that have been herein related. Thereupon Rustem Mīrzā sent to ask Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Alī to deliver up the Princes. On receiving this message Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Alī sent Isma'īl to a village near Lahijān called Lashta, where he remained in hiding, and sent Rustem Mīrzā’s envoy back to Tabrīz with flattering apologies. He then brought Isma'īl back to his own house, where the Prince spent his time in reading the Kurān, and in learning to read and write. On his return, the Turkomān laid before Rustem Mīrzā the cunning excuses of Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Alī.

Rustem Mīrzā convened repeated assemblies to discuss the best means of capturing Isma'īl, until they finally decided that a party of Turkomāns should be sent out as spies disguised as Safavī Sūfis, and report any news they might hear of the Prince’s whereabouts, and thereby facilitate the capture of Isma'īl. Rustem Mīrzā and Husain Beg ‘Alī Khānī therefore selected a few spies and sent them into the surrounding districts. These spies entered Īrān, and brought their spying into Lahijān; of every Gilānī they met with they asked news of Isma'īl, and pretended to be disciples of the children of Shaikh Ṣafī, till at length one day a Gilānī said to one of them: “If you speak true and really belong to the Safavī Sūfis, go and present yourself before Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Alī, King of Lahijān, and tell him of your devotion to the Prince. Haply he will allow you to be honoured with a sight of the Prince. This ingenious simpleton having thus, in his stupidity, given him a clue, the Turkoman stayed no longer in Gilān, but went straight to Ardabil and told ‘Alī Khānī

1 Gilehī is the word used in the text; a curious niasa-formation from Gilān. It is probably dialectic. Gilānī is the more usual form.
Sultān what he had heard; this latter immediately sent on the spy to Rustem Pādishāh with an escort. When Rustem Pādishāh learnt that Isma‘il was staying in Lāhijān he consulted his chiefs, saying: “What must I do to capture my enemies, and assure myself that Isma‘il will not make a revolt?” Everyone had a suggestion to make, and Abiya Sultān said: “Oh! Prince, the thought has suggested itself to me that since the King of Lāhijān is your friend and ally, he would, at the mere hearing of your wishes, send to you the Princes and those Sūfīs who are in his company, or else, being directed by him where to find the Prince, you can send someone to fetch him. But if he make boast of his discipleship and keep them both in hiding, I should suggest another plan, namely, that you write him a letter, saying: ‘Being misled and deceived by certain malicious men I put an end to that brave youth, who was a general in my army. At this present I know of no one whom I could confidently raise to power, and with whose help I shall fear opposition from no one. Since matters have turned out thus with Sultān ‘Ali, I wish you to send me his two brothers, whom I regard as my own children in rank, that I may educate them as were I their father and be their guardian and protector. Moreover, compensation shall be made them for the blood of their father and brother. Now I have heard that you have shown honour to these two princes, and treated them with the utmost kindness and indulgence. You have done well in this, for they come of an honourable race, and whatsoever you have done for their attendants shall hereafter meet with its due reward. We, too, are desirous of performing the duties of hospitality to them.’”

RUSTEM PĀDISHĀH SENDS A LETTER TO KĀRGĪYĀ MĪRZĀ ‘ALĪ IN GĪLĀN REQUESTING HIM TO GIVE UP THE PRINCES.

Now when Rustem Pādishāh’s letter reached Gīlān, Kārgiyā Mīrẓā ‘Alī, although he showed outward satis-
faction, was in reality much alarmed, and said to the Kürchî, who had brought the letter: "I know nothing of the princes; they may be in Gîlân, and I will make enquiries. While you remain here a few days to recover from the fatigues of the journey, I will set on foot a diligent search; have no anxieties." He then entrusted the messenger to the care of one of his attendants, who should hospitably entertain him, while he himself hastened to Isma'îl, and, having called together the Sûfîs and "supporters," read them the letter. Husain Beg Lala, Khâdim Beg Khalîfâ, and Dede Beg, said: "Oh! master, what do you think (in this matter)?" He replied: "I was well-pleased that Rustem Mirzâ should have written me such a letter as this." They rejoined: "Alas! that thou shouldst be so credulous; Rustem Mirzâ wrote this letter out of pure guile; God forbid that you should conform with it. Write in answer: 'I was not aware that those two stars had arisen in the constellation of my kingdom. I swear by the honoured head of the king that I have not with me the sons of Sultan Haidar, and I am also able to affirm that they are not even in Gîlân; for had they come to Gîlân it is impossible that they should not have announced their arrival to me. Let the king rest assured that I will not allow the enemies of that prince to come near me. Above all, keep this secret hidden, and do not make this matter public, or you will regret it afterwards.'" Kârgiyâ Mirzâ, approving the suggestion of the Sûfîs, wrote the answer in this style, and sent the Kürchî back again with it.

When the answer reached Rustem Pâdishâh he said: "Kârgiyâ Mirzâ 'Ali certainly speaks truth, and has no news of the princes: what (the others) said was all lies." But a second time his agents brought Rustem Pâdishâh news that the sons of Sultan Haidar were in Gîlân, and

1 The Kürchî were the descendants of the two thousand prisoners who were released by Timâr at the request of Şâfi-ud-Din, and among whom some lands round Ardabil were afterwards distributed. Hence were they such faithful supporters of the Safavi dynasty. Cf. Chardin-Langîs, x, 188.

2 lit. "refractory persons"—mu'ânidân.
that Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī was certainly aware of the fact. He therefore wrote another letter containing many threats: "Why have you played me false, and given shelter to my enemies? If you will send the princes there will be friendship between you and me, but if you refuse, I will send a countless army to come and utterly destroy Gilān and Lāhijān, and make a general massacre of their inhabitants. Verily, verily, as soon as you have received this letter you must put the princes to death; or, if you do not wish to be a party to taking their blood, you must send them to me, for I shall be watching for them." ¹ Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī was very much alarmed at the receipt of this letter, and debated with his people what had best be done, since Rustem Pādishāh had sworn to make a general massacre in Gilān if he did not send the princes. They said: "The safest plan is that we give the princes over to them to carry away—they know they are related to one another." ² But Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī replied: "The more I consider the matter the more convinced I feel that Rustem Mīrzā would speedily put them to death; and how can I help and encourage him in shedding the blood of these noble youths?" Thus pondering over the matter he retired to his haram, wondering all the while how he could possibly deliver the princes over to the envoys of Rustem. In his sleep he dreamed that the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī appeared to him and said: "Oh! Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, why dost thou hesitate? Take care that thou dost not make so small a sacrifice for my son, that on the morrow of the Resurrection thou stand ashamed before me!" At this vision his whole frame shook, and the shaking awoke him from his sleep. He then arose and went to Isma'il, in order to kiss his hands and feet, if haply 'Alī might overlook his shortcomings. Now he had given Ishma'il a dwelling at the back of his haram, and at the side of it he had set apart a place for the Sūfis, while he had appointed some maidens to wait on Isma'il. When he came

¹ lit. "the eye of expectancy is on the road."
² Sense not very clear.
round to the back he saw that the prince was talking with some person, and, leaning forward, he heard the prince say: "May I be thy ransom? Oh! prince. One of the maidens said to me that a letter was supposed to have come from Rustem Pādishāh, in which he made very urgent demands for me. And Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī will to-morrow deliver me into the hands of Rustem Pādishāh's envoys." Having said this, he paused, and then continued: "May I be thy ransom! The hour of my 'coming' is at hand." When Kārgiyā Mīrzā heard these words he cried out and said: "Oh! son, open the door"; whereupon the prince, who was asleep, awoke, and called out, "Who art thou?" He replied: "I am such and such a prince." (Isma'īl) then said: "How strange a thing this is. Didst thou feel a headache in the middle of the night? Where hast thou been? Art thou come to seize me, and deliver me over to the servants of Rustem Pādishāh?" The other replied: "May I be thy ransom? May the day never come on which I should do such a thing! But tell me with whom you were just now speaking, for though I looked carefully I could perceive no one in this house." The prince replied: "I was conversing with 'Alī." He then related what he had heard. Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī said: "May I be thy ransom! His Holiness has just been with me, and, in the world of visions, recommended you to me. I am now come to kiss your feet, that you may forgive me." The prince then forgave him, and on the morrow Kārgiyā Mīrzā 'Alī returned to his own palace. On that same day, seated (in his audience-room), he sent for the envoy of Rustem Pādishāh, and said to him: "Go now, present my salutations to Rustem Pādishāh, and say to him: 'Falsehoods have reached your ears; for what wrong have I experienced

1 The word khurāj, which means literally "a coming out," is used throughout the beginning of this work to express the first appearance of Isma'īl to play his part in history. I can think of no better rendering into English than the word "coming," applied in like manner to King Arthur of the Round Table. The word "advent" might also suit were it not for the almost exclusively religious signification this word has acquired.
from the dynasty of Ḥasan Pādishāh that I should give a shelter to their enemies and protect them? If in the course of one hundred years it should transpire that I had any news of the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar, then am I guilty, and have committed a sin.” Thereupon, having given the envoy a sum of money, he sent him away. This latter, on his return, laid before Rustem Pādishāh what he had heard, namely, that Kārgiyā Mīrzā had taken an oath that he knew nothing of the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar, and on account of the good treatment he had received in Lāhibijān he deterred Rustem Pādishāh from his design. But yet another of Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Ali’s subjects came and personally represented to Rustem Pādishāh that the sons of Sultān Ḥaidar were with Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Ali, who knew all about them. At this Rustem Pādishāh’s anger was inflamed, and he despatched 300 Turkomān kurchis, saying: “Go, and take Isma‘il Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Mīrzā from Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Ali, and bring them back here. If he ill-advisedly refuse to give them up, remain there, and inform me of the fact.” Kāsim Beg Turkomān, one of the “Black Sheep,” was sent in command of this party. On his reaching Lāhibijān, he entered the palace of Kārgiyā Mīrzā, and handed him Rustem Pādishāh’s letter, which ran as follows: “Why do you thus provoke me? Hand over Sultān Ḥaidar’s sons to Kāsim Khan. For if you refuse I will come myself and make a general massacre in Gīlān.” The perusal of this letter filled Kārgiyā Mīrzā with anxiety, and he said: “Perhaps they are in Gīlān; I will make a search.” He then invited Kāsim Beg to alight, but he was the while very anxious, and, withdrawing, went and reported the matter to the prince.

Now when Husain Beg Lala, Khalīf ul-Khulafā, and Abdāl Beg Dede heard that Rustem Pādishāh had sent to seize the Princes, they said: “The matter rests in the hands of God.” That night ‘Ali again appeared to Kārgiyā Mīrzā ‘Ali in his sleep, and said to him: “After a few days interval you must summon Kāsim Beg to your palace, and say to him that you have sent men round from house
to house, and from door to door, but the sons of Sultan Haidar are not in this kingdom, and then say: 'If you do not believe me, I will take an oath that they are not in the land of Gilan.' Now before taking your oath you must attach a rope to a tree, and to the rope you must fasten a basket, which must thus hang from the tree. In this basket you must place the Prince, and then in the presence of the envoys of Rustem Padishah, swear with your hand on the Koran that Isma'il is not in the land of Gilan. In this way your oath will not be false.' A few days later, in accordance with the directions of the Commander of the Faithful, Kargiyah Mirza Ali entered his palace and summoned Kasim Beg. He then having exactly carried out the instructions of the Prophet Ali, sent the envoys back to Rustem Mirza. This latter now understood by the sending of messengers and Turkoman chiefs to Lahiyan, Kargiyah Mirza Ali was in no way to be deterred from his unsel{ish devotion, or made to confess the presence of the Princes and Sufis in his state; he, therefore, determined to send a powerful army into that land, which might with force and violence seize the Princes.

It was while he was engaged in such evil meditations that God filled the cousins with a desire to exterminate one another, and so degenerate had the Turkoman Sultans become that they fell upon one another, verifying the words: "By God, tyrants have to do with tyrants"; and were unable to occupy themselves with anything beyond their own mutual contentions. For this reason the Sufis and disciples were able to enjoy free intercourse with Isma'il, some returning immediately after their interview with him, others remaining in Gilan. Thus, with the approval of Kargiyah Mirza Ali, they firmly established Isma'il, in the manner of his great fathers and ancestors, upon the throne of Religious Guidance. In spite of his tender years, for he was at that time but seven years of age, he was a model of intelligence, perspicacity, and sound

1 Namely, Rustem Beg and Ahmad Beg.
judgment, and his devoted followers, out of the abundance of their faith, called him "The Perfect Guide" and "Pādishāh." In that beautiful town¹ he grew up and developed. Sometimes he would participate in the pleasures of the chase, or visit the pleasant spots of that country; and he always showed signs of possessing a conqueror's genius. Thus pleasantly did he pass his time, until the hour arrived for him to come out of that country and appear (before the world). After we have spoken of the downfall of the Turkomāns and the extinction of the White Sheep, we will, God permitting, give an account of the "Coming" of Isma'īl.

Here follows the promised account of the "Downfall of the Turkomāns," of which, corresponding as it does to a large extent with the same episode in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, I give a translation only; at the same time showing throughout to what extent the two histories tally with one another.

**Rustem Pādishāh is Killed and Aḥmad Beg Mounts the Throne of Īrān.²**

It has been already mentioned that after the death of Sultan Ya'kūb, son of Hasan Pādishāh, the Turkomān chiefs split up into two factions, the one supporting Bāisunkar Mīrzā and the other Masīḥ Mīrzā, who was in Sultānlū³ in Kārābāgh. The party of Bāisunkar Mīrzā gaining the upper hand put Masīḥ Mīrzā to death. [Aḥmad Beg, son of Ughūrlū Muḥammad, son of Hasan Pādishāh, escaping from that battle⁴ fled to Rūm, where

¹ = Ardabil.
² L., fol. 38a.
³ sic. in both MSS.
⁴ Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "from Kārābāgh."
Sultān İlderim Bāyazid, the Emperor, gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and he remained in Constantinople. In this year Hasan ‘Ali Tarkhānī, being enraged at the evil deeds of Rustem Mīrzā, went to Rūm and begged the Emperor to give him over Aḥmad Beg, declaring that there was no one in Irań who would not welcome him as king. “If you will send an army with him, he will, in all probability, bring under his sway the kingdom that is his by right of inheritance.” In answer to the appeal of Hasan ‘Ali Tarkhānī the Emperor sent Aḥmad Beg into Diār Bakr and [Azarbāijān with a regiment of Rūmīs.]

As soon as the rumour of their advance was spread about in the country of Azarbāijān, the Turkomān chiefs, turning traitors, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Ḫusain Beg ‘Ali Khānī, having put to death in Sultāniyya, ‘Abdulkarīm Beg Lala, one of Rustem Mīrzā’s chiefs, read the khutba in the name of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mīrzā hearing of these things was dumbfound, and set out from Tabrīz with his chiefs and a large army to repel Aḥmad Beg. [The two forces met and fought a pitched battle on the banks of the river Aras. In the heat of the fight Abiya Sultān Turkomān, with a riotous band of deserters, broke the line of the army and went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg. Rustem Mīrzā was thus caught in the claws of fate, and being taken prisoner was hamstrung at the order of Aḥmad Beg, who thus rid of his rival, entered Tabrīz and established himself upon the throne.] [He showed special favour to Ḫusain Beg ‘Ali Khānī, and distinguished him with increase of dignity and rank. Ḫusain Beg, on account of

1 Probably a variation of Tarkhānī. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says that it was merely “the desire to reconquer the country, which was his by right of inheritance,” that prompted his leaving Rūm; and ignores this anecdote.
2 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: “and Turkomāns.”
3 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: “without either being aware of the other’s movements.”
4 L., fol. 384.
5 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives the date of 902, and mentions that Rustem reigned six years. Kwāndamir here begins a fresh chapter entitled “The Accession of Aḥmad Pādīshāh to the throne of Azarbāijān, and his death at the hands of Abiya Sultān.”
the enmity he had long cherished for Muzaffar Beg Parnâk, having drawn him into a quarrel, killed him with his sword. When Kâsim Beg Parnâk, Muzaffar's brother, heard of this in Shîrâz, where he was governor, he only waited his opportunity to avenge his brother's blood. At length Aḥmad Beg appointed Abiya Sulṭân governor of Kîrmân, from which place Abiya Sulṭân sent a message to Kâsim Beg inciting him to revenge his brother's blood; and a compact was confirmed between the two Amîrs that they should together raise the flag of revolt from that quarter]. For this reason Abiya Sulṭân set out for the tomb of the mother of Sulaimân,1 where he was met by Kâsim Beg. Here they put to death all the servants of Aḥmad Beg, who were with Kâsim Beg, and read the khutba in Abiya Sulṭân's name. They then decided to send for Sulṭân Murâd, son of Sulṭân Ya'kûb, son of Hasan Pâdishâh, who was with his uncle Sulṭân Farrukh Yasâr, in Shîrwân, and set him up as king; while the two Amîrs should be his prime ministers (wakîl). They therefore sent an 'âhd-nâma to Sulṭân Murâd, in Shîrwân.2 After this they began to violate the property of the inhabitants of that country and to extort large sums of money from the men. Then those two ill-starred ones together led a large force against Iṣfâhan. And when Aḥmad Beg, in Tabrîz, heard of these doings he set out by forced marches with a powerful army to Iṣfâhan to oppose them, and overtook them in Alang Kânîz and Khwâja Hasan Mûzî.3 A party of the Turkomâns, deserting Abiya Sulṭân, went over to the side of Aḥmad Beg, and Abiya Sulṭân, perceiving this, lost confidence and fled. Aḥmad Beg's men seeing the helplessness of the enemy left Aḥmad Beg and gave them chase, plundering as they went the baggage of Abiya

1 Mashad-i-mâdari-Sulaimân; this is no doubt a corruption of masjîd-i-mâdari-Sulaimân, a name which the Persians still give to the tomb of Cyrus in the plain of Pasargade. Cf. Browne, "A Year among the Persians," and Ouseley, ii, 44 et seq.
2 L, fol. 39a.
3 There seems to be some confusion here in the narrative. The Habîb-us-Siyar mentions only one encounter, namely in Kânîz Alang-i-Iṣfâhan.
Sultān and Kāsim Beg. Abiya Sultān, recognizing his opportunity, charged down on Aḥmad Beg and threw him from the saddle of glory on to the ground of humiliation, and cutting off his head stuck it on the end of his spear and sounded the horn of triumph. When the soldiers of Aḥmad Beg saw what had happened they turned in flight [while Abiya Sultān, crowned with victory, turned towards the town of Kum, where he read the khutba and had coins struck in the name of Sultān Murād. He then sent a swift messenger to Shīrwān to fetch Sultān Murād, while he himself mounted the throne of Kum, and was waited on by the chiefs as a Sultān; and he busied himself daily with the settlement of important business pending the arrival of Sultān Murād.]

Abiya Sultān is killed and is succeeded by Moḥammadi Pādishāh, who is in turn killed and succeeded by Sultān Murād in Irāk, and by Amīr Alwand in Azarbāijān.

Aḥmad Beg, on account of his small stature and short legs and arms, had received from the Emperor Bāyazid the nick-name of Kādūcha Aḥmad. [When he was killed the sons of Yūsuf Beg son of Ḥasan Pādishāh, Moḥammadi Beg, and Alwand Beg, who had accompanied him in that battle, now made off in opposite directions. Moḥammadi Beg went to Yazd, where the Governor, Murād Beg Bāyandarī, taking advantage of his arrival set him, together with Ashraf Beg, upon the throne. Alwand Beg went to Diār Bakr] to Dāi Kāsim, Turkomān, who was [uncle

1 The Habīb-us-Siyār says Aḥmad had reigned six months.
2 The Habīb-us-Siyār adds: "who, since the death of his brother Bāisunkar, had been living under the protection of Shīrwānshāh."
3 L. fol. 398.
4 This opening sentence is not in the Habīb-us-Siyār. Kādūcha, if the reading be correct, may mean "a little gourd" (kādū). MS. C reads kūchik, or "small," which is, perhaps, the more correct reading.
to Rustem Mīrzā and governor of Diār Bakr]. Dāi Kāsim Beg set him likewise upon the throne. The two parties busied themselves with collecting troops and preparing for an expedition. Murād Beg Bāyunndari and Ashraf Beg, having amassed an army, set out under the command of Moḥammadi Pādishāh towards Shīrāz, whose Governor, Kāsim Beg Parnāk, came out with an army to offer him fight. After [the first] encounter Kāsim Beg turned in flight, and with great difficulty managed to throw himself into Šāīn Kūl'a. Meanwhile [Moḥammadi Pādishāh] having become master of the province of Fārs, appointed Manṣūr Beg Afshār governor of Shīrāz, [and set out himself against 'Irāk, which, having conquered, he pitched his camp in Rai.]¹

[But Abiya Sultān, Turkomān, who had fixed his winter-quarters in the town of Kum at the beginning of the spring, set out for Tabrīz]. On the road he learned that Sultān Murād, son of Sultān Yaḵūb, son of Hasan Pādishāh, having come out of Shīrwān was in the vicinity of Karāja-Dāgh, where he had been joined by a number of the Turkomān chiefs, who were inciting him to war with (Abiya Sultān),² and that Sultān Murād was bent on killing (Abiya Sultān). This latter, on hearing this news, pushed forward to meet him, and an engagement took place in which he defeated Sultān Murād and made him prisoner, confining him in the castle of Rubandar. Sultān Murād’s mother, the daughter of Sultān Khalil Shīrwānshāh, he made his own wife. He then sent a messenger to Dāi Kāsimī demanding (him to send) Alwand Mīrzā, son of Yūsuf Beg, whom he set upon the throne of Tabrīz. Then he and Dāi Kāsim with a large force under the leadership of Alwand Mīrzā [marched against Rai with the intention of seizing Moḥammadi Pādishāh. This latter, fearing the united forces of the Turkomāns, fled to Amīr Ḫusain Giyāī Chalāwī in Fīrūz

¹ Is Tīhrān here meant, or did the old town of Rai still exist?
² L, fol. 40a.
Kūh. Abiya Sulṭān sent his own brother, Güzel Aḥmad, with a number of Turkomān chiefs and an army to winter in Varāmīn, while Kāsim Beg Parnāk, who after the return of Moḥammādi Pādishāh from Sānīn Kāla had joined Abiya Sulṭān, was sent with a squadron of cavalry to Shīrāz. [He himself took up his winter-quarters] with Alwand Mīrzā [in the town of Kūm]. [In the meanwhile, Moḥammādi Pādishāh, in conjunction with Amir Ḥusain Gīyī Chalāwī, made an unexpected midnight attack on Güzel Aḥmad in Varāmīn. He plundered all his baggage, and Güzel Aḥmad fled "naked" to his brother in Kūm. Abiya Sulṭān, on hearing the sad news of the dispersion of the army, no longer thought fit to remain in the town of Kūm. He therefore in the depth of winter set out with Alwand Mīrzā for Tabrīz].

In the following passage of my translation I have chosen to give in a parallel column a translation of the corresponding passage in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar. The account which Khwāndamīr gives of the downfall of the Black and the White Sheep dynasties is not a very full or consecutive one, but our author tells us even less about them. Seeing that he obviously had independent sources of information for these events, it would appear that he, for preference, did not dwell upon the downfall of the Turkomāns.

---

1 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says: "to Husain Gīyā Jalābī in the castle of Astā."  
2 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar reads: Varāmīn-i-Rāi.  
3 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "and Ashraf Beg."  
4 The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar adds: "and did not stop till he reached Ribāt-i-Dāng."  
5 A straightforward account of the Ak-kāyunlus and the Karā-kāyunlus is to be found in the Naskh-i-Jahan-Ārā of Ghaffārī. Cf. Rice's Catalogue, pp. 111-116.
History of Shāh Isma‘īl.

Moḥammadi Pādishāh, who was now sole master of ‘Irāk, hastened after them by forced marches, and came upon them in Aziz Kandi.¹

A fierce contest ensued, in which victory finally decided for Moḥammadi Pādishāh; and Alwand Mīrzā was thus defeated. Abiya Sultan being slain, the world was freed from his evil doings.

Moḥammadi Pādishāh, having subdued the whole of Īrān, set himself upon the throne of Tabrīz. Alwand Mīrzā escaped with a small body of men to Diār Bakr, where he was received by the Governor, Dāi Kāsim, and set upon the throne of Diār Bakr.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar.

Moḥammadi having met with all success in the province of Rai, many of the Amirs of ‘Irāk offered him submission and acknowledged his sovereignty. He set out with a large army against Abiya Sultan. This latter, accompanied by Sultan Murād, went to meet him, and the opposing armies met in Aziz Kanītī (?). Without waiting to rest from their march, they immediately engaged. Moḥammadi was assisted by special divine favour, while Sultan Abiya was thrown upon the ground of destruction. Sultan Murād, accompanied by Guzel Aḥmad, fled towards Shīrāz, while Moḥammadi made a triumphant entry into Tabrīz, where he mounted the throne.

Beginning of Alwand’s Reign, and End of Moḥammadi Mīrzā.

When Amīrzaḏa Alwand came to Diār Bakr, after the battle of Kaniz Alang, Kāsim Beg conferred on him the title of king. But Kāsim Beg

¹ L., fol. 40b.
Meanwhile Alwand Mīrzā marched on Tabrīz with a well-equipped army; and Moḥammadī Pādīshāh, hearing of his brother’s advance and of the alliance of the forces, fled from Tabrīz to Sulṭāniyya;

while Alwand Mīrzā entered Tabrīz and mounted its throne, appointing Laṭīf Beg Turkomān, his wakīl.

While he was considering how to deal with his brother, news reached him that Sulṭān Murād, son of Sulṭān Yaḵūb, had escaped from the castle of Rubandar.

For Gūzel Āḥmad, when his brother, Abīya Sulṭān, was killed, fled from the battle-field, and, together with Fārrukh Shāh Beg Bāyandar, went to the castle of Rubandar, where they brought Sulṭān Murād out of prison; and thence all three proceeded to Shīrāz. Now Kaṣīm Beg Parnāk, who before that battle in which Abīya Sulṭān was killed, had
started out with a squadron of horse for Shīrāz, and in an encounter in Shūlistān in Fārs, was defeated and taken prisoner by the governor of that district. But as they passed near Iṣṭakhr, he contrived to escape, and shut himself up in that fortress. When he heard of the approach of Sultan Murād and Gūzel Ahmad, he came out of the fortress and joined them, giving them many goods and effects which he had taken from the inhabitants of Shīrāz. They all now proceeded together to Shīrāz, and Manṣūr Beg Afshār, deeming resistance useless, fled.

Sultan Murād, having entered Shīrāz, busied himself with preparations for a military expedition. Having established perfect order in Shīrāz, he appointed Kāsim Beg Parnāk to the governorship, and then set out with a powerful force for Iṣfahān. When Moḥammadī Pādishāh, in Sultāniyya, heard of this, he marched out with the chiefs of the Irāq frontier towards Iṣfahān, where he heard that Sultan Murād was advancing from Fārs. He thereupon hastened out to meet him, and in the summer-quarters [called] Khwāja Ḥasan Māzī, the approximation of the two hosts concluded in a hand to hand engagement. After the ranks had been drawn up in parallel lines, Piri Beg Afshār charged down with a regiment of brave men upon Kāsim Beg Parnāk, and carried all before him, while Kāsim Beg fled, thus throwing confusion into the midst of Sultan Murād’s army. Sultan Murād’s banner fell to the ground, but such was the valour of his heroes that they raised it and again flocked round it, and this army which had (just) been scattered in disorder, now reassembled under the shadow of that standard. They now perceived that Moḥammadī Pādishāh was standing without his army, alone at the foot of (his) standard; whereupon Sultan Murād, sallying from his ambuscade, charged down upon him, and

1 The reading is doubtful. It may be a corruption of Shulghistān, which is near Abāda.
2 Garmairst-ī-Shīrāz, that is, those portions of the district of Shīrāz which lie in the hot climate (garmāirst). The Arabic plural in āt being, as is so frequently the case, attached to the Persian word.
3 L, fol. 41a.
his chiefs, being unable to resist this onset, fled, while Moḥammadī Pādīshāh, Pīr Beg Afshār, and Ashraf Beg were killed. The chiefs, in the utmost confusion, fled in various directions. Pīr Ṭalī Beg and Pīr Moḥammad Beg fled to Sāwa and Kum. Pīr Moḥammad Beg stayed in Kum. Ḵānāḵ Beg in Kāshān and Pīr Ṭalī Beg in Sāwa raised the flag of revolt.

Ṣultān Murād, having won this victory, entered Isfahān, but hearing of the insurrection of the Turkomān chiefs set out to that district at the head of 50,000 horse and foot men. After much military parleying those men gave themselves up without striking a blow. Ṣultān Murād now marched against Sultāniyya. [Amīr Alwand Mīrzā, being informed of Sultān Murād’s movements, set out from Tabrīz to oppose him with the chiefs of Azarbājīān and a large army. But while the two armies lay encamped] near about Abhar [there came a certain pious darwīsh named Bābā Khair Ullah] who dwelt in Abhar [and spoke to the two kings]. He had received intimation from the hidden world that there would shortly come out of Gilān a person who would increase the dignity and honour of the Religion of Moḥammad, establish the Faith in the Twelve Imāms, and restore law and order in the land of Īrān. [On this account he] entreated the two kings to come to terms, and a peace was concluded under the stipulation that the river Ḵızīl Üzūn should form the boundary between their respective kingdoms. Azarbājīān,] Mughān [Arrān, and Diār Bakr were to belong to Amir

1 There is some inconsistency in the narrative here, for the Ḥabīb-us-Sīyār clearly states that after this victory Sultān Murād took Moḥammadī with him as a prisoner to Sultāniyya. Khwandamīr also gives in the following passage some further details with regard to Pīr Ṭalī Beg and Bāzrām Beg.
2 The Ḥabīb-us-Sīyār differs considerably in this place. Its authors tell us that several small encounters took place, but as none of them proved decisive for either side, a peace was at length made with the following conditions: That Abdāl Beg Pīr Ṭalī should quit Sāwa and enter the service of Sultān Murād, who, having abandoned the siege, should appoint Pīr Ṭalī Beg as Governor of Sāwa. On the same day that Abdāl Beg entered Murād’s service he migrated from Sāwa to Azarbājīān.
3 L, 416.
4 The Ḥabīb-us-Sīyār says Ṣāīn Kālā instead of Abhar.
5 Detail omitted by Khwandamīr.
6 Khwandamīr omits Mughān from the list.
Alwand, while Sultan Murâd was to govern the states of 'Irâk, Fârs, and Kirmân. After the ratification of this treaty, Amir Alwand returned to Tabriz and Sultan Murâd to Kazwîn.] Many of the Afsâhâr and Turkomân chiefs, who had revolted, now came to Sultan Murâd and begged his forgiveness. Some he punished¹ and others he re-appointed governors or amirs.²

The chapters now succeeding, apart from telling us much about Isma'il that we cannot learn from the Habib-us-Siyar, have a special interest of their own, for Dede Mohammad's story, whatever may be its historical value, is of sufficient curiosity to merit reproduction. I therefore subjoin the full text and translation of this my last extract:—

[MS. L, fol. 41b.]

ذكر نظر يافين خاقان صاحبقران شاه اسماعیل بهادر خان ورخصت خروج يافين از حضرت صاحب الزمان عليه صلوات الله الملكک المدنان

جوان خبر انقلب در ممالک ایران و طفیان امرای ترکمان

بسمع خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران رسید اراده نمود که از لاهیجان توجه بدار الارشاد ارذبیل نمایند و از ارواح مقدسه آباد کرامل و اجداد عظام [۴۲] استعداد نموده کلزار دین و دولت را از خس و خاشاک ارباب طفیان و عیاد پاک ساتند این اراده را

¹ ba yâsâ rasânidan, means to try (and condemn) a person by the code called yâsâ, which is said to have been instituted by Chingis Khân. See Indian Antiquity, July, 1882, and Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 22, note.
² The Habib-us-Siyar here adds: At this juncture Sultan Murâd was informed that Kasim Beg Parnak, Governor of Shirwan, was planning a revolt. (Murâd) therefore set out from Kazwîn with a strong force and marched into Fârs. And when Kâsim Parnâk heard of his approach, feeling he was not strong enough to resist, he came out to meet Murâd in Kasr-i-Zard, and, begging his forgiveness, expressed his repentance. All his chiefs were seized by Sultan Murâd, who then hastened to Kârzûn, where he spent the winter.
بازموده از میردام و صوفیان اظهار نمودند ملازمان جاد و جلاد دانستند که خروج آن حضرت تزیکت شده است کمی اطاعت و جان فشانی را برای متان جان بسته، امیدوار شدند آن قدرت دوبدمان ولیت و امامت یکی از اهل اخلاص را جهت رخصت طلبیدن نزد کارکیا میزرا علی فرستاد و از عزم نهسا ت همیت کارکیا میزرا علی را خبر داد و همین به دلیل جلال و انصار آن حضرت انديشید[ه] زیراکه در آن وقت از عمر شرفیش دویژده سال بیش نکذشت به وکرل و عظیم هم جالفا دار و اهل طغیان زیاده از حد و حصر پدر بنابر آن حضرت را رخصت بیرون آمدند از آن ولیت نمیدادند و می کمته وقت خروج نیست و انسب آن نست که یکمده دیگر توافق نمایند که تصواب اقامت آن صنفی فدوی زارکشته اتصلال کارکیا میزرا علی را بعرض خاقان (سلیمانخان) صاحب‌قرار رسانید آن حضرت بیان الاتصال مشار الیه قدر توافق نموده، بعد از روزی چند بینت نفس نفس با کارکیا میزرا علی ملقات فرمودند و بزای ایام سیبان در باب عزم‌موم ارديک و بیرون آمدند از لاهیجان اظهار نمودند کارکیا میزرا علی دیگر باره الاتصال فرض آن عزم‌موم نمود آن حضرت راضی نش دلیچل کارکیا میزرا علی بفرک برخی از اسباب ضروری پرداخت و آن حضرت روز دیگر باجمعی از ارباب عقیدت به‌عزیم شکار سوار شده در حوالی لشته نشا بکار بیشتر درخی رسواد و از نهر آبی که در آن حوالی بود عبور نموده بصوفیان رفیق فرمودند که

1 (داماد)
2 (فروده)
اثدی ازین نهر آب متعاقب مس عبر توماورد ودر کنار این نهر
منتظر مراجعت من بود باشد و آخیرت داخل آن بیشته
كرده و دیگرکسی از ارباب عقیدت را خبره از آخیرت نمود
تا ازآن بیشه بیرون آمدند و آنچه در باب کمر بسته شدی و از
بیشه بیرون آمد اخیرت باشمیزره که حمایل نموعد و علامتی
جنید (که صوفیان مشاهده نموعدند) از تقریر در ده محمد
[426] روملی که از صوفیان و دو ویشاپ صاحب حال اروم ایلی بود
درست سبب و تسعیمنه در میدان صاحب آبد تبریز بشرف پایبوس
[مرشد کامل] مشترف 1 شد و دیدن آن حضرتاردربابان مینه در
جلس حضرت صاحب الیزان علیه السلام که مرقوم میکرد
ظاهر خواهد شد
شرح حالات ده ده محمد و آنچه درسفر مگه معمول مشاهده
نموند.
ده ده محمد یکی از دربیشان پاک اعتقادات مشیرند حسن
خلیفه تکلو که دیر میان تکه ایلی و اروم ایلی سکنی داشت بود
و حسن خلفیه یکی از خلیفان و مریدان پاک اعتقادات این
دو دیمان ولیت و کرامت بود یک توبد بخشدت حضرت سلطان
جعید رسید و دو توبد بخشدت سلطان نیزرد مشترف شد
و آن حضرت اورا چله خانه با چهل نفر از صوفیان فر شتاد
و هرکی از ایشان را یک کوزه آب و قزری نان همراد کرد (تادر)
مکت چله بآنقدر گذا چنعت کند بعد از انقضای مدت از
(پردو 1)
چله خانه بیرون آمدند رفقات حسن خلیفه توش‌ه خودرا بکار برده بودند آمیوه که آنچه برد به‌خدمت آن‌هاصرت آورد مرشد کامل اورا رخصت داده روانه ولیت تنه ایلی کردانی و آن‌خصت اورا وعده در باب ظهور و خروج حضرت خاقان و سلمان شان صاحبقران فومودند و جوون بیمان ایل مذکور رسید از ارو کشف و (کرامات) 

1 بسیار مشاهده می‌شود که احجاب طریقت را از وعده خروج آن‌خصت آگاه می‌نمود و در هنگام ارتحال پسر خود بابا شاه تلی را که اورنیز صاحب کشف و (کرامات) 

2 بود بر مسند طریقت جای داد ابتدی باوسیرته کفت که در سبع و تسع‌ماه مرشد ما در تبریز بر نخست سلطنت ایران جلوس خواجه نعمت‌یا بایان آن شهیریار است باسلام مس باو برسان بابا شاه تلی منتظر وقت می‌بود تادر سنگ خمس و تسع‌ماه‌ائی ده ده سبود که مرید خلیفه بیغ ارادة (زیارت) همه معظم به‌نمود و از بابا شاه تلی رخصت دریافت این توافق طلبیده دد. 

3 شاهکلی کفت رخصت است بروان‌ها چون از زیارت همه فارغ می‌شوی ارادة زیارت عبادات خواهی کردن‌واز آنجانب بدار السلطنتی تبریز خواهی رنگ روزاول که داخل تبریز خواهی شد درآتروز ازارالین طلیبی و طاهربی ساحب خروجی به‌مرسید خواهی بود [43a] پادشاه شده و سگه و لطیبه بنام خود زده و خوانده و در‌میدان تبریز آن شهیریار را در جوان بازی خواهی دید میری و سلام من با‌نسرور میرسانی و این ابلقرا

1 [کرامت]

2 [کرامت]

3 Both MSS. read دد، but پا is obviously the correct reading.
می‌دهی که بر سر تاج خود بند کردند پس دهده میثم قبول
نحوه آن امانست را کرتشت و بجانب سنته معظمه روانه بعد از
طوف سنته معظمه و زیارت مسجد مشتری جامعه بیستان رشید (د)
ما بین مدينه باتسکینه و دار السلم بغداد از قالیه جدا افتاده
خوايش در رود و قتيه که دیده کشود ديد که از قالیه اثری نمانده
بود مدع مه روز بقزوت حال و درويش در ران صمرا راد میرفت
تا كار برو تنگ كرديه افتاد و زيان از کام أو بيرين آمد و (از تشنگی)
دل بر مکت نهاد جهان آفتات برعالی سراست استاد ديد که از
برابش جوان عربی سواره در رسیده و کنفت ای درويش بر خيزه
باياداني نزديك رسيدة ۱ آن (درويش انشاره کرد که توتت رقش
بعن نمانده است) پس آن جوان دست اورا کرتنه جهون دست
درويش بدست آن جوان رسید توتت (نظام در خوود) مشاهده
(کر بخابس ودر کاب) ۲ اور متوتچ بهتشه شد (جهون بفراز بعضه)
برآمد نظر کردن دید که در آن طرف تا جشم کاریکند سبزه و کل
ولله درآن صراست و خيمه های زریفت و (سایبانهای) اطلس
برسیرای کرده انگ فن دیه جوان عرب اینقسم جای در صرا
مگه و لیف اشرف هرکی کسی [ندیده و نشان نداده این چه
مکانش و صاحب این خرگاه وبارکه کرست آن جوان عرب
کنفت خواهی دانست و درويش درجول او میرفت تا ببارکه
رسيده قفته اش با آفتات و ماد برابری میکرد جهون داهل شد

1 I have added the hamza here.
2 MS. C. Bakhast.
3 MS. L. has a large hole at the top of this folio.
طُبِّقَه جایی بنظر در آورد که هرک زنده چنان جایی ندیده بود کریمیان
زریان در پارسی یکدیگر چیده و شخصی بر بالای کرسی نشسته بود
و ناقبی بروی خون اندامخته داده دمغد دست بررسیه نهاده
سلام [داد] و دعا گرد پس صدای جواب سلام از آن نقاب دار
شیدئ کنفت ای درویش بنیکین پس فرومود تا طاعمنی جهه او
آوردند که در جمع عمر خرد مثل آن آطمه ندیده و آبی سرید
نیز آوردند [و] دمغد دمغد [نوشید که] هرک آبی بان کارایی
خورده بود [436] چون از خوردن فارغ شد دید (که) جمعی
آمدند و پسری [را] آوردند تخمینا در سن چهارده مالکی سرخ
موی سفید روی میش چشم و تاج سرخی بر سر داشت چون
دیگر شد سلام داده ایستاد آن چون نقاب دار کنست ای سلمی
الحال وقت شده [44] که خروجی کنن کنفت امر از حضرتست
آن شهیر فرومود (ند) که پیش بیا او پیش رفت آنحضرت کار
کشفه به مربیه اورا ازجا برداشت و باز بیروز دمغد
و بست مبارک خود کرمشرا بست و تاج را ازکرمش برداشت
و باز برسن نهاد و در خاجی گردی در کرمش پس آنحضرت
برداشت و در پیش درویش انداخت و کنفت ایسی را نگاه داده
بگارتو خواهد. آمد و شمشیری آن حضرت از ملازمان خود طلبه‌ده
بدست مبارک برکرمش بست و فرومود بروکه رخختست فائته
خواندن (ند) و اورا آن دوست نفری که اورا آوردند بودند سپرد چون

1 (کر).
2 (که).
3 (کفانه).
4 خواد.
آن جوانا بردنده همان عربرا اشاره کرد که درویش را بقافله برسان و او درویش را آورد و کفت آن قافله ایست که از جدا مانده بود، جوئن دده حمید قافله را دید کفت ای جوان بعضت خداترا قسم می‌دهم که آن‌سرور که بود و آن جوان چه کس بود کفت ای درویش هنوز ندانستی که آن شهیار که دیدی حضرت صاحب الزمان (علیه السلام) بود جوئن دده حمید نام صاحب الامر عليه السلام را شنید ایستاد و کفت [آی جوان] بعضت خداترا (که) مرا برکدان تا یکبار دیگر به راه بوس انصرت برسم و خیره‌ای از آن‌صرت طلب کنم بله نوی شود که در خدمت آن شهیار بوده باشم آن جوان کفت دیگر نمی‌شنود می‌باشد مرتبه‌ای اول حاجت خودرا بطلی دیگر بر کرديم ممکن نیست هرجا که خواهد حاجت بخواه ده حضرت صاحب الامر در همه جا حاضر است حاجت ترا روا می‌کنند و درویش رفت که برکرد دیگر سوار را ندیده بر فراز پشتی برآمد هر چند نگاه کرد علامت آن کلیش و سرپرده و غیره ندید آه آه از نهادن برآمد دید که قافله دویش لعال جوئن خودرا بقافله رسانید و تعمت حکایت داده حمید روسلو ورسیدن او لکنومت خاقان سلیمان شان (صاحبقران) کیتی ستان در تبریز در طی وقایع سنه سبع و تسعماده فلیسی خواهد شد به‌ورون آمده خاقان سلیمان شان صاحبقران شاه اسمعیل بهادر خان از آن بیشه و روانه شدن باهفت نفر از صوفیان

(۷۳)
جوری صوفیان بموجب نرمان و اجیب الازعان خاقان سلیمان
شان صاحبقران [445] در کنار نهربان حضور، بی‌بیش توقف نموده
منتظر قدموم می‌مانند لزوم آن حضرت بودند قرب بدو ساعت
شد که اثری از آنحضرت ظاهر نکردن صوفیان را از دین واقعه
(اضطرابی) ۱ دست داده متفرگ احوال خجسته مال آن شهریار
بودند و همچنین یک بنابر فرمان آنحضرت از نهرآب عبور نموده
بجانب بیشه نمی‌توانستند رفت که مبداً اختلاف در امر مرشد
واقع شود درآن اذن و جشن صوفیان بر جمله مبارک آنحضرت
افتد که ارمنیان بیشه شمشیری برکر بیسته بی کمر خنجر باصلابت
تمام نیروی آمدن صوفیان از مشاهده آنها جز سرد قدم آن شهریار
کذاشتند و از بین سقوط و هیپت احیدی از ایشان جریان تفتيش
آن غلامات از آنحضرت نمی‌توانستند نمود و همکی بااتفاق
مرشد کامل آمده مجلس کنگال برآرسته با صوفیان اخلاص کیش
کشف کردن که از کدام راه می‌تواند مقصد شوند تولید رفت که از راه
طارم جهت دل‌دیر اردیبل شتابند درآن حسین کاریکا میرزا علی با
بعتی از اسباب ضروری سفر بخمدت آن حضرت رسیده بار دیگر
زبان الیمان بارود در باب توقف آن حضرت ممکنه نموده
بدرجه قبول وزید لاجرم مشار ایه بمشایخت آنحضرت عزم شد
و در ساعت سعد آنحضرت بای دلیت در زکاب مصادت در
آوردن (و از لاهیجان روی توجه بصرب ارجوان نهادند و کاریکا
میرزا علی (با جمعی از ااراباب اختلاف تا دو فرسخ در موقب عالی)

\[\text{انظر} 1\]
مشایع‌ت آقاضورت نموده، مرشد کامل‌را در ضریم؛ امان ملک،
ملک رواه، مقصود کرداری و خوش مراحت گلریزه‌تا لاهیجان نمود
خلاقان سلیمان شان صاحب‌ران از آن مکان باختن نفر از صوفیان
مثل حسن بیک لهله و ابدال علی بیک دهد و خامد بیک
خلیفه و رستم بیک قرمانلو و بیرام بیک قرمانلو و الیاس بیک
ایفوت علی و قربانی بیک قاجار عبانی عزیمت، برص دیلمان
انعطاف داده دردیلمان نزول اجلال فرومودند و از دیلمان بجانب
طارم بحرکت در آمدهن در عرشه راه اربابی جلالت و صوفیان
پاک طبیعت از روی عقیدت در هر سرمایه از منازل آراطف
روم و شام بموبک عالی می پیوستند جهن طارم (حمل) نزول
موبک آنحضرت کرید [45] سبان عسکار ظفر آنار پرداخته
موازی یک هزار پانصد نفر از صوفیان فردی بنظر انور در آمده
ناد راک نصرت احساس بودند و جهن خاطر مبارک از جانب
امیر[ه] حشام التین جمع نبود و همیشه مذکور میشود که او راه
خلاف و عنااد پایی دیلمان ولایت نشان می پیماید از تجربت
آنحضرت از طارم عازم خلخال شدند و در قربه برندی نزول
فرموردن روز دیکر بعنصره شاملو که بشام نقل اوزن استهبار دارد
شافتدند جهن بموقف عرض رسیدند که در مزرعة مذکوره خریزه با
سبار شهریس دلپینس هم میرسد و آنحضرترا میل تمام بخطروپه
بود بنا بر این در آن مزرعه جند روز توقف نمودند شیخ قاسم در
آنمنزل بلوار م خدمت و ضیافت پرداخته ضیافتی نمود که ما فوق

۱(اللّه)
۲(مینه)
قوت و قدرت تکرر نیز و آن‌مدار تکلیف که کرده (بود) بدان راغی نشده چهل کوسفند بغير طعام بیان کرده بود بعیان آورد بعد از چندروز خلاف خلاقان سلیمان شن صاحبقران از آن مزرعه کوچ فروده در قرنی نساز خلال نزول فروده و از قرنی نساز بقیه کوهی خلال آدم در خانه ملل توقیف روکنی سلطان شهید سعید سلطانعلی پادشاه که بخشنده مشهور بود نزول اجلاس واقع شد و تا مدت یکماه در خانه توقف نموده بعد از مدت اقامت روی توجه به بقیه خلافتاد اردبیل آوردند و از آنجا به قرنی آوروند شافته‌ از قرنی مذکوره با جهان جهان آرزو عالم عالم اشتیاق متوالیه خلقت فردوس بینان و روزه جشن نشان جد بزرگوار خود سلطان الولیا و آبها انیفی سلطان حقیقیه والطريقه خیچ صنی الدین استطی قدس سر کوی بیاند و بطوان مرقد منوشر مشایخ عظوم و اولیاء کرم مستعد شده در آن‌قام فرنشته احترام که حمل اجابت دعای انامست دست دعا بدرکاه تانی الحاجات برآوردند و از برای فتح و نصرت برادای دین و دولت جمیب عجب و نیاز بر زمین حاجت سوده از بخشندق بی مثبت و کریم بی‌تقلت مطلبي که داشتند مستهلک مفردودن جهان انوار قبول در ضریب منیر [458] فیض تأثیر برتو انداخت روى نیاز از زمین مراد براواه بهمنزل همیون رجعت فروده و در آن زمان سلطانعلی ببکت ترکمان که از جانب امیرالوند میزان حاکم اردبیل و مغانات کس نزد آن‌خصص فرستاد که در اردبیل توقف نمودن شما.

[معنی‌تان]
مناسب نیست میباشد از این ولايت جان دیکه تشریف شریف
ارزانی دارید یا اینکه آماده تماشای جدال بوده باشد چون در آن
وقت [آزا] قنوت ملومان موكب عالی و کرده اعدا محلت در
مناژعه و منانش نممیدند لیذا از خطه طبیعه اردبیل چك کرد
بقرهُ میرمی توجه نمودند تشاقان نموذن خاندان سلمان شاه
صُاحبقران در ارجوان معمّدی بیکت زوج باشا خاتون که بسره
پایپوس مشرف کشته بود بعمر عرضی رسانیده [2] که اکر نپشت
هلمین از برای تشاق و جمعیت اعوان و انصار بصوب طوالش
واقع شود بصواب اقرب خواهد بود آن حصرت قبول فرمودند
و معمّدی بیکت چون (با میرزا معمّد) سلطان رابطه قدیم داشت
نزند اورفساندن و معمّدی بیکت بعد از رسیدن با استارا نزد میرزا
عمّدی سلطان رفت او اورا دلایل نصبخت آمیز ودادة اخلاص
و جان فشانی باز آورد چون میرزا معمّد سلطان بخت بلند
و دولت ارجمند داشت از استماع این خبر بیجت اثر و ورود
موكب ظفر پیکر بداندود بلا توغت پاتغت معمّدی بیکت
و صنادید طوالش اقبال مثال با استقبال موكب هلمین فال
شافتمند چون بشر پایپوس مرشد کامل مشرف شده بذرود
عرض رسانیدند که ایندیار تعلت بملومن عالی دارن چنانچه در
خطر خطر شهردار کشورکر تشاقان نموذن درین دیار خطور نموده
باشد بسیار بجا و موافق مطلب این بنده دو لتخواه است که چند

[1] (پیام).
[2] [تلانغ].
[3] [Lacuna].
روزی کمرسدنگی و خدمتگری بر سرمان[46a] جان بسته بیلوازم
جان سپاری پرداز حضورت خاتمان سلیمان شان صاحبقران بنابر
التماس اودر قربه ارجوان من اعمال آستارا نزول اجلاس فرمودند
و میرزا مقصد سلطان بنوعی در رضا جویی خاطر مبارک اشرف
اعلی و بندکی اولیای دولت ابد بیوند کوشید که زبان‌ها بتفصیل
و آقونیش کویا شندند و اکثری اوقات مرشح کامل بشکار ماهی
میل نموده آن امر اشتغال داشتهند و میرزا مقصد سلطان والد‌
[خوی را با جنده نفر از کنیزان خجسته و پرستاری آثحمرت مامور
ساخته خود متوجه مکان] خود کرده و همیشه آرزوی در یافتن
ملامت‌ها می نمود چون خبر توجهه مرشح کامل بجانب طوالش
بسلطان علی بیک خاکرود رؤیادی شرح احوال‌ترا در عریضه درج نموده
نژد امیر‌الوند میرزا به تبریز قدرتی و امیر‌الوند میرزا از استعما این
خبر مراسم‌های کوشیده مقرر نموده که چون بیانه او و میرزا مقصد
رابطت‌ و اتحاد قدیمست به نوع که توایی اورا نمختافت و قصد
آثحمرت ترغیب نمای و آن تاباکت بعد از فکر و انداشته بسیار کس
نژد والده میرزا مقصد سلطان فرستاد و اورا بوده‌ام جمهوره
قروعت که در باره آن حضرت کیدی انگیشت و آن کس ناقص بدی
عقل فریب و عده‌ [امیرالوند میرزا را خورده سلطان علی بیک
جاکرود] علی بنامه که چون حضرت خاتمان سلیمان‌شاه صاحبقران
هر روز بشکار ماهی مشغولند آثحمرت را دردیا اندارند و با امیر
حمزة طالشک که رانتی و فانتی معیقات دیوانی میرزا مقصد طالش
بود انتفاج نموده منتظر فرست می‌بودند و میرزا مقصد سلطان را
ازین معنی اطلاعی نیوده نهایت از حرکات آن دو مفسد نامی‌کرده‌اند. [466] اطلاع یافته و الدّه خوردرا منع و زجر نمود و امیر حمزه طالش را اهانت و آزار بسیار نمود و پیرویش در اخفا نیعی‌می‌کردند و امیر آقایی کفایی از این مقدمه باقی‌مانده شدند. خوردرا نزد لیله، 1 بیک و حامد بیک رسانیده از غدر آن دو [ناواری] و تلش میرزا محمد سلطان در اخفا 2 این راز به انسان خبردادن لیله بیک و حامد بیک به تاب شده این مقدمه را به اعرض عرض مرشد کامل رسیدند میرزا محمد سلطان از اطلاع حسرت خانم سلیمان شان صاحب‌قران برای مقدمه آن آگاه شده سراپیمه بدرگاه معلّی شتافت و در حضور مرشد کامل قسم پاد نمود که مرا مطلق‌اکنار اراده خبر نبود جوان مطلق شدم والده خوردرا زجر و منع کردم چون منضمن قسم میرزا محمد سلطان بسی‌بیشتر نبود صورت تقلب آن بر آیین جهان نمایی مرشد کامل وصیان صافی نمیر چهره نمود (بیوی) هرآن سخن که بود مقترن بصدق و صواب. بود حقیقت آن نزد هرکسی ظاهر و بعضی این حکایت را بدين نوع نقل کرده اندکه میرزا محمد سلطان می‌گوید امیر برادر احمدی بیک در آن تاريخ نزد میرزا محمد سلطان می‌گوید امیر الوه میرزا کس نزد میرزا محمد سلطان و میرزا محمد سلطان رهراست این‌که نزدیک یوشع آنکه حضرت خانم سلیمان [شنان] را کرده‌اند او فرستند میرزا محمد درین باب متفکر بود که

1. (الله)
2. (ناواری)
3. (غلفان)
دست از کدام یک از درنیا دسرباز "معمودی بیک" از فکر و تأمل او انیشیده با او فکر کرده به وحدت و فریب آمیز امیر الوند دست از دنیا و آخرت نوان بر داشت و خاک ادوار و خیانت بتکلیف ارباب حقد [47α] و حساد بر فرق روکار خود نباید انباشت که تا انقراض عالم این بنامی در میانه طالش خواهد بود و آنچه تقدير شده بیگانه دیواناخواهد شد و دیگر در غیرت طالش کی روا باشد که از برای حکومت دنیایی درون مرتکب این امر شنیب کردی [بیست] هرکه در کارا باد انیشید* روى نیکی دکرچسبیده * هرکه شاگ منفرتی کارد * میوه منفعت کجا جنید * و میرزا معتمد سلطان از سخنان سودمند [دلبسته]" معتمدی بیک فکر عاقبت خود انتمانه آن اراده را بلکلیه از خاطر بیرون کرد در خاطر انتخال سلطان نرّت پسر که شیروان* شاه بود کس نزد میرزا معتمد سلطان فرستاد که هزار تومان نقد از برای تو مصرفتم که خاطر سلیمان شاه صاحبقران را کرتفه نزد من فرستی میرزا معتمد سلطان جنید زند روز بود که بملازمت آن حضرت نرسیده بود مکتوب شیروانشاه* برداشت به جمعی کثر از مردم طالش روى بدرک فلک پیش که آورد پیش از رسیدن او خبر بمرشد کامل از حقيقة مکتوب فرستادن شیروانشاه* و آمدن میرزا معتمد سلطان با جمعیت و ازدحام تمام رسید امراهی دولت و صوفیان سافی طلبت مثل حسن بیک ولله و خدام بیک خلفیه

1 ? doubtful reading.
2 (دلبسته).
3 (شیروانی).
و برایه‌ی نهاده، مانند و ابدال علی بیک دیده و الیاس بیک از استماع این‌تریب دست‌گیره شده که مبارزه میرزا عبید الله سلطان سخت بود.

۱ خلاف باشند [۴۷۸] صوفیان.

۲ نیز از چپ و راست آن‌جمع‌آوری در آمد به عنوان شاهد.

۳ خون‌ریزی‌های گسترده‌ای از روزگار ارباب علی بیک و اکر مارا در یافتن سعادت پایپوس مرسد کامل باشد این احیا‌تای قصصی محواه و باشت پس بعوجب اشاره‌ام ارباب.

۴ ملک قدسی که محقق کشته‌هایی مثال آن‌حضرت را در میان کرفته در دین انا میرزا عبید الله سلطان با مرسد خود نزدیکت و دیده‌ی بیک با استقبال اول فرستادند که بنظر احتیاط ملاحظه‌الحوال مشاریه‌های نامایند و نقد اندازه‌ی اورا بر محقق امتثال‌زده آن‌چه بر دیده‌های حقیقت بین ایشان در آید بموقع عرض رساند جوی میرزا عبید الله سلطان ارکان دولت قاهره را از دور دید از سمند جلادت.

۵ بزری آمده (با ایشان) مصافحه و مغالطه بی‌جانی آورد و اظهار اخلال و دولت خواهی خودرا با امرای درگاه‌های شاهی و دعوی یک کرتک و جان‌سپاری نموده که جوی مذکر شد که سعادت پایپوس مرسد کامل را درون‌فته پبدم بنابر خواهش در یافتن آیین سعادت.

۱ [Lacuna].

۲ (بر آوردند).
احرام ملازمت بسته بعثت علیه شتافت آمام امرا ندوی باز کشته حقيقةت حالزا بذره برکر رسانیدند مرشد کامل اورا طلب فرموده میزرا حکم بوسته امرا عظام بهای بوس شاه فلک مقام مشرف کریست بعد از دریافت این امداد مکتوب شیدارا روا انشارا بنظر انور رسانیده احوال بداندیشن آن به آراما معروض داشت و در جلسه بهشت آین در حضور امرا حضرت شاه دست برکلهم رسانیده جدیدا قسم یاد نموده که بخاطرات این بندله دولالی، خوابه خیر از بندکی و جان سپاری چیز دیگر نمی‌رسید[۴۸۱] و بسبب حکومت و مال دنیا از برى دو روزه حتیت بایای دابیر اخلاص و جان فضانى بیرن نکذاشت فریفته معاندان این دیدمان ولیت نشان اخواهند شد واین بندم یک جبهه دانستم که این‌گونهی بعرض مرشد کامل رسیده و آن‌حفرت کمان وغر و بی وفاپای در باب این غلام ندوی برد اند از برى رفع آن [پستته] سر قدم ساخته خودرا بخدمت رسانیدم امیدوارم که جون مرکز[۳۱] اندوارا اخلاص و جان سپاری بندب برای عالم آرا برتو افکنده امثال این حکایات را در مانده بندم خور دیل نفوزا ایند[بیست] کماب بد اندر حلق نیک خواهان روا نیست کذرا ارزین بد کمایان* شاه کیتی پدید میزرا* حکم را بخزع نافرخه مخلع ساخته و مردم اورا یکان یکان بخلعه‌ای خاص اختصاص بخشدند و به مواضع الطف بدریخ شهریاری و اعطا بالا نهایت شاهی امیدوار کردن اندند در آن روز رفیق

۱(پیر)

۲رار repeated in C.
مجلس بهشت آیین وهم بینم خاتمان [پادشاه و دیگر] بوده روز دیگر رخصت مراجعات به محل سکنی حاضر نمود بجانب حکومت که خود روانه کردید و حضورت خاتمان سلیمان شان صاحبقران صوفیانرا که [در] موقت معلیکی نکاد داشته بودند رخصت اوطان دادند که بعقام ملک فردی رفته در نور رزسلتیک بهم موقب عالی پیوندند. 
ذكر [توجه] خاتمان سلیمانشان صاحبقران از بورت تشلاق بجانب اردبیل بعون عنايت ملك جليل.
چون ایام زمستان بهایان رسیده دیکر بار نسیم بهاری باهترزاز آمد و روز نوروز سلطانی را دیر أطراف عالم ملک آوازه کردنی اهل روزگار را از رازیه شمیم عنیر آک و کلبای رنگی دماغها [486] معطر کشت و سبزه جمیشه که از بهم لشکر سرما سربکپيان اختیتا فرو برد. بود از بار استقبال آن روز فیروز سر از خاک بر آورده باغ و بوستان از کلبای والان مانند تو عروسان زیب و آراشی شانته که و هامون صدیزو خرمن و از لاله [های كوناکین] رشکت کلستان ارم کرید خاتمان سلیمانشان بعداً جشن نوروزی در انديشة بیرون آمد از آن مکان بصوب اردبیل بودند که سرمای صعب شده و برنهای سنگین بر زمین افتاده که کسی یاد نداشت ریاحین عنیر آمیز و سبز [ههای نشاط انکیز و کلبهای عطر بیزاز بسی مسطوت سلطان بر و (غارت) ویزیت بادهای سر د نزیر بر فم شفیعی کشتند و فرمان فرمای [اقلیم] دی (و بهمن) بسیط غیرا کلاه سجایی از برو و پوستین قاتم

1 سلیمانشان
2 مختلف.
از برز عنايت فرمود و بسیط زمین و [قلل جبال از گرخت بر فم
چون دشت و هامون در نظر یک سان می‌نمونه جمن را که چندین
اطفال رایحین در مهد زمین بود بجنز نژاد فجره الیسی از و نمناد
و همکی جنون عارش کل چرم‌دیه و چون شمع لاله دل مرده شدند
[بیست] بجنز مردن آئین تما نداشت که در زندگی تاب سرمای
نداشت زیرف اندران وادی جان کسل زمین و فلک شدیدهم
متصل و از شکت سرما طبیور هوا و وحش صخره بر روی بر فم
افتداد جبال بنگفت و بزواز کرد نداشتند و مردم از آنها کرفته
بین حضور خاتوان سلیمان شان می آورند و آخیراً را از
مشاهده آنانه تعمید دست داده بود و مردم معتقر بذره عرض
رسانیدند [49] که در هنین زمانی شکت سرما و کرکت بر فم بدين
نوع کسی یاد نداشتند بعد از آن آخیراً ضالت فرمودند که عساکر ظفر
مآثر از بر فم قلعه در نهایت استحکام بسازند فرمودند برآن بهموجب
فرمان قلعه ساختمند و بروی علی اساس و خندق و شهرخاجی. و همه
دروازه بان تن تاز دادند و آن حس حسین در رفعت باقله فلک
دم برایر میزد خاتوان سلیمانشان بعد از انعما آن قلعه بلند ارکان
امر فرمودند که جمعی از صوفیان داخل قلعه شده به قلعه داری به
پردازند و جمعی دیکر از ندویان ببورش قلعه مذکور مأمور کرديدند
و از دو جانبه قلعه طرح جنگ انداختند و آن حضرت از جانب
دروازه دیکر مindexOf کرده قدم مردی و مردانی از روی گلادت

(فی العیان)
پیش کذشته بقهر ولیله قلغمرا مستمر کردنبعد و چون آنحضرت بنورولایت که میراث اجداد عالی مقام داشت در یافته نموده بود که جمعی از منافقان باشارذ یلی بیک جاکیر در تغیر لباس بصورة صوفینان اخلاص منش آمده اند و منتظر فرصت اند که نسبت بدیا اندس نمایند بنابرآن آنحضرت طرح این جنگ را اندکبته و از باطن حضرات ایفته طبیعی و طاهرین که حافظان این دین و دولتند در آن یورش آن جمعاعت نفقات پیشه معدوم و ناجیر کشتند صوفینان را از مشاهده ایتالل(Resource [در اولین برجی منزل ساخت آنحضرت از یورت تشالت اعلام نصرت فرجان 1496] بصوب کوکچه دنکیز بر افراختند و روى توجه بدل آنجبان آورده در لنگرکان در منزل شاه سوار بیکت نزول اجلال فرمودند و یکشب در آنکن宅 لوقف نمودند روز دیگر کوچ فرموده در قره ماتبان 2 در خانه نوشهر[وان] بیکت طالش حاکم مغانات فرود آمدند و از آنجا متوجح زیارت حضور مقدسه متوه جدی بزرگوار خود کریدند بعد از طل مراحل در وضع امکان ملكت مثال بدار ارضاد اردبیل داخل شده در خانهای والد بزرگوار خود سلطان حیدر ائیرالله برائهانه نزول اجلال فرمودن عالم شاه بیکم والده ماجدة آنحضرت و برادران و همشره کان کرامی بعد از مدت‌ها یام

1. (لبورا)
2. [مامان]
فرار با جهان جهان آرزور و اشتباه بیدار فرخنده آثار آن شهردار نامزدی کشیدم و آخذنمت از بیم اهل ظلم و عدوان مشترکت در توافق اردیبل ندیده مشورت با ارباب هدایت فروموند که بکدام جانب اراده نمایم اما همه منتفی بتراب و از بورت قشلاق قبل ازین ارتقام مشاعر به افزایش قمر مسیر با طرف ولايت روم و جام از عقاب صوفیان اختلاف کیش ارسال فروموند ان اکر بصر حد ارژنجان از راه کوکه دنگزی تشريف برند که در آنجا هوا خواهد این درمان ولايت نشان نزدیکند و جمعیت ایشان از خبر ووود مکی مصبع زودتر خواهد شد بسیار اقتریست بعد از اجتماع عساکر ظفر ماهر ببر جانب که رای عالی قرار کرد بنابر سبب در حرکت آمده تکیه بیون عنایات آلی و امداد حفرت ایشان معصومین عليه السلام تعود [۵۰] موجه مقصود کردیدن بصلاح انسباً خواهد بود

Translation:—

_Ismail Receives Intimation from the Lord of the Age of his “Coming.”_

[When Ismail heard of the eruptions in the states of Iran, and of the rebellions of the Turkomân chiefs, he desired to leave Lâhibâ and go to Ardabil, that, with the spiritual aid of his saintly ancestors, he might clear the flower-garden of religion of the chaff and rubbish of insubordination. When he expressed this desire to some of his disciples and Sûfis, they knowing that his “coming” was near at hand, bound the girdle of obedience and self-
sacrifice round their souls and became expectant. Isma'îl then sent one of his disciples to Kârgiyâ Mîrzâ 'Ali to announce to him his intentions, and to obtain leave for him to depart. But Kârgiyâ Mîrzâ 'Ali, considering the tender years of Isma'îl (who was then only twelve years of age), and his lack of allies, and the numbers and strength of his enemies, would not allow him to leave the country, but said: "It is not yet time for his 'coming.' It is wisest for him to wait a little longer." The Sûfî returning, delivered Kârgiyâ Mîrzâ 'Ali's message, in compliance with which Isma'îl remained where he was. A few days later he went and visited Kârgiyâ Mîrzâ 'Ali in person, and explained to him¹ his project of leaving Lâhijân for Ardabil. Mîrzâ 'Ali again begged him to abandon his plan, but this time Isma'îl refused (to listen to him), and so Mîrzâ 'Ali was obliged to turn his attention to some of the necessary preparations.]² On the following day Isma'îl rode out hunting with some of his disciples. Not far from Lashta Nashâ they arrived at the edge of a dense forest. Isma'îl, having crossed a river which flowed by there, said to his companions: "No one of you is to follow me across this river, but you are to await my return on the other side." Isma'îl then entered the forest, and no one knew what had become of him until he came out again. How Isma'îl was girt with a belt; how he came out of the forest bearing a sword suspended from a sword-belt,³ and the other "signs" which the Sûfîs witnessed, will appear from the account of Dede Moḩammad Rûmlû, which is given below. This man was a Sûfî and a darwish, gifted with second sight,⁴ an Arûm Îli,⁵ and in the year 907 had the honour of kissing the "Perfect Guide's" foot in the market-place called Şâhib-âbâd in Tabrîz. He also describes

¹ lit. "said to him with the tongue of divine inspiration."
² The Ḥabîb-us-Siyar here mentions that Mîrzâ 'Ali escorted Isma'îl on the first stages of his journey to Ardabil, and then turned back. Khwândamîr then passes straight on to tell us how Isma'îl made Arjwân his winter quarters.
³ lit. which showed a "sword-belt" (hamâîl).
⁴ Şâhib-âl.
⁵ Rûm-iî is the translation of the Greek Patmosa.
how he saw Isma'il in the desert of Mekka, in the presence of the Lord of the Age\(^1\) (upon whom be peace).

**ACCOUNT OF DEDE MOHAMMAD AND WHAT HE SAW ON HIS PILGRIMAGE TO MEKKA.**

Dede Moḥammad was a darwish of pure life, and a disciple of Ḥasan Khalīfa Tikeli,\(^2\) who dwelt between the Tike Īli and the Arūm Īli. Ḥasan Khalīfa, also a darwish, was a disciple of the Ṣafavīs. He had once waited on Sultān Junaid, and twice on Sultān Ḥaidar, who had sent him with forty Şūfīs to a chilla-khāṇā,\(^3\) where each had a jug of water and a loaf of bread as their sustenance during the period of fasting [chilla]. When this period was over they came out of the chilla-khāṇā. All of them had consumed their provisions, excepting only Ḥasan Khalīfa, who brought his untouched to "His Holiness,"\(^4\) who then sent him back to Tike Īli, having first given him a promise with regard to the appearance and coming of Isma'il. When he returned to the aforesaid Īl he performed many miracles and uttered prophecies, repeatedly announcing to pious Şūfīs the coming of Isma'il. On leaving this world he bequeathed his "throne"\(^5\) to his son Bābā Shāh ʿKuli, who was also a revealer of mysteries and a worker of wonders, and gave him an ablak\(^6\) saying: "In the year 907 our Guide will mount the throne of ʿIrān in Tabriz. This is a present entrusted to me [imānat]
for that prince—give it him with my salutations.” So Bābā Shāh Kulī awaited the appointed time. In the year 905 Dede Moḥammad, who was a disciple of Khalīfa, desiring to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, asked the permission of Bābā Shāh Kulī, who said to him: “You have permission, go; but when you have completed your pilgrimage to Mekka you will visit the Holy Shrines \(^1\) (in Babylonia) and thence go to Tabrīz. On the first day of your arrival there the time will have come for one of the sons of purity and goodness, and he will have become pādishāh, having caused coins to be struck and the khutba read in his name; you will find him playing polo in the square [maidān] of Tabrīz. You will go to him and greet him from me and give him this ablāk to fasten on his crown.” Dede Mohammad, having accepted the imānat, set out for Mekka. When he had performed the circuit of Mekka and visited Medina, he turned towards Baghdaḍ. Between Medina the sanctified\(^2\) and Baghdaḍ he got separated from the caravan and was overcome by sleep. On awaking he could find no trace of the caravan, and for three days he wandered through that desert, supported only by his spiritual power,\(^3\) until at length he fell exhausted to the ground, and his tongue hung out of his mouth: from sheer thirst he longed for death. When the mid-day sun shone straight down upon him he perceived an Arab youth riding towards him, who coming up to him said: “Oh! darwish, arise, for thou art not far from cultivated land.” The darwish indicated by signs that he was too feeble to walk. The youth then took his hand, and no sooner was his hand in that of the youth than he felt all his strength return. So he arose and was led by the youth towards a hill; when they reached the summit of the hill he looked around and saw that as far

\(^1\) Atabāt, lit. the thresholds.
\(^2\) I have thus translated the epithet bā tāškinat, which means “under divine influence.”
\(^3\) Darvīshī, that is, the degree of continence and endurance he had attained by leading the strict life of a darwish.
as the eye could reach the plains were covered with verdure and roses and tulips, and that gold-embroidered tents and silk canopies had been spread out. Turning to his companion he said: "Oh! Arab youth, no one ever saw such a place as this in the deserts of Mekka and the Najaf-i-Ashraf.\(^1\) What place is this? and who is the lord of these tents and palaces?" The young Arab replied, "You will know afterward?" He then walked by the young man's side, until they came to a palace, whose cupola out-rivalled the sun and moon. They then entered, and a delightful apartment met his view, the like of which he had never seen. Golden thrones were arranged side by side, and on one of the thrones a person was seated whose face was covered with a veil. Dede Moḥammad, placing his hand on his breast, made a salutation, whereupon an answer to his salutation came from the veiled one, who having bidden him be seated, ordered food to be brought for him. The like of this food he had never seen in his life before. They also brought some cold water, which Dede Moḥammad drank, nor had he ever tasted such refreshing water. As soon as he had finished his repast, he saw that a party of men had entered, bringing a boy of about fourteen years of age, with red (surkh) hair, a white face, and dark-grey\(^2\) eyes; on his head was a scarlet cap. Being entered he made a salutation and stood still; the veiled youth then said to him: "Oh! Isma'IL, the hour of your 'coming' has now arrived." The other replied: "It is for your Holiness to command." The prince then said: "Come forward." He came forward, and His Holiness taking his belt three times lifted it\(^3\) up and placed it on the ground again. He then, with his own blessed hands, fastened on the girdle, and taking (Isma'IL's) cap from his head, raised it and then replaced it. He wore a Kurdish belt-dagger; this His Holiness took from him and threw

\(^1\) Najaf is the tract of country in which Karbalā is situate.

\(^2\) Mish-chashm, lit. sheep-eyed.

\(^3\) This passage is rather obscure. I am not sure whether him (Isma'IL) or it (the belt) is intended.
to the darwish, saying: "Keep this, for it will stand you in stead." His Holiness then told his servants to bring his own sword, which, when brought, he fastened with his own hands to the girdle of the child. Then he said "You may now depart." Having recited the Fatiha he entrusted the child to the two or three persons who had brought him in. When they had taken the child away, he made a sign to the young Arab to lead the darwish back to his caravan; and having brought him to it, said: "This is the caravan from which you were separated." When Moḥammad Dede saw the caravan he said: "Oh! youth, tell me, for God's sake, who that prince was and who the child?" He replied: "Did you not know that the prince whom you saw was no other than the Lord of the Age?" When Dede Moḥammad heard this name he stood up and said: "Oh! youth, for the love of God, take me back again that I may once more kiss the feet of His Holiness, and ask a blessing of him, perchance I might be allowed to wait on him." But the youth replied: "It is impossible. You should have made your request at the first. You cannot return. But you can make your request where you will, for His Holiness is everywhere present and will hear your prayers." The darwish then sought to return, but he could no longer see the rider, and ascending to the summit of the hill looked around in vain for any signs of those flowers and palaces. He uttered a deep sigh, and saw that his caravan had gone on far ahead. He was therefore obliged to rejoin the caravan. The rest of Dede Moḥammad Rūmlū's story, and how he went to wait on Isma'īl, will be related among the events of the year 907.

1 The twelfth Imām.
2 Siḥiṣ-ul-amr, the Lord of Command, another epithet for the twelfth Imām.
ISMA'IL COMES OUT OF THE FOREST, AND SETS ON HIS ROAD WITH SEVEN ŞÜFİS.

The Şüfis, who, in obedience to Isma'il's command, were awaiting him on the bank of the river near the forest, at the end of about two hours, seeing no signs of him, began to grow uneasy and anxious for his safety. But since they had been forbidden to cross the river, they could not enter the forest to see if anything had occurred to the "Guide." In the midst of their anxiety they perceived Isma'il emerging from the forest with dignity, with a sword attached to his girdle, but without his belt-dagger. The Şüfis, on seeing this, prostrated themselves before Isma'il, and so much overcome were they with awe and dread that not one of them dared examine closely those "signs." Having all gathered round Isma'il, they held council as to which road the "Perfect Guide" had better take, and they finally decided that he should go to Ardabil by way of Târm. At this juncture Kârgiyâ Mirzâ 'Ali arrived, bringing necessaries for the journey, and again he tried to persuade Isma'il to remain with him, but to no effect. He was therefore obliged to accommodate himself to his wishes, and Isma'il, placing the foot of success in the stirrup of good fortune, set out from Lâhijân towards Arjwân, while Kârgiyâ Mirzâ 'Ali and a party of Şüfis accompanied him for a distance of two farsangs. He then left the Prince to proceed on his way under the protection of the King of Bounties, while he himself returned to the castle of Lâhijân. Isma'il now turned in the direction of Dailam, accompanied by seven Şüfis, namely: Ḥusain Beg Lala, Abdâl 'Ali Beg Dede, Khâdîm Beg Khalîfa, Rustem Beg Karâ Mânlu, Bairâm Beg Karâ Mânlu, Ilyâs Beg Aîgbûth Ughli, and Karâ Pîrî Beg Kâjîr. They stayed in Dailam, and thence proceeded to Târm, being joined at every stage on their road by Şüfis from Shām and Rûm, so that when Isma'il alighted in Târm he had
an army of about 1500 devoted Sufis. But since he did not place any trust in Amīra Hassām-ud-Dīn, for it was always said of this person that he was evilly disposed towards that blessed family, Isma‘īl left Tārm to go to Khalkhāl. (The first) halt was made in the village of Barandak, whence they hastened next morning to some cultivated ground belonging to the Shāmlū, and known as Shām Kīzīl Üzün. Now this place was noted for the sweet quality of its water-melons [kharbūza], and Isma‘īl being especially fond of this fruit, they remained there several days, and were entertained by Shaikh Kāsim in the most hospitable way possible. And not being satisfied with his own hospitality, he further ordered forty roast sheep to be brought for their consumption. A few days later Isma‘īl moved on to the village of Nasāz in Khalkhāl, thence to the village of Kūyī in Khalkhāl, where he stayed with Malik Muzaffar Tūkāji Sulṭān, son of the blessed martyr, Sulṭān ‘Alī Pādishāh, known as Khalifa. After a short stay he set out for the village of Ḥafzābād in Ardabil, thence to the village of Alārūk, and thence he came to Ardabil, where, having visited the tombs of his ancestors and the saints, and having prayed God to help him to overcome the enemies of the Faith, he entered his own dwelling. At this time he received a message from Sulṭān ‘Alī Beg Khākirli, Turkomān, who was governing Ardabil and Maghānāt for Amīr Alwand, saying that it was not safe for Isma‘īl to remain in Ardabil. “You must either go to some other country or else be prepared to fight.” And since at that time his following was small and his enemies many, Isma‘īl did not deem it wise to engage in a battle, and he therefore moved from Ardabil to the village of Mīrmī.

**ISMA‘ĪL MAKES ARJWĀN HIS WINTER-QUARTERS.**

Moḥammādi Beg, husband of Pāšā Khātūn, who had enjoyed the privilege of kissing the prince’s feet, now represented to him that it would be wiser for him to take
up his winter-quarters in Țawâlish,\(^1\) and make that his centre for collecting together his helpers and allies; this advice Isma'îl followed, and since Moḥammandî Beg had long-standing ties with Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, Isma'îl sent him to this latter. When Moḥammandî Beg arrived in Astārā, he went to Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, and with words of counsel brought him back to the path of discipleship and devotion. Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, on learning the approach of Isma'îl into his dominions, without delay, hastened out to receive him in State, along with Moḥammandî Beg and the nobles of Țawâlish. Having kissed the feet of the "Perfect Guide," he represented to him: "This country belongs to your servants.\(^2\) I hear the Prince meditates passing the winter in this country. This slave would be highly gratified if he might be allowed to wait on the Prince for a few days." Accepting his invitation, Isma'îl alighted in Arjwân, one of the villages of Astārā, while (Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân) exerted himself to the utmost to give him pleasure and satisfaction. Isma'îl spent most of his time fishing, of which sport he was very fond. Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, having appointed his own mother, together with a few maidens, to wait on the Prince, himself returned to his own residence; being, however, at all times anxious to attend to the Prince's wants.

When Sulṭân 'Ali Beg Châkirîlu heard of Isma'îl's migration to Țawâlish, he sent the information to Amîr Alwand Mîrzâ in Tabrîz; at the receipt of which news Alwand Mîrzâ was dumbfounded, and sent back the following message: "Since there is a long-standing alliance between you and Mîrzâ Moḥammad, do all in your power to set him against Isma'îl." Then that wretched man, after much reflection, sent a messenger to the mother of Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, to deceive her with fine promises, and induce her to plot against Isma'îl. And that foolish woman, having swallowed the vain promises of Alwand

\(^1\) Tâlish or Țawâlish; the plural form signifies the district.
\(^2\) Sense of text a little obscure.
Mîrzâ, suggested to Sulṭân ‘Alî Beg Châgîrîlû that since Isma‘îl went out fishing every day, they might (one day) push him into the water; and so, together, with Amîr Hamza of Tâlish, chief judiciary of Mîrzâ Moḥammad of Tâlish, they were on the watch for an opportunity of doing so. But Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân, getting wind of the plot of these two impious persons, checked and reprimanded his mother, and treated Amîr Ḥamza of Tâlish with severity and contempt: he continued also to try and trace the origin of the plot. Amîr Aghâi Gilâni, hearing of these matters, went to Lala Beg and Khâdîm Beg and told them of the treachery of these two worthless persons, and of the efforts of Mîrzâ Moḥammad to discover the secret. Lala Beg and Khâdîm Beg, being much alarmed, went and laid the matter before the “Perfect Guide.” When Mîrzâ Moḥammad heard that Isma‘îl had been thus informed, he was confounded, and hastened to his dwelling, and took an oath before him saying: “I knew absolutely nothing of this plot, and when I was informed of it I checked and reprimanded my mother.” Since his oath was allied to the truth, it was believed by Isma‘îl and the Sûfîs. (Verse) of every word that is allied to good faith and good sense, the truth is apparent to all.

Now some have related this story in the following fashion.1 Moḥammâdi Beg, Aḥmâdi Beg’s brother, was at that date living with Mîrzâ Moḥammad Sulṭân. Amîr Alwand Mîrzâ sent a messenger to Mîrzâ Moḥammad and Moḥammâdi Beg saying that he would give them the government [iŷâlat] of Ardabil and Khalkhâl, on the condition that they would seize and send Isma‘îl to him. Mîrzâ Moḥammad began to meditate which of these two prizes he would relinquish. But Moḥammâdi Beg, concerned at the other’s reflections, said to him: “It is impossible that you should, by means of the deceitful promises of Alwand Mîrzâ, renounce the happiness of this world and the next! You must not, upon the entreaty of the lord of envy and malice, strew upon

1 Notice again our author’s accuracy and care in obtaining information.
your own head the earth of perdition and ignominy! For thereby the people of Tālish would enjoy an evil reputation till the end of the world. Only what is decreed by destiny will come to pass. And when would Tālish allow you to commit such a heinous offence for the sake of government in this base world. (verses) How can a man who plans evil deeds ever again recognize goodness? How can he that plants the branch of harmfulness cull the fruit of advantage?” Mīrzā Moḥammad, at the wise words of Moḥammadī Beg, fell to thinking of his own end, and entirely discarded his intention from his thoughts.

In the meanwhile Sultān Farrukh Yasūr, the Shirwānshāh, sent a message to Mīrzā Moḥammad, saying: “I will pay you 1000 tumāns ready money if you will send Isma‘īl bound to me.” As it was several days since Mīrzā Moḥammad had waited on Isma‘īl, he now, accompanied by a large number of Tālish men, brought Shirwānshāh’s letter to him. But before he arrived, the “Perfect Guide” had been informed that Shirwānshāh had written a letter, and that Mīrzā Moḥammad was coming to find him with a number of people. On hearing these facts the Sūfis, among them Husain Beg Lāla, Khādim Beg Khalīfa, Bairām Beg Ḍārūr Māulū, Abdāl ‘Alī Beg Ded, and ʻIyās Beg, grew apprehensive lest some harm mightbefal the Prince at the hands of Mīrzā Moḥammad, and by way of caution they decided that all his servants should put on chain-shirts under their cloaks and be all armed in readiness for a conflict. Thus, if Mīrzā Moḥammad and his men had hostile intentions, the Sūfis, attacking them from right and left, would put those lords of insubordination to the sword. If, on the other hand, they came to do homage to the “Perfect Guide,” there could, at any rate, be no harm in their precautions. So these pious men armed themselves fully, and formed a group around the Prince. At this juncture Mīrzā Moḥammad and his men approached Isma‘īl’s camp. The Prince thereupon sent out Khādim Beg and Ded Beg to receive him, and to discover warily his real intentions, and report the result of their examination
to the Prince. When Mīrzā Moḥammad perceived these chiefs from afar, he dismounted from his steed, and, having embraced them and expressed to them his absolute devotion to the Prince's cause, said: "Seeing that it is a long while since I had the felicity of kissing the feet of the 'Perfect Guide,' I am now hastening to his blessed threshold with this intent." The chiefs then returned and reported to Isma'īl how matters lay; whereupon this latter sent for Mīrzā Moḥammad, who, through the medium of the chiefs, was allowed the honour of kissing the Prince's feet. After this he showed him Shirwānshāh's letter, and represented to him the evil intentions of that wicked man. Then, in the presence of the chiefs, he placed his hand upon the Korān and took an oath, saying: "No other thoughts than those of service and devotion have entered the mind of this your servant. Nor would I, for the sake of worldly power and riches for the brief span of life, digress from the path of loyalty and self-sacrifice, and thus be deluded by the enemies of this saintly house. Nevertheless I, your single-minded servant, who thus make my representations to the 'Perfect Guide,' well know that the Prince has entertained suspicions of treachery and faithlessness in my regard. In order to dispel these misgivings and doubts, I have rushed headlong to wait on the Prince, and I hope that in the light of my devotion to himself he will refuse to listen to such stories about his servant." (verse) It is illicit to entertain evil thoughts of well-wishers, give up such bad notions! The Prince then bestowed splendid robes upon Mīrzā Moḥammad, and to each of his men he gave a robe of honour. With promises of unstinted bounty and royal favours, he reassured (Mīrzā Moḥammad of his satisfaction). That day Mīrzā Moḥammad was the Prince's companion at his meals, and on the next day, having obtained permission to return to his home, he set out for his seat of government. Isma'īl furthermore allowed those Sūfis, which he had retained in his army, to return to their homes, to rejoin him on the New Year's Day.
ISMAIL MOVES FROM HIS WINTER-QUARTERS AND (BY THE HELP OF GOD’S FAVOUR) COMES TO ARDABIL.

The days of winter having reached their limit, again the fanning breezes of spring noised abroad in every quarter the advent of the royal New Year’s-Day: while the senses of all men became perfumed with the odorous, amber-scented breath of the variegated flowers. The vegetation of the meadows, which from fear of the army of Cold had withdrawn its head beneath its cloak, now lifted its head above the ground to welcome that victorious day, and decked garden and field with flowers of various hues, as had they been brides. Hill and dale, verdant and bright with their many coloured tulips, became the envy of the garden of Irām.

Ismail, having celebrated the festival of New Year’s Day, meditated moving from that spot to Ardabil. The cold had been most severe, and heavy snows had fallen on the ground such as none remembered ever to have seen. The fragrant odours, the refreshing verdure and the sweet-smelling flowers, fearing the violence of King Cold and the forays of the bitter winds, had remained in hiding under the snow. By the command of Dai and Bahman, the surface of the earth had been presented with a grey cap of clouds and an ermine mantle of snow, so that from the quantity of snow the tops of the mountains looked like the level plains. Of all the sweet children which the meadows nursed in the cradle of the earth none remained but the refreshing narcissus, and all of these were like faded roses and withered tulips [verses]—

Unable to withstand the bitter cold,
The fire wished for nothing but to die.
The snow lay piled above the dismal wold,
And seemed to join together earth and sky.

1 Names of two winter months. Dai corresponding to our December and Bahman to January.
So severe, indeed, was the cold that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field fell powerless to the ground, unable to take wing or flee away. Some of these animals were brought before Isma'īl, who was astounded at the sight. Old men, also, came to him and declared that no one remembered having ever seen so severe a winter or so much snow.

Isma'īl now ordered his soldiers to build up out of the snow a strong fortress. They therefore built a fortress with turrets, trench —— (?); and three gates, and when it was completed Isma'īl gave instructions to his chiefs that a party of Sūfis should enter the fort and busy themselves with its defence, while another party should be told off to attack it, and thus engage in a fight. Isma'īl advancing against another gate with great personal valour took the fort by storm. Now Isma'īl by the blessed intuition which he had inherited from his noble ancestors foresaw that certain hypocrites, at the instigation of 'Alī Beg Jākīr, had come to him disguised as Sūfis and with professions of discipleship, to watch for a suitable opportunity to betray him. That is why he planned this fight, for in it he annihilated all that band of hypocrites. After this action the faith of the Sūfis in Isma'īl greatly increased ..............

At the beginning of the spring Isma'īl set out from his winter-quarters towards the Gökcha Dengis. On reaching Langarkanān he alighted at the house of Shāh Suwār Beg, and remained there one night. Next day he moved to the village of Māṭībān, where he was entertained in the house of Nūshirwān Beg Tālish, governor of the Mughānāt. Thence he proceeded to Ardabil, where he alighted at the mansion of his noble father, Sultān Ḥaidar. Here he found his mother, 'Alam Shāh Begum, his brothers and his foster-brothers, who, after all this long period of separation, were longing to see him. But since Isma'īl, fearing his cruel enemies, did not deem it wise to remain in Ardabil, he discussed with the leading Sūfīs what road he had better

1 Perhaps another name (an older form) of Lankurān (?).
take. They being all of one mind, suggested that before he left his winter-quarters he should send orders by swift messengers to the Şerfis in Rûm and Shām, and then betake himself to the frontiers of Arzinjān by way of Gökcha Dengis, for there he would be near his "supporters," who, on hearing of his arrival, would the more speedily assemble. Such was the most reasonable plan. Having collected an army he might then, with the help of Divine favour and the assistance of the Imāms, turn whither he would.

At this point the two histories begin to coincide very exactly; our author has a chapter on Isma'īl's march from Ardabil to Arzinjān, and his encounter with Sūltān Ḥusain Bārānī, which corresponds most closely with Khwāndamīr's account, commencing at the bottom of page 120 of the Bombay edition of the Habīb-us-Siyar. It is here, where the two histories so to speak unite, that I have chosen to end my article, in which I hope to have shown that our author has at least, for the early history of Shāh Isma'īl, much to tell us that Khwāndamīr was either ignorant of or chose to omit.

P.S.—This article was originally submitted to Professor Th. Nöldeke at Strassburg as my dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. I have been obliged to reduce its bulk by about one half of the original. All the most important matter has, however, been retained. I here take the opportunity of acknowledging the various corrections and suggestions which Prof. Nöldeke was kind enough to note upon during his perusal of my work.

In the July, 1895, number of this Journal I gave a description of the kingdom of Bengala (Bengal) from the pen of a Muhammadan Chinaman named Mahuan, who on account of his knowledge of Arabic was attached as Interpreter to the suite of Chêng Ho, when he made his voyages to India and other places in the Eastern seas at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

His accounts of the places he visited are in many particulars not perhaps quite new, but coming as they do midway between the descriptions of the East, given us by medizeval travellers, and those given us by the early Portuguese voyagers, they form, I think, a link connecting these two periods. To give a lengthy translation of these travels would, I fear, take up too much valuable space; therefore I propose in this paper to give a précis of the most important details contained in the description of the seaports of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden, to be followed later on by an account of Ormus, the Maldives, and Arabia.

柯枝國 Ko-chih, Cochin (A.D. 1409).

Cochin, the first port of which we shall treat, is described as a day and a night's sail from Coïlum 小葛蘭, the present Quilon, most probably the Kaulam Malai of the Arabs (vide Yule's Glossary under Malabar), known to the Chinese navigators of the Tang dynasty, A.D. 618–913, as Muhlai 没來.
The king or ruler is of the Solar race, and is a sincere believer in Buddhism, and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen; and every morning at daylight prostrates himself before an image of Buddha. The king wears no clothing on the upper part of his person; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins, kept in place by a coloured waist-band of the same material, and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The dress of the officers and the rich differs but little from that of the king. The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut-tree, and are thatched with its leaves, which render them perfectly water-tight.

There are five classes of men in this kingdom. The Nairs rank with the king. In the first class are those

1 Mahuan’s text has Wang-so-li-jen-shih 王所里人氏, and the Ming history has Wang-su-li-jen 王所里人. So-li and Su-li=Suri are, I venture to suggest, intended to represent Surya, or Surya Vansaa, or Race of the Sun.

2 Our traveller makes no distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism. The Chinese text, which I give at the side from Mahuan’s text and the Ming history, is clear as to Buddhism being meant.

3 The characters which I have interpreted as representing the Nairs, the ruling class of Malabar, are written Nan-k’u’en 南昆 in Mahuan’s text. A Chinese scholar suggested to me that the characters in question might probably be an error in transcription for Nan-li 南麗. The Ming history, as quoted in the Hai-kuo-t’u-chih, Keuen 17, when speaking of the castes of Ko-chih (Cochin), also writes Nan-k’u’en, and states that the ruler of that country belongs to that class. Another work, the Huang-ming-szu-i-k’ao 皇明四夷考, when speaking of the ruler of Calicut, calls him a Nan-p’i-jen 南毗人, but his brother of Cochin is styled of the Nan-k’u en class. Here is great confusion, and it is difficult to say which reading is the right one.

Dr. F. Hirth has in his paper, “Das Reich Malabar,” which appeared in the T’oung-pao in May, 1895, treated of a kingdom called Nan-p’i 南毗国. Dr. Hirth seems to think that this kingdom stands for the country of the
who shave their heads, and have a thread or string hanging over their shoulder; these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families. In the second are the Muhammadans; in the third the Chittis, who are the capitalists; in the fourth the Kolings, who act as commission agents; in the fifth the Mukuas, who are the lowest and poorest of all. The Mukuas live in houses which are forbidden by the Government to be more than three feet high, and they are not allowed to wear long garments; when abroad, if they happen to meet a Nair or a Chitti they at once prostrate themselves on the ground, and dare not rise until they have passed by; these Mukuas get their living by fishing and carrying burdens.

The merchants of this country carry on their business like pedlars do in China. Here also is another class of men, called Chokis (Yogi), who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however, are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders; they wear no clothes, but round their waists they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico; they carry a conch-shell, which they blow as they go along the road; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton cloth round their loins. Alms of rice

Namburi Brahmans of Malabar. There is nothing unlikely in this, but whether their country has any connection with the Nan-k’uên of Mahuan and the Nan-p’i of the Huang-ming-szu-i-k’ao I am not prepared to say.

It is well known that the rulers of Cochin and Calicut were Nairs, and such being the case I have ventured to assume that Mahuan intended to speak of them when he uses the characters Nan-k’uên. I would also suggest that by Nan-k’uên, Mahuan may possibly have intended to represent the title Naik. Vide Yule’s Glossary under Naik, p. 470.

1 Most probably the Brahmins. "The Zennär, or sacred string" (worn by Brahmins), says Craufurd, is hung round the body from the left shoulder (Marsden’s "Marco Polo," p. 666). 回 回 Hui-hui, Muhammadans. 呈 地 Chih-ti, Chittis; 革命 Ko-ling, Kling; 水爪 Mu-kua (vide Yule’s Glossary).
and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit.

In this country there are two seasons, the wet and the dry. In the first two months of the rainy season there are only passing showers, during which time the people lay in a stock of provisions; in the next two months there is a continual downpour day and night, so that the streets and market-places are like rivers, and no one is able to go out of doors; during the last two months the rain gradually ceases, and then not a drop falls for another six months. The soil is unproductive; pepper, however, grows on the hills and is extensively cultivated; this article is sold at five taels the P'o-ho,\(^1\) which is 400 cattis of Chinese weight.

All trading transactions are carried on by the Chittis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. A pearl weighing three-and-a-half candareens can be bought for a hundred ounces of silver. Coral is sold by the catti; inferior pieces of coral are cut into beads and polished by skilled workmen; these are also sold by weight. The coinage of the country is a gold piece, called a Fa-nan,\(^2\) weighing one candareen; there is also a little silver coin called a Ta-urh,\(^2\) which is used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen Ta-urhs make a Fa-nan. There are no asses or geese in this country, and there is neither wheat nor barley; rice, maize, hemp, and millet abound. Articles of tribute are sent to China by our ships on their return voyage.

---

1 播荷 P'o-ho. Bahar. A commercial weight which differs greatly in many places. Pepper at Cochin apparently sold, reckoning the tael at 6s. 8d., at £1 13s. 4d. for 534 lbs., or less than a penny a pound.

2 法南 Fa-nan. The Fanam is a small piece of gold worth fifteen Tāris. 苣兎 Ta-urh. The Tāri is a small coin worth a halfpenny. (Extract from Dr. Dillon in Elliott's "Coins of Southern India," p. 57.)—I am indebted to Dr. Codrington for the above note, and also for other valuable help.
古里國 Ku-li, Calicut (A.D. 1409).

This seaport, of which Mahuan gives us a most lengthy account, is described as a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. It is three days' sail from Cochin, by which it is bordered on the south; on the north it adjoins Cannanore (狼奴兒 K'än-nu-urh); it has the sea on the west; and on the east, through the mountains, at a distance of 500 li (167 miles), is the kingdom or city of K'än-pa-mei,¹ a great seat of cotton manufacture, where is made, as also in the surrounding districts, a cloth called Chih-li (指黎布 Chih-li-pu) cloth. It is made up into pieces, four feet five inches wide and twenty-five feet long; it is sold there for eight or ten gold pieces of their money. They also prepare raw silk for the loom, which they dye various shades of colour and then weave into flowered pattern goods, made up into pieces four to five feet wide and twelve to thirteen feet long. Each length is sold for one hundred gold pieces of their money.

To return to Calicut, much pepper is grown on the hills. Cocoanuts are extensively cultivated, many farmers owning a thousand trees; those having a plantation of three thousand are looked upon as wealthy proprietors. The king belongs to the Nair class, and, like his brother of Cochin, is a sincere follower of Buddha, and as such does not eat beef; his overseer, being a Muhammadan, does not eat pork. This led, it is said in times past, to a compact being made between the king and his overseer, to the

¹ K'än-pa-mei 坎巴美, read also K'än-pa-i 坎巴夷, and in the Amoy dialect K'äm-pa-i, may possibly be a Chinese rendering of Koyampadi, a former name of Coimbatore, a town and district in the Madras Presidency, a great centre of weaving and cotton manufacture.

Ibn Batuta informs us that at Shâlyêt, a town a little to the south of Calicut, they make the stuffs that bear its name (Yule's Glossary, p. 159). This stuff made at Shâlyêt must be, I think, the Chih-li cloth of our Chinese traveller, but he says it was made at Kampamei and its district; he may possibly include Shâlyêt in the term district.
effect that if the king would give up eating pork the overseer would give up eating beef. This compact has been most scrupulously observed by the successors of both parties up to the present day. The king at his devotions prostrates himself before an image of Buddha every morning; which being over, his attendants collect all the cow-dung about the place, and smear it over the image of the god. Some of the dung the king orders to be burnt to ashes and put into a small cotton bag, which he continually wears upon his person; and when his morning ablutions are over, he mixes some of the powdered dung with water and smears it over his forehead and limbs; by so doing he considers he is showing Buddha the greatest reverence.

Many of the king's subjects are Muhammadans, and there are twenty or thirty mosques in the kingdom, to which the people resort every seventh day for worship. On this day, during the morning, the people being at the mosques, no business whatever is transacted; and in the after part of the day, the services being over, business is resumed.

When a ship arrives from China, the king's overseer with a Chitti go on board and make an invoice of the goods, and a day is settled for valuing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, more especially the Khinkis (Kincobs), are first inspected and valued, which when decided on, all present join hands, whereupon the broker says, "The price of your goods is now fixed, and cannot in any way be altered."

The price to be paid for pearls and precious stones is arranged by the Weinaki broker,¹ and the value of the

¹ 岐地未訥九 Chitti Weinaki. Chittis are merchants who are called in when anything is to be sold, and who are retained by the king to conduct his trading transactions ashore and afloat. These Chittis are divided into four classes, each dealing in their own particular wares. The Waligi Chitti (doubtless the Chinese Weinaki Chitti) trades in corals, rubies, and bangles made of glass, earth, lead, tin, copper, or any kind of metals. (Valentyn, "Description of Ceylon," vol. v, p. 8.)
Chinese goods taken in exchange for them is that previously fixed by the broker in the way above stated.

They have no abacus on which to make their calculations, but in its place they use their toes and fingers, and, what is very wonderful, they are never wrong in their reckonings.

The succession to the throne is settled in a somewhat curious manner. The king is not succeeded by his son, but by his sister's son, because his nephew, being born of his sister's body, is considered nearer to him by blood. If the king has no sister the succession goes to his brother; if he has no brother it goes to a man of ability and worth. Such has been the rule for many generations.¹

Trial by ordeal is much practised in this country, such as thrusting the finger of the accused into boiling oil, and then keeping him in jail for two or three days. If after that time the finger is ulcerated he is pronounced guilty and sentenced to punishment; but if his finger has received no injury he is at once set free, and escorted home by musicians engaged by the overseer. On his arrival home his relatives, neighbours, and friends make him presents, and rejoice and feast together.

The jack fruit and the plantain abound in this country, which is also well supplied with melons, gourds, and turnips, and every other kind of vegetable. Ducks, herons, and swallows are numbered among the feathered tribe, and there are bats as large as vultures, which hang suspended from the trees.

As in Cochin, the money in circulation is the Fa-nan and the Ta-urh. Their weights are the P'o-ho and the Fan-la-shih, and there is a measure called a Tang-ko-li.²

¹ This is still the order of succession in Travancore.
² 番刺失 Fan-la-sek. An error in transcription, most probably for Fan-sek-la. The Arab Farsala, a weight formerly much used in trade in the Indian seas; it seems to have run from 20 to 30 lbs. (Yule's Glossary, p. 273). 泾 黕 黾 Tang-ko-li. This may possibly represent the Curia of Varthema, p. 170. In a note on the same page Curia is said to stand undoubtedly for Kōraja.
The king's present to the Emperor is usually a gold-plaited girdle set with all kinds of precious stones and pearls.

It may not be out of place to note that Mahuan states that the commander of the Chinese fleet which left China in 1408, did on his arrival at Calicut erect a stone with a Chinese inscription on it to commemorate his visit. Are there any traces of it still remaining?

阿丹 Ahtan, Aden (A.D. 1423).

This kingdom can be reached from Calicut in a month with a favourable wind by shaping a due westerly course. The country is rich, and the people prosperous. The king and his subjects are all Muhammadans, who speak Ah-la-pek (Arabic); they are haughty and overbearing in their manners. They have a force of seven or eight thousand military, consisting of infantry and cavalry, which causes them to be greatly feared and respected by their neighbours.

In the nineteenth year of Yung-lo (1422) an Imperial envoy, the eunuch Li, was sent from China to this country with a letter and presents to the king. On his arrival he was most honourably received, and was met by the king on landing and conducted by him to his palace. During the stay of the embassy the people who had rarities were permitted to offer them for sale. Cat's-eyes of extraordinary size, rubies, and other precious stones, large branches of coral, amber, and attar of roses were among the articles purchased. Giraffes, lions, zebras, leopards, ostriches, and white pigeons were also offered for sale.

The dress usually worn by the king is a long white garment, and a turban of fine white cloth, with a knob of brocade on the top; when he goes to the mosque to worship he changes this dress for a yellow robe, fastened at the waist by a girdle adorned with precious stones, and on his head he wears a golden crown. He goes abroad in
a carriage escorted by a company of soldiers. His officers have each a particular dress appertaining to their rank. The head-dress of the men is a turban; their garment is made of woollen, silk, or cotton stuff. The women wear a long robe; from their shoulders hangs a chain made of pearls and precious stones with silken tassels at the end like that worn by the Goddess of Mercy; from each of their ears hang four pairs of gold inlaid ear-rings, golden bracelets on their arms, and rings on their fingers. They also wear a silk brocaded handkerchief over their heads, merely showing the upper part of their faces.

The jewellers of this country are skilled in the manufacture of gold enamelled hair-pins, and other gold and silver ornaments for the hair, which are lifelike in their representation of natural objects. There are in the town market-places, bathing establishments, eating-houses, and shops for the sale of sundry wares. The coinage of the country is a gold piece called a Poololi, engraved on both sides; there is also in circulation for small purchases a copper coin called Pu-kio-szú.

The climate of the country is always warm, with a temperature like our eighth and ninth months. The year is made up of a certain fixed number of days and months, twelve of the latter making a year, and these are divided into great and small months. They have no intercalary

---

1 “Ear-rings. ’Tankisa’ exactly resembles the Khufsa, but is one inch in diameter, and is frequently bound with gold wire half its circumference. Six of these rings are worn in the upper membrane of each ear.” (Hunter’s “Statistical Account of Aden,” pp. 68, 69.)

2 Poo-lo-li 嘉嘯聳.
   Poo-kio-szú 嘍喚斯.

I am indebted to Professor de Goeje, of Leiden, for the following explanation of the above names of the Aden coins, which he has kindly given me through Professor G. Schlegel, also of Leiden.

The syllable Poo, says the Professor, represents the Arabic Abu, Father. It occurs in many vulgar names of coins, as in Abu Madfu, Gun Father, or rather Father Gun, the name of the Pillar Dollar, which the Arabs compare to two guns.

Poo-lo-li is Abu Loo-loo, Pearl Father, possibly so called on account of there being a circle on the coin resembling beads or pearls.

Poo-kio-szú is Abu Kaus or Kus, Father Arch or Bow, on account of the coin having the figure of an arch or bow on it.
months; the first day of the month is the day following
the night on which they first see the new moon. Their
four seasons are not fixed, but are regulated by an
astronomer, who reckons the time for their commence-
ment; the eclipses of the sun and moon are also foretold
by him, as well as the time for wind and rain and the ebb
and flow of the tide: he is never at fault in his calculations.

The necessaries of life of all kinds are abundant. Much
butter, oil, and honey are to be had there; rice and other
cereals, pulse, and every kind of vegetable are obtainable.
Their fruits are the date, almond, dried grapes, walnuts,
a kind of wild apple, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, and
a seedless white grape.

The animals found there are elephants, camels, mules,
asses, sheep, cows, dogs, and cats; they have also fowls
and ducks, but no pigs or geese. There is a kind
of sheep found here with white hair, but without horns;
where they should be they have two round black spots;
the flesh underneath the neck hangs like the dewlap of
a cow; the hair is short like that of a dog, and the tail is as
big as a bason. Here also is found the zebra, 福鹿
Hua-fu-lu: this animal is about the size of a mule; its
body and face are white, lined with dark stripes, which
begin in the middle of its forehead, and are distributed at
regular intervals over its whole body and down its legs,
just as if they were painted. The giraffe is also found in
this country: its fore legs are nine feet high, and its hind
legs about six feet; its neck is sixteen feet long; owing
to its fore-quarters being high and its hind-quarters low
it cannot be ridden. It has two short horns at the side
of its ears; the tail is like that of a cow, and the body
like that of a deer; the hoof is divided into three sections,
the mouth is flat, and it feeds on millet and pulse. The

---

1 Les Mahometans comptent leur mois selon le cours de la lune; le premier
soir où ils voient la nouvelle lune, est le premier jour du mois. Quand le soir
où elle doit paraître, le temps est couvert, ils se hâtent de commencer
le mois un jour plus tard. (Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 96.
Amsterdam, 1774.)

2 Badan. Persian Bādām (Brethesneider).
lions resemble tigers; they are black and yellow, but without stripes; they have large heads, wide mouths, and pointed tails, on which hang tufts of long black hair; their roar is like thunder, and when heard by other beasts, these latter crouch with fear and dare not stir. Truly this is the king of beasts, says the traveller.

Their houses are built of stone, roofed in with tiles or earth; some of their buildings are forty to fifty feet high, and have three storeys.

Their king, grateful for the condescension shown him by the Chinese Emperor, had specially made for His Majesty two gold enamelled belts, set with pearls and precious stones. These, with a cap of gold, rubies, and every other kind of precious stones, two rhinoceros horns, and a letter written on gold leaf, were sent as tribute by our fleet on its homeward voyage.

The latest researches on the noun in Semitic languages, in particular those of Prof. Barth and the late Prof. Lagarde, have opened up a vast field for discussion. Although starting from quite heterogeneous principles, yet, as they develop, they show many a point in common if examined more closely. The greater or lesser inclination of the student for speculative philology will lead him to devote his main interest to one of the two theories, but it will not absolve him from bestowing full attention on the other also, on account of its numerous important details. It would, however, be a delusion to think that either theory has completely solved the questions of the Semitic noun. No language allows itself to be confined by hard and fast rules, and Hebrew, like others, has developed many words which will not bear uniform treatment. In particular, words which lived in everybody's mouth, and had to undergo constant wear and tear, defy, more or less, violent attempts to force them within concise rules. An instance of those will form the object of the following remarks.

After W. Lotz published his little book, Quaestiones de historia Sabbati (Leipzig, 1883), the discussion on the etymology of הָבָשָׁס ceased for a time. Without offering any new and plausible theory, he rejects an ancient one, which will have to be mentioned again later on, and adheres to that of Kimhi, Olshausen, Lagarde, and others, viz. that הָבָשָׁס is a contracted form of חָבָשָׁס. König ("Lehrgebäude," Hälfte ii, Th. 1, p. 180 sq.), as recently as last year, reduces this form to חָבָשָׁס; whilst Ewald’s
explanation that לְעָבֵד (is a form like לְבָנָה and) means Der Feierer has, I believe, been abandoned by most scholars.

The foregoing etymologies have only been adopted for want of a better one, and, indeed, leave many questions open, of which I will only mention one, viz. how לְעָבֵד was condensed into לְעָבִי. That the omission of the final נ is intimated by the Dagesse forte in the נ of forms with suffix like לְעָבִי, has been already justly urged by Barth ("Nominalbildung," 1st ed., p. 24), since this Dagesse, in fact, owes its existence to quite different causes.

Prof. Barth, in his very ingenious book, places לְעָבִי among the transitive forms with sharpened 2nd radical and originally short vowel (qattal), which would, at any rate, be an improvement on the derivations mentioned above. Now, if derived from a root לְבָנָה, the transitive character of the noun is embarrassing, because, apart from its being quite contrary to the idea hidden in the same, it is always of feminine gender (in Isaiah lvi, 2 and 6 the word לְכָנָה is to be supplied). If, then, the נ in לְעָבִי stands to designate the genus femininum, we would have to look for another radical letter, and return to the theories of Olshausen, König, etc., and thus move in a circle.

The late Prof. Lagarde has on several occasions treated on the etymology of לְבָנָה, finally in his "Übersicht" (p. 113), where he simply places it side by side with Arabic مُسْتَقْطَن ("long space of time"). While abandoning in part an older theory given in his Psalterium Hieronymi (pp. 158-60), he, in a note, admits the existence of Assyrian sabātu "to rest." As he, however, does not say how far his older theory is to be given up, we must take the points common to both, and assume that he derives לְעָבִי from the intensive stem of the root לְבָנָה in a manner similar to that of Olshausen and his followers, whilst the comparison with סבָתה only adds another difficulty.
ETYMOLOGY OF ŠABBĀTH.

Now if these derivations fail to give us a clear and concise etymology of the word in question, we are obliged to look for another one, and this was certainly given as early as in the fourth century of our era by Lactantius,¹ who rightly maintains that the noun was derived from the number; in other words, that יבֶשֶׁב is nothing but a contracted form of the old Semitic form of the numeral יבֶשֶׁב. This assumption is strongly supported by Theophilus Antiochenus,² who wrote even earlier that what the Hebrews call σὰββατον is in Greek “week.” Writing as they did at a date so much nearer to the period when Hebrew was a living language, their almost unanimous verdict reveals a tradition (the origin of which was unknown to them) which still existed in the memory of the public, and these circumstances should not have been overlooked or rejected by Lotz without proof.

We have now two points to consider—

(1) The linguistic possibility of reducing יבֶשֶׁב to an original יבֶשֶׁבָה.

(2) The relation of יבֶשֶׁב to the root יבֶשֶׁה.

As regards the first point, יבֶשֶׁבָה represents the construct state of the masculine form of the (classical) Hebrew numeral for seven, and occurs in the connection יבֶשֶׁבָה ימים nearly a hundred times in the O.T. against about thirty in connection with other nouns. The archaic form of the absolute state of the same numeral was evidently יבֶשֶׁה, and the a-sound of the first syllable is not only retained in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but also in יבֶשֶׁה, the feminine form in Hebrew, whilst the change of the Patah

¹ Instit. vii, 14 (Patrologia vi, p. 781): Dies sabbati, qui lingua Hebraeorum a numero nomen accepit, unde septenarius numerus legitimus ac plenus est.
² Ed. Caillau, p. 151: Quod enim apud Hebraeos sabbatum dicitur Graeco redditur hebdomas, quae quidem apud omne humanum genus appellatur; quain autem ob causam ita vocem ignorant.
into Hireq is only a modification just as in Assyrian sibitti.¹ Now it is a very common phenomenon in Hebrew that a guttural in words of frequent use is so worn away as to disappear entirely,² whilst, according to the position of this guttural in the word, either the preceding or the following consonant is doubled; otherwise we would have a short vowel in an open syllable, which the Hebrew language has a strong tendency to avoid. This would explain the Patah in the first syllable of רבד, whilst the Qāmez of the second one is due to the weight of the accent. Of other instances of the same phenomenon in Hebrew I merely mention the following. The proper noun יִשַׂי (Ezra x, 31; 1 Chron. vii, 3) is contracted from יִישַׁי “my help is Yāh” (=וֹרָה יִשַׁי), whilst יִשַׁי (1 Chron. ii, 28) is evidently originally יִשַׁי (or יִשַׁי)³; the verbal form רֶכַם (Amos viii, 8) is the Ktib for רכָם. All these cases are such in which י forms the third radical. Of instances where the guttural standing as second radical was omitted, I only mention רֶמֶס =ךְלֵי and רֹה =רֹתָר ⁴ (both also mentioned by Lagarde, ib. p. 84). As the last, but not the least striking instance, may serve the word רָמָה “sin,” which Barth (p. 146) places under the group qatalat,⁵ Lagarde under qattal. But it seems rather to be a form qatlat, in which the quiescent guttural נ caused its vowel to be pronounced

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar (1889), p. 163.
³ Gesenius explains רַי יִשַׁי, and derives the first part of the name from יִשַׁי, which is hardly correct.
⁴ Gesenius’ versuestet from יִשַׁי, but most improbable. LXX. ἔκπα, the י seeming to have still been sounded.
⁵ I omit רֹה =רֹתָר, but see Wright, ib. p. 48 sq.
⁶ Coincides with רָמָה, Gen. xx, 9.
immediately after ℓ, which then had to be repeated for the same reason as the instances mentioned previously. In one instance, indeed (Numb. xv, 24), we find the same word written without that ה, viz. הלח, which furnishes the exact parallel to הביה. The possibility of the contraction can therefore not be doubted.

We have now to investigate the relation existing between our word and the root הביה. From what preceded we gather that a priori they have nothing in common. The idea of resting for religious reasons after a certain spell of working days is far too complicated to be the original meaning of a primitive root. In Arabic ست has two significations—"to cut off" and "to be motionless"; but we will not discuss here any connection which might exist between them. Qor. lxxviii, 7 contains the phrase "we made your sleep motionless," which al-Beidhâwi explains as "cutting off from perception and movement," therefore המסע בות the corpse." As the original meaning of ست he gives "to cut off." In Hebrew the first signification of הביה seems to be "to cease," in its more profane sense: e.g. Job xxxii, 1; Lam. v, 15; also Gen. ii, 2, particularly in the derived forms. Now when the seventh day was appointed for leaving off work, the noun הביה and the verb הביה were brought into immediate practical connection with each other, and thus the fusion of both was prepared in the minds of the people, who are the real enrichers of a language. Furthermore, to regard the ℓ in הביה as radical is of comparatively recent date, as this seems not to have been the case in Aramaic. In Syriac the word is מטasta, in Jewish Aramaic (Targûm) חתן, pl. חתני.
Now if the Qāmez in שָׁבָּה would correspond to long ā, and would not be merely heightened from ā, the Syriac form, if derived from a root שָׁבָע, should have been šabbāthā. The Qoranic form ﺪﻴﻦ, as well as the Ethiopic form, are nothing but reproductions of the Aramaic form, otherwise we should also expect (sabbāt or) sabbāt. From the Ethiopic plural sanbatāt Lagarde infers the radical character of the נ. This is, however, not the case. When the word in Hebrew had once received its official stamp, and had to be inflected, the נ was retained for reasons of triliterality. There are many instances of exactly the same character, as תִּנְחָה, תַּנְחָה, תֵּנְחָה, תֵּנְחָה (Phoen. תִּנְחָה), etc., in which neither נ is originally radical. Not to be overlooked is the Hebrew proper noun רָבִּיתוּ (Ezra x, 15), in which the Qāmez could not have been dropped, had רָבִּיתוּ been a form like נִנְבָּ; on the other hand, had the word been condensed from רָבִּיתוּ we should expect this name to be רָבְיוּ.

Of particular interest is the record which Assyrian documents furnish for Šabbāth. Schrader (KAT², p. 20 sqq.) reproduces a tablet in which the “seventh day” is called an “evil day,” on which no work should be done nor business transacted. A passage in another inscription calls this day šabat-tur, but writes it with only one ב. An explanatory note attached to this text derives the word from ša-bat, and translates um-nāh-libbi “the day of the rest of the heart.” This clearly shows that to the annotator the real meaning of the word was anything but clear, but that his translation only gives what he knew of the character of that day, and that he never thought of tracing it to the root šabātu.

¹ Levi, TW to be corrected.
² See Barth in ZDMG. xii, 607, 632.
ETYMOLOGY OF ŠABBĀTH.

This will allow us to draw some conclusion as to the age of the Hebrew word שָׁבָּת, which must be considerable, and the word was shaped before the language assumed that form which we find in the O.T. Other conclusions dealing with the age of the week, etc., are beyond the scope of the present observations.

In summing up the preceding remarks, I should like to comprise the same in the following theses:—

(1) The derivation of שָׁבָּת from שָׁבְתָא offers difficulties which it has been hitherto impossible to remove, in spite of many efforts.

(2) The word is rather contracted from שָׁבְתָא, and this is not only possible but highly probable.

(3) That contraction was greatly accelerated by the resemblance of the religious idea hidden in the expression “seventh day” with the meaning of the root שָׁבַת “to cease (work),” and thus שָׁבָת offers an interesting example of what is called popular etymology.
CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Pillars of the Thupārāma and Lankārāma Dāgabas, Ceylon.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—The concentric pillars which surround the Thupārāma and Lankārāma dāgabas at Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, have long been a puzzle to the archeologist. These pillars are tall and slender; the Thupārāma dāgaba has four concentric circles of them, and the Lankārāma has three. The first guess as to their purpose—and a very natural one—was that they had supported some kind of a roof to protect the pasadas, or procession paths, from the sun. Fergusson, with his wide knowledge of Buddhist architecture, conjectured that these pillars were only another and a developed form of the posts which form the pradakshina, or procession path, of the Sanchi and other stūpas. To this he added the further suggestion that, as sculpture had not been developed in Ceylon to the same extent as painting, pictures on cloth or canvas of some kind had been hung upon them with scenes representing the life of Buddha. The hanging of lights, or garlands of flowers, was another possible theory in keeping with Buddhist practices. The difficulty up to the present has been to know which of all these guesses might be the correct one.

The Ceylon Government has lately published a very large and important work on the "Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura," by Mr. J. G. Smithers, F.R.I.B.A.,
late Architect to the Government of Ceylon. The book is almost wholly devoted to the dāgabas of the old capital, and it contains no less than sixty-seven large plates, which, from their size, appear to give an exhaustive account of the details of the old monuments. Mr. Smithers, as a practical architect, rejects the supposition that the slim pillars of the two dāgabas could possibly have supported any kind of roof; but he makes the suggestion that they may have been surmounted by Buddhist emblems. On reading this it recalled to my mind that the pillars known as "Buddhist lāts" were, as their name implies, long and slender, and they were all surmounted by emblematic objects, such as lions, elephants, or wheels. There is a pillar still standing in front of the Karli cave, with four lions on the summit, and Fergusson supposes that above these there was originally a chakra, or wheel. Huen Tsiang supplies an additional evidence. In describing Ceylon this pilgrim says: "By the side of the king's palace is the vihāra of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels, and ornamented with rare gems. Above the vihāra is placed an upright pole, on which is fixed a great Padma rāja [ruby] jewel." This was at the Thupārāma dāgaba, where the position of the tooth temple, which was then at that place, may be seen on Mr. Smithers' plan, and here we have a pole, or pillar, surmounted by a Buddhist emblem. The slender form of the pillars at the Thupārāma dāgaba show that they are only copies of poles or wooden originals. The word "lāt," which is applied to the Buddhist pillars in India, indicates the same character.

Perhaps the best evidence for this theory of the pillars may be derived from a late Progress Report by Dr. Führer, which recounts an archaeological survey he has made in Burma. In writing of the Sandō Payā, the largest pagoda in Prome, he states that the platform on which it is constructed is paved with stone slabs, "and all round its outer edge is a continuous series of carved wooden image-houses,

and between these and the pagoda are *garuntaings*, or sacred posts, surmounted by *garuda*, with long streamers dependent from their summits." The word "pagoda" in Burma means a similar structure to the stūpa of India, and the dāgaba of Ceylon, and here we have it surrounded with "sacred posts," which support a figure of Garuda, the Wahan of Vishnu. It is understood that up to the fifth century Burma derived its faith and an architectural influence from India; but after that date it looked also to Ceylon, and this would explain where the models for the Garuntaings had been found. Why the Buddhists of Burma had chosen the Garuda of Vishnu is not explained; but that is of no moment here, the point being that the posts are surmounted by emblematical figures.

Columns, with emblems upon them, at temples were not confined to the Buddhists; the Brahmins had them at their temples as well. At the rock-cut kailasa of Ellura there are two columns, and on the top of one there is still the fragment of a *trisula* which surmounted it. At the well-known temple of Jagannātha at Puri there is a pillar called the Aruna Stambha; it stood originally before the Sun temple at Konārak, and bore a monkey on its summit. There were others in Orissa, and one still stands at Jagapur (see illustration in Fergusson's "Indian and Eastern Architecture," p. 433) which supported a "garuda," the same fabulous creature that is borne on the "sacred posts" at Prome.

The following by Dr. Bühler, if correct, seems still further to confirm this. Dr. Führer had discovered some very interesting Jaina sculptures in the Kankāli Tila at Mathurā; among the objects represented on the sculptures were stūpas—showing that the Jainas also erected monuments of that character—and regarding these Dr. Bühler writes: "With respect to the stūpa, which we shall meet again more than once in the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monument once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory
to my article Vienna Or. Journal, vol. iv, pp. 328 ff. I may add, however, that Brahmínical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the Mahâbhârata. Thus we read (Mah. i, 109, 13, 14): 'That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma, in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of chaityas and sacrificial posts.' The juxtaposition of the chaityas and yûpas shows that Brahmínical sacred buildings, probably stûpas, were meant."¹ This quotation from the Mahâbhârata, if Dr. Bühler be correct in his interpretation of it, although slight enough, would pass for a description of the Thupârâma and the Lankârâma dâgâbas; but it will be rather a surprise if it turns out that the pillars at these dâgâbas had their origin in the yûpas, or sacrificial posts, to which the victims were tied at an early period, when, as we know, the sacrifice of animals was a part of the Brahmínical system.

W. SIMPSON.

2. KURANDA.

Sir,—In Jâtaka, No. 172 of Mr. Rouse's translation, there is a remarkable passage which appears to be the result of a mistake in Childers' Dictionary: it is as follows:—

Page 46. "The yellow robe which he put on was blue as a bluebell."

If the colour of the robe was really blue, the word "kâsāva" had better not have been translated "yellow robe," but "robe."

However, on turning up "kaṇṭha-kurânda" in Roxburgh Flor. Ind., vol. iii, p. 37, I find that the thorny kurânda has a yellow flower. Childers gives "Barleria cristata," which is not thorny and has a blue flower, whereas the proper name is "Barleria prionitix."—Yours truly,

R. F. St. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

March 21st, 1896.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1896.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 14th, 1896.—The Rev. Dr. Gaster in the Chair.

Mr. Phillips read a paper on "Mahuan's Account of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Tahl Ram, Mr. Baynes, and Dr. Codrington took part.

The paper is published in the present issue.

February 11th, 1896.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President, on behalf of Prince Roland Bonaparte, presented to the Society a copy of the Prince's "Documens de l'Époque Mongole."

The President called attention to the severe loss the Society had suffered by the death of Dr. Rost, and gave expression in sympathetic words to the high estimation in which the deceased scholar was held. He concluded by moving the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "The Royal Asiatic Society desires to express its very deep sympathy with Mrs. Rost under her recent sudden bereavement by the death of her husband, who as successively Secretary, Honorary Member, and Member of Council, not only rendered most valuable services to the Society, but was personally endeared to all such of its members as had the privilege of his personal acquaintance."
The President, being obliged to leave on account of the ceremony at the House of Lords, resigned the Chair to Dr. Gaster.

It was announced that—
Mr. E. P. Ker, China Consular Service,
Mr. W. Gordon Campbell, Vice-Consul, Constantinople,
and
Mr. T. J. Desai
had been elected members of the Society.

Dr. Hirschfeld read a paper on the derivation of the word “Šabbāth”; and Dr. Friedlander and Dr. Gaster discussed the points raised.

Mr. Herbert Baynes also read a paper on the “Māṇḍūkya Upanishad”; and Mr. Desai, Mr. Sturdy, and Prof. Bendall joined in the discussion.

March 10th, 1896.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. J. Elmsley Wood, of Heriot’s Hospital, Edinburgh, had been elected a member of the Society.

A paper was read by Mr. A. Rogers on “A Persian History of Christ and St. Peter,” by Jerome Xavier, S.J.

Dr. Thornton, Mr. Beveridge, and Dr. Gaster took part in the discussion.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

   Band xlix, Heft 4.

Praetorius (Fr.). Rede gehalten am 2 October, 1895.
Delbrück (B.). Rudolf Roth.
Zenner (J. K.). Arabische Piüṭim.
Simon (R.). Nachträge zum Amaruṣataka.
Marquart (J.). Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erūn.
Fischer (A.). Noch einmal Aus b. Ḥaǧār.
 Justi (F.). Miscellen zur iranischen Namenkunde.
 Fischer (A.). Heinrich Thorbecke's handschriftlicher Nachlass.

2. Journal Asiatique. N.S. Tome vi, No. 3.

Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).
Berchem (Max van). Recherches archéologiques en Syrie. (Lettre à Mons Barbier de Meynard.)
Henry (V.). Mudgala, ou l'Hymne du marteau.

III. Obituary Notices.

Dr. Reinhold Rost.

[The following is based on the obituary in the Academy of February 15, 1896.]

Dr. Rost has not long survived his retirement from the India Office. He died very suddenly on February 7 at Canterbury, whither he had gone on duties connected with St. Augustine's College. He had just completed the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Reinhold Rost was born in 1822 at a little manufacturing town in the duchy of Sax-Altenberg, where his father was a Lutheran Minister, holding the office of Archdeacon. After attending the Gymnasium in the capital of his native state, he entered at the neighbouring University of Jena, where he graduated as Ph.D. in 1847. Having already determined to devote himself to Oriental studies, he came at once to England, the great storehouse of Sanskrit MSS. His first post was that of Oriental Lecturer at the Missionary College at Canterbury, with which he remained associated till the last. From 1864 to 1869 he was Secretary to the
Royal Asiatic Society, and was then appointed Librarian to the India Office in succession to Dr. Fitzedward Hall, who survives him. This is one of the few posts in England that may be regarded as an endowment for Oriental research. The official duties are not heavy, but the collection of MSS. is one of the largest in the world, and their custodian is necessarily brought into contact with students of all countries. In addition he acts as adviser in philological matters to the Secretary of State for India, who still dispenses some of that literary patronage in which the old Company was so profuse.

Dr. Rost will long be remembered as Librarian to the India Office. If he left it to others to catalogue and edit the MSS., this was not through incapacity for either task. Though primarily a Sanskritist, he had to consider the claims of Arabic and Persian, of Pāli, Burmese, and Sinhalese, of Tibetan and Malay, and of countless vernaculars. Of all these languages we have mentioned, he possessed a competent knowledge; and he had further to give his attention to questions relating to archaeology, ethnology, and Indian history. In brief, Dr. Rost elected to turn himself into an Oriental encyclopædia, which no one ever consulted in vain. Through his initiative MSS. were lent freely to foreign scholars; and it is hardly too much to say that on the Continent he was regarded as a steward of Oriental knowledge to whom everyone might appeal without hesitating for assistance and advice. This feeling was strongly expressed in a testimonial presented to him in 1892, when it was rumoured that he was to be retired compulsorily from his post. Frenchmen joined with Germans in testifying to the kindness and impartiality which he had always displayed towards fellow-students. The Government allowed him one year more of office and of work; but he was superannuated (sorely against the grain) in 1893.

Dr. Rost wrote little under his own name. His first publication was a short essay (1850) on a Pāli law book from Burma law, and he also compiled a Catalogue of the
Palm-leaf MSS. in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. He was content to be known as the editor of H. H. Wilson's Selected Works, of Brian Hodgson's Collected Papers, and of four volumes of Miscellanies relating to Indo-China. He edited for Messrs. Trübner and Co.'s publishing firm a series of "Simplified Grammars," and for many years contributed literary notes to their trade circular, the "Oriental Record." But his modesty did not deprive him of all public recognition. Edinburgh made him LL.D., and Oxford conferred on him the rarer distinction of Honorary M.A. He was an Honorary or Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of many learned Societies on the Continent and in the East. Prussia, Russia, and Sweden gave him decorations; and our own Government appointed him Companion of the Indian Empire in 1888.

Abel Hovelacque, of Paris.

Science and Oriental studies have suffered a great loss by the death of M. Abel Hovelacque, which occurred on Saturday, February 22nd, 1896. Born in Paris, Nov. 14th, 1843, he studied first for the Bar, but, at the same time, he was induced to take interest in linguistics, and attended Prof. H. Chavée's classes, who taught him comparative philology. He particularly devoted himself to Sanskrit and Zend, and published some valuable pamphlets. He was a founder of the Revue de Linguistique (1867), where his first essays appeared, and of which he became Director in 1869; in 1877 he resigned the task, having for several years been deeply interested in anthropological researches. In the year 1876 a public school for Anthropology was founded in Paris, with five professors; among them Hovelacque was engaged to teach the science of language, and he fulfilled the task most successfully. In 1891 he was appointed, by his fellow-professors, Director of the school, which comprises at present
no less than ten professors. For ten years his health had suffered, and from 1894 the illness seriously increased and led to the fatal issue, which the best care and attention were unable to prevent.

In the meantime he occupied himself with politics, and was elected in 1878 a member of the Paris Municipal Council, of which he was the President in 1886 and 1888; in 1889 he was sent to the Parliament as Deputy of the XIIIe Paris district, but resigned in 1894.

His principal works are the following ones:—La théorie épécienne de lauterschiebung (1869), Racines et éléments simples (1869), Grammaire de la langue zend (1869; 2nd ed. 1878), Instructions pour l'étude élémentaire de la linguistique indo-européenne (1871), Euphonié sanskrite (1872), La France et les Slaves de Sud (1872), Langues—races—nationalités (1873; 2nd ed. 1875), La linguistique (1876; 2nd ed. 1877; 3rd ed. 1881; 4th ed. 1887: English translation, London, Chatham, 1877), Notre ancêtre (1877; 2nd ed. 1878), L'Acesta Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme (1880), Études de linguistique et d'ethnographie (with Prof. J. Vinson, 1878), Mélanges de linguistique et d'anthropologie (with Profs. J. Vinson and E. Rost, 1880), La langue khasia (1880), L'enseignement primaire à Paris: laïques et congréganistes (1880), Les débuts de l'humanité (1881), Les races humaines (1882), Moreaux choisis de Voltaire, J. J. Rousseau, et Diderot (1883), Précis d'anthropologie (with Dr. G. Hervé, 1887), Les Nègres de l'Afrique sus-équatoriale (1889), Recherches ethnologiques sur le horean (with Dr. G. Hervé, 1894). Moreover, he contributed to many periodicals and other publications—the Dictionnaire des Sciences anthropologiques (1886), L'homme (by Prof. de Morillet), Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie, Revue de Linguistique, etc.


G. Vinson.
IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Notice to Members.—A series of three maps was issued in 1835 to illustrate a paper, in Vol. XV, o.s., J.R.A.S., by Captain Felix Jones, on "The Topography of Nineveh." These maps were issued apart from the Journal, and were in three large sheets. The Society is desirous of purchasing one or more sets of these maps, and the Secretary would be glad to hear from any member who wishes to dispose of a set.

Caste Rules in Manu.—Prof. Hillebrandt, of Breslau, in an interesting paper in vol. xii of the "Germanistische Abhandlungen," has pointed out that many of the supposed caste rules in Manu—under which the unfortunate Çūdra can be mutilated or tortured or killed for offending a Brahmin, and is declared to be incapable of holding property or of learning the Vedas—can be matched by similar rules as to the treatment of slaves in German, Greek, and Roman law. Brahmanism, therefore, in this point, was not the maker of harsh rules, but was only preserving and carrying on social customs which had become historic facts in India, just as they had under similar circumstances elsewhere.

The Dharma Śāstras.—In a dissertation presented to the University of Leipzig for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Mr. G. B. Beaman takes the second chapter of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra, and dividing the whole into 167 paragraphs, discusses the source of each. He argues that of the whole, 46 were due to Śūtras now lost, 16 are pure interpolations, 4 have been derived from the textbooks of the Sāṅkhya, and 99 (or 60 per cent.) are derived from extant Dharma or Gṛhya Śūtras. Taking the passage of Yājñavalkya dealing with the same matter, and dividing it into 46 passages, he argues that 15 have been drawn certainly, and 5 doubtfully, from non-extant, and 26 (or 53 per cent.) from extant Dharma or Gṛhya Śūtras. In only 4 cases can we be sure that the author has borrowed from Manu. The argument is well and carefully conducted, and it is
a distinct advantage to have the results stated in this quantitative manner. It touches, it is true, only the passages referred to, but the author thinks these are a fair sample of the whole of Manu and Yājñavalkya respectively.

Baldaeus and his Work on Ceylon.—Under this title Mr. Donald W. Ferguson, M.R.A.S., has published (Colombo: Observer Office) a reprint of his very careful and accurate articles on the life of Baldaeus, and on the bibliography of the early editions of his work, which contained in its slight notice of Tamil grammar the first Tamil printing in Europe.

Buddhist Texts.—Dr. K. E. Neumann, of Vienna, is bringing out a complete translation into German of the Dialogues of the Majjhima Nikāya, and the first fasciculus, containing the translation of the first 63 pages of Trenckner's edition for the Pāli Text Society, has already appeared (8vo, pp. 96. Fr. Friedrich: Leipzig, 1896). We congratulate Dr. Neumann on so useful and important an undertaking, and trust it will receive adequate support. It is a bold step to commence such a work before the commentary (an edition of which is in preparation for the Pāli Text Society) has been published. In his introduction, which makes no mention of previous work in the same field, the author makes light of the value of Buddhaghosa's commentary. But the published fasciculus shows how thoroughly Dr. Neumann is at home with the texts of which he proposes to give us a version, and with his training and ability and enlightened sympathy he bids fair to contribute work of the first importance for the elucidation of Buddhism.

The Mahā-bhārata.—Professor Ludwig has published as a reprint from the "Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften" a paper on the mythical basis of the Mahā-bhārata (8vo, pp. 26. Rivnac: Prag), in which he maintains the proposition that we have in that poem the working together of two distinct elements—a poem on the struggle between the sun and the
darkness of the night, and a kind of bardic poem (a sūta) on a possibly actual war; but the former of the two, and not the latter, is the actual basis of the whole. The gods have, in fact, here become men, and we have before us a case of the anthropomorphic treatment of mythical tradition.

Gandhāra Sculptures.—Mr. Anderson, at vol. i, p. 221, of his Catalogue of the India Museum, describes one frieze (G 36) without being able to identify it further than thinking that two of the figures are Buddha and Devadatta. Professor Serge D'Oldenbourg, at p. 274 of "Zapiski" (the Journal of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society), very ingeniously points out that this frieze is an illustration of the episode of Jaya and Vijaya recorded at pp. 366 foll. of the Divyāvadāna. This is no doubt correct. And it shows the importance, from the point of view of archaeology, of such texts being translated. There are so many in charge of museums in India who are in the first place naturalists, and who therefore do not read, and cannot be expected to read, Sanskrit and Pāli, that translations of the texts referring to the objects in their charge is absolutely essential.

Buddhist Text Society of India.—The Government of Bengal has made a grant of 2000 rupees to this Society towards the publication of the series of rare Buddhist texts, collected at Government expense during the last fifty years, from Nepal, Tibet, and Burma.

Assyrian Text Book.—Eighty-three plates of cuneiform, a title-page, five pages of preface, a list of contents covering three pages, and a cover with two pages of advertisements, is the amount that an outlay of £1 6s. obtains from the reckless purchaser who buys Prof. Craig's "Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts." As far as a comparison of one or two of the pages goes, they are very correctly reproduced, but the publishers could easily have given students the benefit of cuneiform type in place of the rather unsatisfactorily printed autographed plates of which
the work is composed. Though several of the plates have already been published, the texts given by Prof. Craig form a very interesting collection, and students will look forward to the translations and notes, which he promises to give in the second volume.

_Chronology of Genesis._—Prof. J. Oppert's "Chronologie de la Genèse," published in the _Revue des études juives_ (tome xxxi, 1895), shows all the originality and deep learning that characterize this veteran Assyriologist's work. Prof. Oppert points out that the Creation, for which the Bible allows seven days, occupied, according to the Chaldean system, 1,680,000 years. He examines the dates of Genesis and of Berosus, with special reference to the Patriarchs before and after the Flood. The totals of the years they lived may be divided, as he points out, into epochs, which are multiples of the number 23; and other calculations reveal the existence of the numbers 70, 90, and 100 as multiplicands. He also points out that the figures in Genesis, to all appearance so dry, nevertheless enable one to guess the existence of myths current in early ages, but lost to us, in all probability, for ever.

_Pandit Īccharacandra Vidyāsāgara._—Mr. Sricharan Chakravarti has published at Calcutta a very appreciative little account of the life and work, literary and philanthropic, of this fine representative of the native scholar and patriot. A portrait is given (not a very flattering one), but there is unfortunately no bibliography, and the scholar is rather overlooked, throughout the book, in the philanthropist.

_Prof. Sayce,_ Vice-President of the Society, has been re-appointed to the Chair of Assyriology at Oxford for a further term of five years.

_Dr. Wilhelm Geiger,_ Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Erlangen, Germany, has arrived in Ceylon for the purpose of studying the Sinhalese language, which is his chief object in going out to the island. He is fully equipped with letters of introduction from the Colonial Office in London, and from his Government,
and trusts that every help will be rendered him by the scholars in Ceylon. He is writing an account of the Sinhalese language for Dr. Bühler’s Encyclopædia.

The Council of the Senate at Cambridge recommend that the Panjab University be adopted as an affiliated institution, subject to the condition that the privileges of affiliation be extended only to graduates in Arts.

We would call the attention of our readers to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.’s Catalogue of Oriental Books for sale, which will be found at the end of this issue of our Journal.

V. Notices of Books.


Dr. Pope has rendered essential service to Tamil literature. He has written three Grammars for the students of that language, besides editing in it several classical works. After many years of study, he is still profitably occupying himself in perfecting his former works, and in making them more extensively useful; and it is touching to read the following sentence from the prefatory note to this little volume, which shows how his heart still turns with affectionate remembrance to the language and the people among whom he laboured so long: “Fifty-eight years’ work at Tamil has made the writer ever more and more sensible of the beauties of the language, and his only wish is that this little book may still help forward the cause of sound education among those whom he loves.”

This Catechism was written so far back as 1842. It was composed in Tamil, and has been extensively used in schools for Tamil children. It is now accompanied by an English translation by one of Dr. Pope’s former pupils at Oxford; and has thus been made available for Europeans studying
the Tamil language. Dr. Pope also wrote a second Catechism of Tamil Grammar, which he proposes to publish in the same diglot form; and a third or Complete Grammar of the Tamil Language, in which the higher or the classical dialect of that very fertile tongue is included, should there be a demand for it, and should the issue of the two former be successful enough to give him sufficient encouragement.

The translation of this little book into English, thus making it bilingual, will effectually unlock its mysteries for English students. It is partly written in the Tamil method and partly in the English, and this combination will be good practice for the European, who usually goes to India at a comparatively late period of life, and is made competent by previous training to assimilate both methods. We have glanced through the book, selecting passages here and there, and it seems to us well and adequately translated. It must necessarily be a very great help to one who may honestly desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the language of the people among whom he is to dwell, and over whom he may possibly have to work and rule.

One good point about the book is that the student must learn the Tamil character, or he cannot perfect himself in the language. There is very little transliteration into the Roman character; but on that little we cannot help making just a remark or two. We observe that ś is transliterated both in this book and in the First Lessons in Tamil, which was recently published by Dr. Pope at Oxford, by ś, whereas in Dr. Pope's books published at Madras $s$ was used. It is a matter of taste, but to us the old love seems the better. Would it not be advisable to omit altogether such awkward forms as the double short accent ū and ī?

As usual, the book is beautifully and accurately printed by the Clarendon Press, and we have scarcely detected a single printer's error. Oriental students in South India are much indebted to Dr. Pope for this handy Introduction to the Tamil language.

H. M.
Māra und Buddha. Von Ernst Windisch. 4to, pp. 348.
(Leipzig: Hirzel, 1895.)

This monograph, published as Part iv of the Proceedings of the Historical Division of the Royal Society of Science of Saxony, is devoted to a discussion, firstly, of the legend of Māra, as handed down in the early Buddhist records (pp. 1–220 and 322–327); and, secondly, of the early accounts of Gotama's first meeting with King Bimbisāra at Rājagaha (pp. 220–322). All the text passages relating to both of these subjects are here collected and contrasted (where possible in parallel columns), and translated with numerous notes, in which the readings are discussed and a number of difficult or doubtful words are elucidated. The historical relationship to one another of these different texts, and of various paragraphs or even phrases used in them, is carefully discussed; and the question of the origin and gradual evolution of the conception of Māra is elaborately and convincingly worked out. No portion of the vast field of the history of Buddhist ideas has been hitherto treated with anything like the same completeness and thoroughness; and in applying to this particular portion the recognized canons of a strict historical criticism, the more general problem of the right treatment of the Buddhist records as a whole is incidentally dealt with in a similar spirit—a spirit utterly opposed to the absurd and uncritical way of muddling up all the different versions of each episode as if they were of equal value (or rather of equal worthlessness).

Naturally, in a monograph dealing with so great a mass of detail there are some points on which scholars may differ from the author. One of these is the reiterated use, when referring to the death of the Buddha, of the phrase 'enter in to Nirvāṇa.' There is no word in the texts corresponding to any one of the four words thus chosen to reproduce the sense of the Pāli word parinibbāyati. The Buddha, like every other Arahant, was supposed to have attained the state of mind called Nirvāṇa during his life, and in his case the precise time of that event was on the day of his Enlightenment.
under the Bo Tree. *Nibbāna-dhātuṇā* (as the author rightly points out on p. 74) is, of course, a locative; but it is a locative, not in the sense of 'entering into' (which would require an accusative), but in the sense of a locative absolute. The meaning of the expression is really placed beyond doubt by such phrases as 'the wise [speaking of the Arahats] go out like this lamp' (Ratana Sutta 14), or 'the dying out of a flame,' used as a metaphor of the death of the Buddha at Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, p. 62. The expression 'entering into Nirvāṇa' is only a very old Anglo-Indian blunder, dating from the time when the first writers on Buddhism, saturated with modern Western ideas, took for granted that Nirvāṇa must be some state beyond the grave. But the universal Indian usage of the time, whether in Pāli books by Buddhist authors or in Sanskrit books by both Buddhists and Hindus, confines the connotation of the word exclusively to the state of mind of a living Jīvanmukta or Arahat.

Another matter of detail, of equal importance, is the use of the phrase 'Northern and Southern' for the Sanskrit and Pāli books. When Buddhism first became known in the West, it had been driven out of India, and the Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. came to us from Nepal in the north, while the Pāli ones came from Ceylon in the south. It was natural, therefore, then to distinguish them as Northern and Southern, and in that sense the distinction was quite correct. Insensibly, however, the use of the words was supposed to mean much more, namely, that the Sanskrit books were all written in Nepal, and the Pāli Pitakas composed in Ceylon. Such an inference is entirely unjustified. And no one would object to it more strongly than our author. But it leads to so complete a perversion of the history of Buddhist literature that the only way to avoid endless confusion is to drop the use of these ambiguous words altogether. So far as our present information goes, it is most probable that nearly all the early books—that is, the books, whether Sanskrit or Pāli, earlier, or not much later, than the Christian era-were composed in the valley.
of the Ganges. But we do not know the exact place of origin of any one of them. And no one can say for certain that the Divyāvadāna, for instance, or the Lalita Vistara, was written in a spot to the north of the place where the Padhāna Sutta, for instance, or the Kathā Vatthu was composed. Why, then, continue the use of a phraseology which ignorant or careless readers may, and probably will, understand in a sense different from that intended? It should be added that the author very seldom does use it, and in the majority of cases has been led, by a sound instinct, to the use of more exact and less ambiguous terms.

The question raised in the last paragraph really lies at the root of all critical judgment of Buddhist questions. Even the terms Pāli and Sanskrit are objectionable, though in a less degree, and though they do not contain the suggestio falsi lurking in the terms Northern and Southern. There is no such thing as a Pāli Buddhism, much less a Sanskrit Buddhism. It is therefore a matter of the first importance that the present author has made the great advance (conspicuous, not only in the terms he usually uses when comparing the books, but also in the whole tone of his monograph) of specifying in each case the book itself by name. This is not only the safest way, it is the only right way. But when it has become universal (as it certainly will some day) it will render necessary the rewriting of much that has been written by Sanskritists on Buddhism. What would become of such a statement as this, found in the latest book of the kind?

"The distinction between Northern and Southern doctrine is indicated by the terms 'Great Vehicle' and 'Little Vehicle' respectively."

To point out the blunders, both of fact and of implication, in this striking announcement would become unnecessary if our author's excellent plan were followed of saying rather—"Such and such a doctrine is to be found in such and such a book," and then proceeding to discuss the historical position of the doctrine in question.

The crux of Pattakkhandho, p. 119, has already been
solved at "Vinaya Texts," iii, 13—and compare Milinda 5; Anguttara, iii, 73. 4; Divyāvadāna 633. Dīgha Nikāya should be read for Majjhima Nikāya at pp. 33, 39. It is strange that at p. 118 no mention is made of the parallel passage at Majjhima i, 234 (where the right readings are given), and the meaning of kathala 'potsherd' seems clear enough from Culla Vagga, v, 22. 1; Dīgha, 2. 98; Puggala Paññatti, 3. 14; Samyutta, iv, 313. Cankamā orohitā on p. 150 is not merely 'gave up walking,' but 'stepped down from the place [cloister one might call it] where he had been walking up and down meditating.' Such a cankama was a constant appendage to a vihāra. So on p. 151, lines 21 and following, the meaning is surely rather that Saṅjīva used easily to attain the state called Saṅnā-vedayita-norodha, whether he might have gone into a wood, or sat at the foot of a tree, or, etc. On p. 191 (last line), what the hearer gets to know is, inter alia, that there will be no rebirth for him into this world. The words to be supplied in the text at Samyutta, 2. 195, are, of course, the same as in Vinaya, vol. i, p. 14, and often found elsewhere. On page 75 (four lines from the bottom), for Halbgott read Mensch. On pp. 65, 81 the author, on the supposed authority of the Divyāvadāna, understands Gotamaka Cetiya to mean the Bo Tree. But it is quite clear that this pre-Buddhistic sacred place was close to Vesāli—so Jātaka, ii, 259—and cannot therefore have been the Bo Tree at Gayā, which was an Assattha, not a Nigrodha tree. The interpretation of ācariyākama at p. 71 is scarcely consistent with Mahā Vagga, vi, 37. 1, and the Sonadaṇḍa Sutta at Dīgha, 1. 119; and on the same page the expression 'wonder-working truth' is, after all, supported by the use of the opposite phrase appātiḥtram katham 'ineffectual talk,' of the talk of the Brahmans in the Tevijja Sutta. On p. 80, line 12, the ti on the last line of p. 32 of the text and the bhante on the first line of p. 33 show that in the latter case it is Ānanda who is speaking, and not the Buddha; and the logical sequence of the thought was already visible enough in the version in "Buddhist Suttas," pp. 54, 55. Why
should the word Zufall have been chosen at p. 61 to express the similar result of similar causes?

The general results of the author’s investigation into the history of the Māra legend are as follows:—

1) That the Buddha had so far overcome both death and transmigration that for him and his disciples death led no longer to a new life and a new death.

2) Buddha himself made use of a poetical expression, drawn from existing beliefs and expressions in the pre-Buddhistic Brahmanical literature, in which he apostrophized Māra, the personification of death or evil, as defeated.

3) After his death these expressions were held to be not only poetical but historical. And as they are related to have been used at various times and places during his long career, so the earliest versions of the legend represent the attacks or temptations of the Evil One as having been continuous throughout his life.

4) But gradually the legend gets more and more to regard the victory of the Buddha as won, once for all, under the Bo Tree. And the episode of Māra’s daughters is then introduced.

5) Last of all comes the long description of the Buddha’s victory then and there over the hosts of Māra’s army.

6) Together with this last phase we have the commencement of the train of ideas by which the Bodhisat is brought ever more and more into prominence.

7) It is in the Sutta Nīpāta and the Saṃyutta Nikāya that we have the oldest form of the legend. The Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta account is later, and the account in the Sanskrit books, as a whole, later still. But these last have, in many details, preserved reminiscences of a form of the tradition older even than the oldest of the Pāli books, and are invaluable for a right understanding of the whole question.

All these conclusions will, we believe, be sooner or later accepted. But it is not so much on that account, or on account of the large number of philological points elucidated, as on account of the admirable critical spirit shown
throughout the work, that we think this monograph will make an epoch in the study of Buddhism, and of the history of Indian thought.

It will be a fortunate day when we get any one of the essential doctrines of Buddhism—such, for instance, as Arahatship, or the doctrine of the Sankhāras, or the scheme of causation, the Paticca-samuppāda—treated in the same masterly way; and we trust the author may be encouraged by the complete success of his present effort to deal hereafter with the daily increasing material for the treatment of one of these questions.

RH. D.


The Library of the British Museum has increased its treasures continually, since the time of the first Catalogue compiled by the masterly hand of Zedner twenty-five years ago. To Mr. Van Straalen we owe the Catalogue of the new acquisitions, elaborated in great part on the lines laid down by his predecessor. It would be out of place to speak here of the nature and value of the new acquisitions. They do not come up in the remotest way to the extreme value of the earlier collection, which abounds in Unica and Incunables. To acquire scarce books is, however, not a thing that depends upon the Librarian; chance will often throw a book in his path for which he may have been looking in vain for years. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, the efforts of the new Librarian are directed to obtain all those works which appear in the East, and are often printed in so very limited a number that they seldom reach the European market. In one point this Catalogue is superior to Zedner’s, viz. in the addition of the pressmark, by which the student is saved a great deal of trouble and search. An excellent index, comprising both volumes, fills almost one-half of this Catalogue (pp. 311–532). It is a pity
that the pages of vol. i have not been given in the reference. The work is done conscientiously and carefully, and the Catalogue will prove a boon to students of Hebrew literature in one of the greatest libraries of the world.

I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing my regret that this volume has not been issued by the Trustees in the same size as the previous one of Zedner. The last-named is a beautiful handy octavo volume, whilst this new one is a large unwieldy quarto. The price of £3 3s. is also almost prohibitive, and the type leaves much to be desired. It contrasts very unfavourably with, for instance, the beautiful Catalogue of Greek Papyri, issued also by the Trustees of the British Museum.

M. G.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. ENGLISH LIVES OF BUDDHA.
Edited and Indexed by Joseph Jacobs. 8vo, pp. cxxxii + 56. (London: D. Nutt, 1896.)

In an attractive, skilful, but sometimes flippant style, Mr. Jacobs has retold the old tale of the wanderings and transformations of the great legend of Renunciation, told of Buddha. He recasts in an easier form the solid work of Prof. Kuhn, which I brought under the notice of the readers of our Journal in 1894 (pp. 402–404). A general introduction, in which, I am sorry to say, I have not found any progress over Kuhn’s elaborate and minute study, leads up to the summary of the framework and the short description of the Parables, with full but not complete bibliographical notes.

It is surprising that Mr. Jacobs should not have taken any notice in his introduction of Mr. Conybeare’s important discovery of the Armenian version. The antiquity of the Armenian literature gives it, on account of this fact alone, a prominent position in the history of literary tradition; and the dependence of the Georgian and Gruzinian literature—the latter also not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs—upon
the Armenian, points to this version as the connecting link between the lost Pahlavi and those versions which are independent of the Greek. A direct translation from Arabic, as is assumed by Mr. Jacobs, is entirely out of question, and a Syriac intermediary is, to say the least, very doubtful. Mr. Jacobs has also not made use of the information contained in Mr. Ward's Catalogue, to which I referred in my last review, and from Slavonic and Rumanian literature many more parallels could have been added, even from my "Literatura populara" and Pypin's old but still valuable "Očerků." For those who have no access to Kuhn's book, Mr. Jacobs' will prove very useful.

M. G.

Panca-krama. By L. de la Vallée Poussin. 8vo, pp. 56. (Engelcke, Ghent.)

This little manual of the later Tantric Buddhism is divided into five chapters, four of which are assigned in the colophons to Nāgārjuna, and the fifth to Śākyamitra. The present editor is inclined to think that the work, as we now have it, has been recast by Śākyamitra on the basis of an older work of Nāgārjuna. The latter's date is uncertain, but Śākyamitra was, according to Tārānatha, a contemporary of Devapāla, son and successor of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, and would have lived therefore in the ninth century A.D. Both his teacher Śākya-prabhu, and the latter's teacher Punyakīrti, came from "the East" (probably Bengal), and he himself, who also wrote a work entitled the "Kośalālankāra," was born in Kośala. He belonged, therefore, neither to the North nor to the South, but to the famous Middle Country of Buddhism, in which almost all the Buddhist works known to us were composed. The whole of the little work is here edited from a single MS. in the Bibliothèque
Nationale, and in the roman character; and it is accompanied by the commentary also found in the same manuscript. The edition has all the advantages (and, it may be added, the inevitable shortcomings) incidental to such an edition from a single MS. Short as it is, it throws very valuable and welcome light on the mystic side of later Buddhist speculation, of which the germs, as the author rightly points out, can be clearly traced already in the Pāli books. The thanks of students are due to him for taking up this unexplored field in the Buddhist history of Indian thought; and they will look forward to the further labours in the same direction of which he holds out the promise, and more especially to a detailed comparison of the five stages of this treatise with the ancient five Jhānas on the one hand, and the Yoga system on the other.

R.H. D.


This little Pāli poem of 250 stanzas is a very interesting and curious production. The editor accepts, without question, the tradition (for which he gives no authority) that ascribes to the author the astounding date of 426 B.C. But the poem, if such it can be called, is a series of puzzles and tours de force in Pāli based on the legend of Buddha, and incorporating all the latest phases of it. It must be later, therefore, than any of the works in which that legend is set forth in gradually growing absurdity. And the only safe course is to argue from the fact that Buddhadatta, the cotemporary of Buddhaghosa, wrote the only existing commentary upon it, that it must be at least as old as the fourth century of our era. Even so it is interesting, as probably the oldest specimen in Pāli of this kind of literary bad taste. Its sole importance is the light it can thus shed on the history of Indian literature; for it has
no beauty of style, nor does it contribute anything to our knowledge of Buddhism. One line reads—

Namo tassa yato mahimato yassa tamo na,

which is very forced as Pāli, but has the supposed excellent advantage of being able to be read either backwards or forwards. So verse 105 (comp. Kirātārjuniya xv, 14) runs—

Nonānino nanūnāni nanenāni nanānino
Nunnānenāni nunā na nānanaṃ nānanena no,

which, as Pāli, is abominable, but is a very pretty trick with its n's only and its vowels. With the help of the commentator it is possible to puzzle out some sort of a meaning. Then we have a verse of four lines, each containing the same letters, but having four quite different meanings; and rhyming verses of many sorts, and alliterative puzzles of various kinds. It is really very ingenious, and it is good to have a correct edition of it; and the translation loosely reproduces Buddhodatta's solutions of the various puzzles. It is a pity the editor has not compared his author's work with the corresponding efforts in Sanskrit, which are usually placed a century or more later.

RH. D.


It would be impossible to commence a review of this book without an expression of sorrow that the learned author should not have been spared to finish the work of his life. When the first fasciculus appeared in 1868, it was calculated that the remaining nine would be published in as many years; in the twenty-eight years which have elapsed since then eight parts have appeared, bringing the dictionary down to the nineteenth letter of the Syriac alphabet; the part which is to contain the last three letters
is not likely to be finished before the end of this year, and even then the advice of those German scholars who demand a volume of *addenda* and *corrigenda* can scarcely be neglected. There has, therefore, been a mistake of eighteen years in the original calculation; a mistake which probably compares favourably with that committed with regard to another great lexicon also published by the Oxford Press.

Of the life of the author this is not the place to speak, though it may be mentioned that at the commencement of middle life he gave up a lucrative headmastership in London in order to pursue his Syriac studies as sub-librarian of the Bodleian, and that we are indebted to him for a Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in that library, as well as for several editions of Syriac texts. The founding of the Houghton Syriac prize, which has led many young scholars to study the language, was also due to his suggestion. However, the need of a new Syriac dictionary had probably been brought home to him before he returned to Oxford by the study of the Nitrian collection in the British Museum—that famous collection of which the "plums" were picked by Cureton, Lagarde, and Land, but of which there still remains not a little for the student who is anxious to do original work.

"It never rains but it pours," and the learned world having been scantily provided with Syriac dictionaries until two years ago, has now quite a number at its disposal; and the late Dean's daughter and collaborateur is well forward with another. But when the collection of the Thesaurus commenced, the amount that had been done for Syriac lexicography was by no means considerable. While the native Arabic dictionaries are so scholarly and exhaustive that Golius, Freytag, and we may even add Lane, have had little to do beyond translating and rearranging to make them serve for the use of Europeans, the Syro-Arabic glosses of Bar-Ali and Bar-Bahlul, on which the Syriac lexicographer has to build, are on the level of Hesychius and Suidas. Till very lately copies of
these glossaries could only be seen at a few public libraries; however, an eminent French Semitist, M. Duval, has now nearly completed his elaborate edition of Bar-Bahlul, while an American scholar has, at any rate, made great preparations for editing Bar-Ali, of whose book one-half had previously been lithographed by Dr. Hoffmann, of Kiel. The only dictionary till recently in the hands of Europeans was the reprint made by Michaelis of the Syriac portion of the Heptaglott Lexicon of the Cambridge professor, Edmund Castell, bearing the date 1788, which, as has been well said, by no means came up to what the world might have expected of so eminent a scholar. Between the dates of Castell and Michaelis had come the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani, and the Roman edition of S. Ephraem, placing Syriac scholarship on a very different level from the time when the literature was almost entirely represented by the Peshitta version of the Bible. Several persons before the Dean of Canterbury attempted to improve on Michaelis, but either gave up the idea or were prevented by death from carrying it out. Such among Dr. Payne Smith’s own contemporaries were Cowper and Lagarde; earlier in the century the French Orientalist, Quatremère, and Bernstein, whose Glossary to Kirsch’s Chrestomathy still arouses admiration for its consummate scholarship.

The materials collected by these two scholars were procured by the Clarendon Press for Dr. Payne Smith’s Thesaurus; the notes of Quatremère were mainly based on the study of MSS. in the Paris Library, while Bernstein had worked through printed books. To these materials were added the notes collected by a Swedish scholar, Agrell, who had also planned a Syriac lexicon early in the century; and the valuable collections of Field, the editor of the “Hexapla,” and of Rödiger, the distinguished colleague of Gesenius, afterwards came to swell the work. Although Dr. Payne Smith modestly placed the names of all these scholars on his title-page, as the collectors of the Thesaurus, claiming for himself only the merit of having increased, arranged, explained, and edited their materials, his own
contribution of words, phrases, and references, obtained from an exhaustive study of the Syriac MSS. in the Bodleian Library, as well as from perusal of many of those in the British Museum, and by excerpting each new Syriac publication as it came out, must be greater than that of any of his predecessors. Very few of the editors of Syriac texts have done anything to help the lexicographer; Lagarde, who surpassed his contemporaries in the number and importance of the texts he issued, published them quite "naked," as he phrased it, i.e. without note, comment, or index; the collation of these texts with their Greek originals, where preserved, especially in the case of the Geoponica, where the order of the Greek differs entirely from that of the Syriac version, means a very serious task, which those who study these books with the aid of the Thesaurus will acknowledge that the Dean has faithfully performed. Where the texts have been translated and criticized, as is the case with Wright's Apocryphal Acts and Land's Anecdota Syrica, due notice has been taken in the Thesaurus of the opinions of the critics. Although, as appears from his review of Land's Anecdota, the Dean was a confirmed opponent of conjectural emendation, the columns of the Thesaurus abound in judicious emendations of the texts, suggested by a profound acquaintance with Syriac idiom.

In the matter of etymology and comparison with the cognate dialects, the Thesaurus is at least as scientific as any other of the great storehouses of the Semitic idioms, and far less fanciful than some of them. The best work in tracing Aramaic words to Aryan sources has been done by Lagarde, whose acquaintance with Zend, Armenian, and modern Persian in all probability far surpassed that possessed by any other Semitic scholar; but his results were not always tenable, and Dr. Payne Smith was doubtless right in rejecting many of them. The cognate roots in Hebrew, the Jewish Aramaic, and Arabic were supplied, to some extent, out of the materials of Bernstein; but many of these would suggest themselves to any scholar, and it is likely that there are subtle rules of sound-change
yet to be discovered which may bring many more affinities to light.

The inclusion of the Mandaic, Jerusalem Syriac, and New Syriac dialects is justified by convenience; the language of the Evangelarium Hierosolomitanum has closer affinities with the Jewish than with the Christian Aramaic, but the "Chaldee" lexica do not recognize it; and the vocabularies of the other two dialects have hitherto been given only in out-of-the-way publications. The use of the Latin language, always hampering to the lexicographer, is to be defended by the interest taken by Roman Catholic scholars in the study of Syriac, and the Dean's example has been followed in Germany and at Beyrut.

To estimate the amount that the Thesaurus has done for the furtherance of our knowledge of the language, a student has but to contrast his acquaintance with the words beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet with what he can learn from the Thesaurus about the others. The extraordinary wealth of vocables and of phrases brought to light lends some sort of colour to the claim of some of the Syrians, ridiculed as an idle boast by Gibbon, that their language was superior to that of the Arabs. Fifty years ago it would have been sufficient to confront a Syriac vocabulary with the Kamus to refute such a pretension. Equally important are the serried ranks of carefully selected and accurately referenced examples, accompanying each word and teaching the history of the language and its local distribution. Only possible in a dictionary on this scale, these collections are the indispensable foundation for the scientific study of a great literary idiom. Perhaps the chronological arrangement in the Thesaurus is sometimes defective, but this the student can easily remedy for himself.

It may be hoped that the completion of the work may be carried out with little delay, and with little deviation from the ideas and methods of the late Dean. With these the scholar who has been charged with the task is, through long co-operation, familiar.

D. S. Margoliouth.
PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF KATTYWAR, ETC.
Published by order of H.H. the Mahārāja of Bhāvnagar.

This is a collection of fifty-four inscriptions from Kāṭhiāvād and neighbouring parts of India, with English translations and forty-one plates. It is published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, under the auspices of His Highness the late Mahārāja of Bhāvnagar, whose liberality deserves, indeed, most cordial acknowledgment.¹

Some of these inscriptions are of very great interest, and have played an important part in the history of Indian epigraphy, and more than half of them have been published at least once before. Although the new editors² must have been well aware of this fact, they, I regret to say, have neglected to take full advantage of it; and the result is that the texts and translations of the more important and difficult inscriptions here offered to the public fall far short of the standard of scholarship that had already been attained by previous workers in the same field. Of the smaller number of inscriptions which are now published here for the first time, a few bring to light historical details of some value. But as the editors themselves confess that some of this fresh material has been taken from "written copies," not from the originals or impressions, it is indispensable to have it re-edited critically before it can be utilized with confidence. Of the plates which accompany the texts some are fair, while others cannot for a moment be compared with the previously published plates of the same inscriptions.

Instead of entering upon a detailed criticism of individual texts, for which I should have ample material, I propose to give here a short summary of the contents of the whole collection, in order to show, what the editors have failed to do, where and by whom some of these inscriptions have

¹ In this I quite agree with Prof. Peterson, who has written an introductory note on the earlier inscriptions of this collection.
² Their names are not given in the book.
last been edited before, and to indicate briefly the nature of those records\(^1\) which are now brought to public notice for the first time. In doing so I shall follow the order and divisions adopted by the editors themselves.


**Kṣatrapa** (here still called ‘Śāh’) **Dynasty**, pp. 17-23.—Five inscriptions, all with photolithographs—

1. * Fragments of 4 lines of an inscription of the time of the Kṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha (?), found at Junāgadh.


3. Gūndā inscription of the time of the Kṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha (whose name has been omitted in the translation). Edited by Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 157.

4. Jasdan (Gadha) inscription of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena. Last edited by Dr. Hoernle in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 32.

5. * Mulavāsara (now Dvārkā) fragmentary inscription (4 lines) of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, of the year 232 (?).

**Gupta Dynasty**, pp. 24-29.—Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, with a plate. Last edited, with a photolithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 58.

---

\(^1\) These are marked with an asterism.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Valabhi Dynasty, pp. 30–66.—Seven inscriptions, all with photolithographs—

1. * Fragment of a stone inscription from Bāṅkoḍi (now in the Bhāvnagar Museum), 20 syllables, with the name Guhasena.

2. Jhar plates of Dharasena II, of the year 252. A full summary of the contents was given by Dr. Fleet in Ind. Ant., vol. xv, p. 187.

3. * Katapur (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates of Dharasena II, of the year 252.¹


5. Luṅsāḍi (now Bhāvnagar Museum) plates of Śilāditya III, of the year 352. Edited by Prof. Bühler in Ind. Ant., vol. xi, p. 306 (where two lines of the second plate have been omitted).


7. A single first plate, found at Gopnāth, giving the genealogy as far as Dharasena III. Edited by Dr. Hultzsch in Ind. Ant., vol. xii, p. 148.

Guhila (here called Sūrya) Dynasty of Mewāḍ, pp. 67–157. Fifteen inscriptions—

1. Udaypur inscription (6 long lines, apparently well preserved) of Allāṭu, the father of Naravāhana, dated in Vikrama-saṅvat 1008 and 1010, with a useless photolithograph. Known to me from Prācinalekhamāḍa, vol. ii, p. 24, where it is taken from an earlier publication of the

¹ The exact date, saṅ 252 Vaiśākhā-śaḥa 15 (not, as given here, Vaiśākhā-śaḥa 5), corresponds perhaps to the 10th April, A.D. 571, when there was a solar eclipse which was not visible in India. In the first line of this inscription the plate has sapatna (not sanapana, as given in the text), which is important: see Dr. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind., vol. iii, p. 319.

² The date of this inscription perhaps corresponds to the 24th August, A.D. 629, when also there was a solar eclipse which was not visible in India.

³ The photolithograph of the first plate, now published, is a reverse.

Bhāvnagar Archæol. Department, which I have been unable to secure.

2.* Udaypur inscription (fragments of 18 lines) of Nara-
vāhana, the son of Allāṭa (not, as stated by the editors, of
Bappa Gohila), dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1028.¹

3.* Udaypur fragmentary inscription (6 lines), containing
the names of (Naravāhana’s successor) Śaktikumāra² and his
son Śucivarman; with a photolithograph.

4. Chitor inscription of the Guhilas from Bappa to Narar-
carman,³ dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1331 (not, as stated by
the editors, 1339); taken from ‘a written copy.’ The
contents have been given by myself, from a rubbing, in

5. Mount Ābū inscription of Samarasimha, of Vikrama-
saṁvat 1342, with a photolithograph. Last edited by
myself in Ind. Ant., vol. xvi, p. 345.

6. Chitorgad inscription of Mokula, dated in Vikrama-
saṁvat 1486,⁴ again given from ‘a written copy.’ Edited

7.* Nāgadā Jaina inscription (8 lines) of the reign
of Mokula’s son Kumbhakarna, with a date in Vikrama-
saṁvat 1494, corresponding to Thursday, the 6th February,
a.d. 1438.

8. Sādāḍi Jaina inscription (47 lines) of the reign of
Kumbhakarna, with a list of the Guhila chiefs of Mewāḍ
from Bappa to Kumbhakarna, dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1496.
Known from Prācinalekhamālā, vol. ii, p. 28.

9.* Udaypur inscription of the reign of Kumbhakarna’s
son Rājamalla, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1545, cor-
responding to Thursday, the 12th March, a.d. 1489; again

¹ The dates of the inscriptions 1 and 2 are the earliest known dates for the
list of Guhila chiefs given in Ind. Ant., vol. xvi, p. 346.
² The name of this chief also occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Ar, near
Udaypur, published with a photolithograph by Prof. Bendall in his Journey,
p. 82.
³ In the translation the prince Sinha has received here the name Aghasimha,
which is deduced from the words of the text babhūna tasmād atha Sinha-nāṁ.
Mallata in the text is Māltata, and in the translation Māntata.
⁴ The date given here is samvat 1485 dāke 1350 vare Māghasukla 3, while
in reality the original has samvat 1485 vare Māghasudi 3 Guru-dine.
from ‘a written copy.’ The writer especially eulogizes the chiefs from Arisimha to Rājamalla; at the end he repeats part of the contents in the vernacular.

10. Śatrūṇjaya inscription on the seventh restoration of the temple of Pundarika, dated Vikrama-saṃvat 1587; mentions Kumbharāja, his son Rājamalla, his son Saṅgrāmasimha, and (his son) Ratnasimha. Edited by Prof. Bühler in Ḫp. Ind., vol. ii, p. 42.

11.* NārAILAI Jaina stone-pillar inscription (56 short lines) of the time of Kumbhakarṇa’s son Rāyatamalla, and (his son) the Mahākumāra Prthivirāja, with a date in Vikrama-saṃvat 1597; mentions Yaśobhadrasūri with the date ‘sam 964.’

12.* Śadādi inscription (22 short lines) of the time of the Mahārāṇā Amarasimha, with a date in Vikrama-saṃvat 1654 and Śaka-saṃvat 1520, corresponding to Thursday, the 13th April, a.d. 1598; records the construction of a tank.

13* and 14.* Rājanagar-KāṅkaroLi inscriptions, with dates in Vikrama-saṃvat 1718, 1722, and 1732, containing the second and third sargas of Raṇacchoda’s Rājapraśasti-mahākāvyya. Some twenty-five such inscriptions are said to exist ‘on the Navachoki ghaut of the Rāyasāgara lake.’ The specimens here given are of no historical value.

15.* Udaypur inscription (29 lines), recording the construction of a Śiva temple during the reign of Saṅgrāmasimha, in Vikrama-saṃvat 1770.

Gohilā Dynasty (?), pp. 158–171.—Eleven inscriptions—

1. Maṅgrol inscription of the reign of the Caułukya Kumārapāla, with a date in Vikrama-saṃvat 1202 and

---

1 I very much doubt the correctness of this. At any rate, the given date is wrong for Vikrama-saṃvat 1597, and Rājamalla’s rule must have ended long before that time. For the expired Kārtīkādi Vikrama year 1557 the date (Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Vaiśākha, with the nakṣatra Pūrva) would correctly correspond to Friday, the 23rd April, a.d. 1501, when the 6th tithi of the bright half ended 16 h. 56 m., and the nakṣatra was Pūrva for 7 h. 13 min. after mean sunrise.

2 No. 1 clearly belongs to the Caułukya dynasty. No. 3 is a copy of the last leaf of a M.S. of Nyāsinḥhāraṇa Muni’s Vīṣṇubhākticandrāditya.
Simha-saṁvat 32, corresponding to Monday, the 15th October, A.D. 1145; with a photolithograph. Records the foundation of a temple, etc., by a subordinate chief of the Gūhila family. Published in *List of Antiquarian Remains* Bom. Pres., p. 179.

2.∞ Ghelāṇā inscription (2 lines, damaged), recording the gift of a seat, dated in Valabhi-saṁvat 911; with a photolithograph.

4. Mahuvā inscription, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1500, corresponding to Thursday, the 23rd April, A.D. 1444; with a photolithograph. Records the construction of a tank by the Śreṣṭhin Mokala, in the land of the Gohilla Sāraṅga. Known from *Pracīnalekhamalā*, vol. ii, p. 26.

5–12∞. Eight short inscriptions of no importance, dated between Vikrama-saṁvat 1674 and 1876, all except one in Gujarāti.

Caulukya (here called Solanki) *Dynasty*, pp. 172–233.—Fourteen inscriptions—

1.∞ Kerāṇa stone pillar inscription (fragments of 17 lines and 4 complete lines) of the reign of Kumārapāla, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1209, corresponding to Saturday, the 24th January, A.D. 1153; contains an order of the Mahārāja Ālhaṇadeva, forbidding the killing of animals on certain days of the month.


∞ The date of this inscription has met with a most extraordinary fate. According to the translation in the *As. Res.* it is ‘Sunday, the 3rd of the light fortnight of Phālguna, in the year of Vikrama 1287’; Mr. Kāthavaṭe’s text has ‘1293 varṣa śṛ-Śrāvaṇa badi 3 Ravau,’ while his translation gives ‘the year 1287,’ and his introduction ‘1297 Samvat’; and now the present edition has ‘1267 varṣa Phālguna-radi 10 Saumya-dina, Wednesday, the 10th of Phālguna Vadi (dark half) of the year 1267 of the Vikrama Saṁvata.’
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

3.* Junāgadh inscription¹ (fragments of 34 lines) of the reign of (?) Kumārapāla; said to be dated ‘Valabhi-saṁvat 850 śrī-Sinha-saṁvat 60 varṣe,’ which cannot be right.


6. Somnāthpattan inscription, being Śrīdhara’s prakāsti of the Vastrākula family and of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Bhāmadeva II, with a date in Vikrama-saṁvat 1273, corresponding to Friday, the 22nd April, A.D. 1216. Edited by Prof. Bühler and Mr. V. G. Ozhā in Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 439.


8.* Ratnapur (in Mārwād) inscription (11 lines) of the reign of Kumārapāla; contains an order of Pūnapākṣadeva (?), forbidding (like No. 1) the killing of animals on certain days of the month.

9.* Kerāḍu fragmentary inscription (only a few words), containing the name Bhāmadeva.

10.* Verāval inscription (45 lines, damaged) of the temple-priest Bhāva Brhaspati (above, No. 4) and his family, and the Caulukyas from Siddharāja to Bhāmadeva II.

11.* Cambay inscription (19 lines, incomplete), eulogizing the Caulukyas (Vāghelās) Arṇorāja, Lavanapurascāda, Vira-
dhavala, and Viścaladeva.

12. Mount Ābū inscription of the time of Bhāmadeva II, of the Mahāmanḍaleśvara Somasīnha of Candrāvati, and the Rāṇaka Viradhavala (of Dholkā), dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1287, on a day corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd March,

¹ On ‘a hard black stone, measuring on its surface 20 ft. by 12 ft.’ The size of this stone is beaten by that of the stone which contains the preceding inscription, No. 2, ‘39 ft. by 81 ft.’
A.D. 1230. Edited by Mr. Kāthavaṭe in his edition of Someśvara’s *Kirtikaumudī*, Appendix B.


14. Cambay Jaina inscription (29 lines, some of them much damaged) of the time of the Vāghelā *Sārangadeva*, dated in Vikrama-saṃvatsa 1352; mentions Lūṅigadeva, Viradhavala, .... Pratāpamalla, and Arjuna.

F. Kielhorn.

**Anecdota Oxoniensia.** Mediæval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes, edited by Ad. Neubauer. II. 4to, pp. liii + 254. (Oxford, 1895.)

To the indefatigable zeal of Dr. Neubauer we owe this second volume of his great publication of mediæval Jewish chronicles. The historical literature of the Jews is very meagre in independent compositions. Only a few have enjoyed a comparatively wider circulation, whilst many lay unnoticed on the shelves of libraries or of cloisters. The former have also not had the good fortune of a critical edition. As a rule only one MS. was printed, without taking into consideration other MSS. of the same text. Of these three appear in Dr. Neubauer’s edition, with *variae lectiones* and in a carefully prepared text. The first is “The Scroll of Fasting,” dating probably in its inception from the era of the Maccabees, for which Dr. Neubauer has made use of at least eight MSS. (p. 3). The second is “The Order” (*i.e.* the Chronological Order) of the world, from the printed edition, with which he has collated a MS. representing the so-called Franco-German tradition, and at least eight more fragmentary MSS. (p. 26). For completeness’ sake Dr. Neubauer has added the so-called “Minor Order” (p. 68) in three recensions. He does
not assign great value to this compilation, a view from which I dissent. If anything, we find in this "Minor Order" traces of the old Hellenistic biblical chronology and of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in the dates assigned to the twelve children of Jacob.

Thus far we have been dealing with texts which had been printed previously, but not critically. All the rest is quite new, and if Dr. Neubauer would have published only these, his publication would have ranked very highly in the literature of chronicles. The next text is now an Arabic short chronology from the Creation down to 1159, taken from MSS. discovered recently in Egypt (p. 89). The gem of this collection is undoubtedly the chronicle in doggerel rhymes discovered by Dr. Neubauer in the Cathedral Library of Toledo. It deals with the early settlements of Jews in South Italy, the invasion of the Saracens in 872, the conquest of Egypt, etc. It was composed c. 1055, and throws a vivid light upon a period and circumstances hitherto totally unknown (p. 111).

Next follows the diary of the famous David Reuben, 1522-1525, from the facsimile of the unique MS. which once belonged to the Bodleian, but had disappeared since 1867. D. Reubeni pretended to be the emissary of the King of Ten Tribes, who had come to Europe to seek the assistance of the Pope and the King of Portugal against the Muhammedans. The description of his journey through Habor, Egypt, Palestine, etc., turns out to be accurate. Whatever may have been the true origin of his pretended mission, there is no doubt in my mind that D. Reubeni was anything but an impostor; and how Dr. Neubauer can say that his Hebrew style is that of a German Jew, is to me incomprehensible. It shows throughout traces of Arabic influence, and one has only to compare non-religious writings of the Jews in Yemen to find absolutely striking parallels to that style, which at the first glance is rather startling (p. 133).

Dr. Neubauer has added further eight appendices (p. 224 ff.) from scarce books on chronology and fragmentary MSS.,
which complete the material thus richly brought together from various quarters.

An exhaustive Index of Names, elaborated by Dr. Greenburg (late of the Montefiore College), enhances the value of this excellent publication, which, moreover, is not marred by the omissions in which Dr. Neubauer indulged in the first volume. He has given us this time all the texts in full, leaving the student to pick and choose those portions in which he takes a special interest.

One would like to add a humble request to the Clarendon Press to do away with their Hebrew type. It is antiquated, thin—a sore to the eye and a trouble to the reader.

M. G.


This volume opens a new series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions," under the general direction of Prof. Morris Jastrow, jun., of the University of Pennsylvania. The editor's plan is broad and comprehensive: he will deal himself with Babylonia and Assyria; the ancient Teutons are to have their turn next, at the hands of Prof. Chantepie de la Saussaye; and Prof. Jackson, of Columbia College, will then describe the religion of Persia. The series is based on large and generous ideas of the value of the study of religious history; and Prof. Hopkins is not hampered in his ethical or philosophical appreciations by any dogmatic restraints or ecclesiastical reserve.

Prof. Hopkins warns us at the outset that he does not desire to compete with Barth's well-known book under the same title. His aim and method are rather different. In the great procession of religions which passes across his stage, he proposes to introduce each successive figure, and
let her speak for herself. So his pages are rich in illustrative quotations, which will undoubtedly be of great service to the general reader; they are often selected with sympathy and insight; and the chapters on the Hinduism of the Epics will open up to many students more at home in the earlier literature, most interesting glimpses into the development of moral and religious ideas. Excellent bibliographical summaries will also point the way to those who seek further acquaintance with the original sources, and the more technical discussions of modern scholarship.

In so vast a range, from the era of the Vedic hymns to the preaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, every reader is sure to desire that more stress should have been laid on the particular aspects of the great religious evolution in which he is especially interested. Criticism of Prof. Hopkins will, therefore, mostly take the form of pointing out omissions, trying to rectify wrong proportions, or protesting against false emphasis. The treatment of the Vedic hymns is moderate and cautious in its attitude to different schools of interpreters; but betrays an infirm philosophic basis in the adoption of the Hindu division of the gods into "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower," apparently for no better reason than because it is as good as another, for it can hardly be seriously pleaded that there was a chronological order either of worship or of hymn-production "from above earthwards." The want of definite criteria, whether theoretic or practical, seems most apparent in this section. Moreover, the historical background is never clearly filled in: all through the book the details that are supplied enter only fitfully, and in unexpected places; and the presentment is at first too closely confined to the literary monuments, in forgetfulness of the fact that the Brahmanical schools, after all, only represented the views of a select aristocracy. There is only a brief glance at the unrecognized cults, of the existence of which later literature bears such ample traces; and the numerous signs of the survival of the lower animism pass almost unnoted. In the description of the Brahmanic worship most students will probably
feel that the chapter on the same subject in Hardy’s volume (in the Münster series) conveys much more information, and in much more systematic fashion. The importance of ritual in modern study should have secured a fuller exposition of the leading ideas and practices. Still stranger, as it seems to us, is the neglect to trace the rise of the doctrine of transmigration, and the law of moral causation summed up in the one word *karma*. Prof. Hopkins justly repudiates the view (p. 425) that the *samsāra* was a Buddhist invention; but his early references to it (pp. 199, 204) strike us as quite inadequate in view of the immense importance of the belief for all subsequent phases of Hindu thought.

The transition from the account of ritual and philosophic Brahmanism to Buddhism is effected in a chapter on “Popular Brahmanism,” which enables Prof. Hopkins to make interesting use of some of the materials in the Law-books. A great deal more might have been added from the Buddhist texts (to say nothing of the Jātaka stories) had Prof. Hopkins been more familiar with them. As it is, the reader does not gather anything like a sufficiently vivid picture of the eager intellectual activity which marked the valley of the Ganges in the days when Jainism and Buddhism arose. Here and there an apt remark, such as that on p. 280, “One cannot read the Upanishad without feeling that he is already facing an intellectual revolt,” creates an expectation which the subsequent narrative fails to satisfy. This is particularly the case with the whole treatment of Buddhism. Like Jainism, this is presented as a great “heresy” (pp. 3, 283) or “schism.” This unfortunate limitation grievously contracts our author’s view. In his sketch of the personality of Gotama, he is sympathetic enough—“no man had ever lived so godless, yet so godlike”; but he makes no attempt to analyse the elements of the ideal type of the Buddha, or to explain its enormous influence on the subsequent history of India. The originality of the conception of the Order, and the nature of its early missionary spirit, do not seem to receive sufficient recognition. The ambiguity of the
following sentence (which is not a favourable specimen of our author's style) betrays, perhaps, the weakness of his grasp of this portion of his subject. After affirming that the monasteries are plainly of secondary growth, he continues:

"If one limit their national and political importance to a period one or two hundred years after the Master's time, he will not err in attributing to this cause, as does Barth, the reason for the rapid rise and supremacy of Buddhism over India."

The period named by Prof. Hopkins carries the story down to the reign of Açoka, but this is dismissed in a few lines (p. 340), and after two pages more Buddhism expires in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. Different opinions will of course be formed as to the religious and philosophical value of the teachings of the later books of the Great Vehicle. To some minds the theistic evolution represented in the "Lotus," for example, is an extremely interesting instance of the influence of a powerful school of metaphysical speculation on a system of ethical culture which had started by repudiating it. We do not quarrel with Prof. Hopkins for not stopping to expound it. But the influence of Buddhism on art and architecture ought to have received some notice; and the famous edicts of Açoka surely deserved more notice than the bare allusion to the "credo which is engraved all over India." The archaeological side of his whole subject, however, is left by our author in obscurity; nor has he any word of the suggestive pictures which Hiouen Thsang has drawn for us of life in the University of Nālanda, or the great Quinquennial Assembly celebrated by Silāditya at Prayāga. In literature, on the other hand, the recognition of Buddhist traces in the later epic, though cautious, is careful and discriminating (pp. 423–426).

There are other large questions touched by Prof. Hopkins in the interesting chapter on India and the West. Through Pythagoreanism, from which all subsequent philosophies borrowed, India, he thinks, helped to form the mind of
Europe. He is more confident of the indebtedness of both neo-Platonists and Gnostics to Indian thought than we can be. But we must not open up these far-reaching themes. In another edition misprints, such as *Brittanica* and *Māgadhā*, should be avoided. Some words—"chrematheism," "esian," "triality," "rubricated," "coralled the kine," "mangonize"—sound curious to English ears. Prof. Hopkins's book will not supersede that of Barth, but it will be a very useful supplement to it.

**CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.** By E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B.

To all who are interested in Persian literature the name of the compiler of this Catalogue will be a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy and scholarship. Mr. Browne, in this handy and most clearly printed volume, gives us the fruit of four years' "arduous though intermittent labour." It is a work that should have been carried out long since, for a collection of MSS. without a published catalogue is of little use to any but those living on the spot. In the present case they were well-nigh inaccessible to students living in Cambridge itself, owing to the chaotic way in which all MSS. in Arabic character had been turned into the shelves without regard to language, subject, or even to size. Thus, before the Persian MSS. could be catalogued they had to be sorted out carefully from their Arabic, Turkish, and other companions.

The collection comprises some 340 MSS. in all. Among these Mr. Browne has found—one may almost say discovered—several rare and interesting works. Foremost among these with regard to antiquity comes the *Commentary on the Qur'ān* described on page 13 *et seq*. This work, of which no other copy seems to be known, has been subjected to a very careful examination, the results of which have in part already been made known to scholars through this Journal.¹

In the present Catalogue the compiler gives us some further extracts, and reproduces interesting opinions with regard to authorship and date communicated to him by various eminent Orientalists on the Continent, such as Noldeke and De Goeje. This commentary is of the greatest linguistic value, as the various peculiarities of writing, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary furnish us with fresh material for research into Iranian philology. The probable date of this MS. is fully discussed: it cannot, at any rate, be much later than the fifth century of the Hijra. The whole text, though the actual matter it contains is of little interest, is well worth a careful edition.

Of really old texts little beyond the invaluable Materia Medica of Abú Mansûr Muwaffaq (about A.H. 360) is accessible to the student. Our MSS.—and hence our editions—of the Shahnama are all more or less corrupt and much modernized.

Next in interest we would place the Jâvidân-i-Kabûr, which is described on page 69 et seq., a curious work on Isma'îli doctrines. It possesses a twofold interest: firstly, from an ethical point of view, as representing the tenets of the hitherto little known Hurûfí sect of the Isma'îlis; and, secondly, from a linguistic standpoint—for a considerable portion of it is written in a dialect which Mr. Browne recognizes to be one of the West Persian dialects (akin to Luri and Kurdish), which M. Huart collectively designates Pehlevi-Musulman. It is not dated, but appears to be of the fifteenth century. A brief list is appended of some of the dialectical words and forms, together with their Persian equivalents, as given in the interlinear glosses; and in conclusion a few specimen extracts illustrating the dialect.

A very full notice is given (p. 122 et seq.) of an interesting collection of ta'ziyâs. History and poetry are represented by the usual standard works, already treated of in other catalogues, so that it was only left for Mr. Browne to identify and describe them briefly. The work as a whole leaves little or nothing to be desired, and can only add yet
further to Mr. Browne's well-earned reputation for Persian scholarship. A few notes on the Persian Histories of India contained in the collection will be found below.

E. D. Ross.

**Notes on some of the Works relating to Indian History contained in Mr. Browne's "Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge."**

Page 63, line 10.—This Mīrzā Muḥammad is probably identical with the Mīrzā Muḥammad, son of Muʿtamad Khan, mentioned on p. 167. He was the author of a most interesting memoir (finished in 1131 H.; there is a good copy in the India Office Library), and of the Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, an excellent obituary. His nephew, Muhammad Bakhshe, Āshob, tells us that he had a large library (see preface to the Shahādat-i-Farrukhsiyar o jalās-i-Muḥammad Shāh).

Page 118, line 2 from end.—I would suggest that as the text has احمد ابداني, it would be preferable to read Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, and not, as Mr. Browne proposes, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. He was of the Abdālī tribe, and the one epithet is as often attached to his name as the other. The omission to mention Gentil as Muḥammad Aslam’s patron is due, I presume, to the fact that Rieu, 151, has already done so (see also Elliot, Mahomedan Historians, viii, 163). Gentil’s précis of this work is in the Orme Collections, now in the Record Department of the India Office. It is in an unnumbered folio volume of 65 pages, in black binding, inscribed “Pour M. Orme historiographe de la Compagnie des Indes à Londres,” and the title is “Précis sur l’Empire Mogol depuis Azam Shah, fils d’Aurangzab, 1707 jusqu’en 1774.” It bears the following note, apparently in Robert Orme’s hand-
writing: "Received June 21, 1785, at Colney: it was accompanied by a letter from Mons. D'Aragon, Secretary to the French Ambassador, to whom M. Anquetil Duperron had sent it with a letter dated June 4: I read it June the 22nd." See also Orme's *Historical Fragments*, 171, note to Note vi, and 237, Note xlix. Muhammad Aslam's work must also have formed the basis for the historical part of Gentil's *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou l'Empire Mogol* (Paris, 1822), published by his son.

Page 167, line 10.—A.D. 1701. Is there not some misprint here? Sambat 1785 = 1728 A.D., and Mubārir-ul-Mulk, Sarbuland Khān, who was sent as governor to Aḥmadābād Gujarāt in 1138 h. (1725), held it till the eleventh year of Muḥammad Shāh (1141-2 h. = 1728-9): see Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā (Bibl. Indica), iii, 803, 805. The same noble held the same government for a few months in 1712, but not at any earlier period. Thus 1701 A.D. must be due to an error of some sort.

Page 168, lines 4 and 5.—This entry of a purchase in 1167 h. of a book that had belonged to Mīrzā Muḥammad (b. Muʿtamad Khān) is interesting as throwing some light on the date of Mīrzā Muḥammad's death, which is disputed. His nephew, Muḥammad Bakhsh, Āshob, in the work already referred to, tells us that his uncle's library was dispersed and sold after his death by an unworthy son. Therefore, as this book was sold in 1167 h., it is legitimate to infer that Mīrzā Muḥammad was then dead. See the difficulty as to the continuation of his *Ṭārīkh-i-Muḥammad* after 1163 h. raised by Rieu, *Catalogue*. The last entry in it is of 1208 h. But how could he have been alive then? For we know from his *Taẓkirah* that he (Mīrzā Muḥammad) was born at Jalālābād (province of Kābul) in 1098 h. His nephew mentions him as alive in 1151 h. at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, but the year of his death is nowhere given. We may now assume that he died a little before 1167 h., and
that the later entries in the Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī are
due to a continuator.

Page 171, line 3.—23rd Muḥarram of the ninth year
of Muḥammad Shāh = 1139 Ḥ. = Sept. 19th, 1726.
Properly, 22nd Muḥarram 1140 Ḥ. = Sept. 8th (n.s.)
1727. In the last line, same page, 1143 Ḥ. is correctly
given for the 21st Muḥarram of the twelfth year, and
that being so, Muḥarram 1139 Ḥ. would fall in the
eighth and not in the ninth year.

Page 174, line 4 from end.—For ادنام, read اندانام,
Ūnām. The name is also spelt Ūnāo (the o being
nasalized). It is now the headquarters of a district
in the Audh province between Cawnapore and Lakhnau:
see plate 28 in Constable’s Hand Atlas. The Persian
extract shows that village Rāwatpur was not in the
province of Lakhnau (read Audh). It was in sarkār
Korā, and that was a subdivision of the Allahābād
province: see the Āin-i-Akbārī, vol. ii (translated by
Jarrett), p. 167, where under sarkār Korā, șūbah
Allahābād, the last entry is of Maḥāl (or parganah)
Muḥsinpur.

Page 179, lines 1 and 9.—For سنگان read سنگان, the
reference being obviously to the Sikhs, and the word
is usually spelled Sik in the Persian character.

Page 183, No. cvii.—I think that this work is also to be
found in the India Office Library, No. 1608 (in Eth’s
printed but unpublished Catalogue, Nos. 472 to 477).

Page 184, line 8.—Jama’-kāmil in the official language
of India does not mean “gross receipts,” but “full or
total demand”—as in the phrase Jama’-wāsil-bāqi, i.e.
Demand, Collections, Balances.

Page 193.—The Khizānah-i-Āmīrah has been lithographed,

Page 282, No. exc.—This work has been printed at Calcutta
under the title of Dastūr-ul-Ishāh, folio, p. 236, Islāmī
Press, 1270 Ḥ. (=1853 A.D.). The beginning of the
Cambridge MS. appears in this on p. 7 as the exordium of the third letter of the series written to Amin-ud-Daulah's father. This is preceded by—

p. 2. Preface—Sanāt aqrīnandah-i-nur dar chashm o rūh dar jism kih mardān, etc. In the course of this Preface the title is given as Dastūr-ul-Insāh.

p. 4. Has a heading "Letters written on behalf of Nawwāb Amin-ud-Daulah Bahādur."

p. 4. 1st letter. To his father—qiblah-i-del ojan, etc.

p. 5. 2nd letter. To his father—qiblah-i-sayyah paricadan, etc.

p. 7. 3rd letter. To his father. [Here the Cambridge MS. begins.]

I bought my printed copy at the Blochmann sale in 1879, and Mr. Blochmann has written on the first page "a collection of most interesting letters." This is a true description. Those written for Amin-ud-Daulah were used by Ghulām Husain Khān as historically genuine in composing his Sair-ul-mutākhārin: see p. 29 of Briggs' translation (O.T. Fund), vol. i, 1832, and p. 8 of the Calcutta printed text.

Page 306, line 11.—Could Doria be read Dorin? The latter was a well-known Anglo-Indian name early in this century.

W. Irvine.


Fried. Delitzsch's Babylonisches Weltschöpfungsepos show the Professor's usual grasp of his subject. For the first time all the fragments of the Semitic Babylonian Creation-story known are put together and translated, and there is a description and short history of every piece. The legend is examined from a poetical standpoint,
and it is shown that it is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, the cesura in each line being well marked. The Professor does not give the cuneiform text, but the very careful transcription of the tablets supplies its place fairly well, enabling the student to restore the original characters, should he wish to do so; and a second transcription enables its poetical form to be seen and examined. The labours of others in the field are referred to, in some cases at full length, but the "philological commentary" is not so full as it might have been.

T. G. P.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.


pamphlet. 8vo. Rangoon, 1895.

Sāstrī, Haraprasād. Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Pt. 11.

8vo. Calcutta, 1895.


8vo. Madras, 1894.


fol. Trichur, 1893.


Presented by the Author, H.I.H. Prince Roland Bonaparte.

Presented by the Authors.

Alexander (General G. G.). Lao-Tsze, the Great Thinker, with a translation of his Thoughts on the Nature and Manifestations of God. 8vo. London, 1895.


Thomsen (Professor V.). Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Dechirriffées. 8vo. Helsingfors, 1896.


Landberg-Hallberger (Dr. C. Graf von) und Dr. J. Goldziher. Die Legende vom Mönck Baršišā. pamphlet. 8vo. Kirchhain, 1896.


Rusden (G. W.). History of New Zealand. 2nd ed. 3 vols. 8vo. Melbourne, 1895.


Presented by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Presented by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot.


Presented by the Ceylon Asiatic Society.


Presented by Lady Meux.


Presented by Professor P. Mukerji.


Presented by Framjee Hormasjee Settna.


Presented by the British Museum Trustees.


Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Presented by the Editor.

Studia Sinaiitica, No. 5. Apocrypha Sinaiitica, edited and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop Gibson. 4to. London, 1896.

Presented by the Leiden University.


Presented by the Fürstlich Jablonowskische Gesellschaft zu Leipzig.


Presented by the Publishers.


Grube (Dr. W.). Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1896.

Purchased.


ART. X.—Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism: a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādikā, a Commentary on the Vinaya, found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. By J. Takakusu, B.A.

Whether we possess among the numerous Buddhist books preserved in China any text translated from a Pāli original, is a question which has not as yet been quite settled. Several scholars have answered it positively or negatively, but no one until now has brought forward an undeniable fact in support of his opinion. The object of my present note is to decide this point, and to introduce to the Society a text of Pāli origin in Chinese.

The canonical Buddhist books are collectively called by the Japanese, as well as by the Chinese, the San-ts'ang, "Tripiṭaka" (三藏), though we must never understand by this term what is meant by the term "Piṭakattayaṃ" in Pāli. The former contains, as Professor Rhys Davids has rightly pointed out,¹ a number of works outside of the canon, and even Brahmanical treatises—for instance, the Sāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1300). The Chinese translations of Indian works are arranged in three Piṭakas, Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma, as in the Pāli.

These amount to some 1320 texts, some of which are a second or third translation of one and the same original. Besides these there are the so-called "Indian Miscellaneous Works," numbering 147. That these 1467 texts might include some of the Pāli works now existing in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, was an opinion advanced by some scholars. We are, however, left ignorant of the names of the dialects from which the translations were made, for no Chinese author mentions them distinctly. The Indian language in general, whether Prākrit, Pāli, or Sanskrit, is indiscriminately called the "language of Fan,"\(^1\) i.e. Brahmans, which is generally understood to be identical with Sanskrit. But there is no reason whatever why it should not mean also any other Indian dialect,\(^2\) for India is called the "Kingdom of Fan," perhaps meant for "Brahma-rāṣṭra."

As to the existence of the Pāli elements in China, Prof. Max Müller says in his "Introduction to the Science of Religion"\(^3\): "In China, although the prevailing form of Buddhism is that of the Sanskrit canon, commonly called the northern canon, some of the books belonging to the Pāli, or southern canon, have been translated, and are held in reverence by certain schools."

Dr. Eitel, in his "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" (1870), seems to think, as his preface and the article "Sanskrit" show, that the Chinese texts are from Pāli as well as from Sanskrit. He says:\(^4\) "The most ancient Chinese texts seem to be translations from Pāli, the more modern texts from Sanskrit. Hiuen Thsang found (about 635 A.D.) in the Punjab little difference between Sanskrit and Pāli."

I do not know, however, on what ground his conjecture is formed, and I doubt whether Hiuen Thsang really meant Pāli and Sanskrit. It is certain that most of the texts

---

\(^1\) See Julien, "Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits," etc. (1861), p. 2 note; p. 8.

\(^2\) Sāṃghabhādra actually calls the Pāli text "fan-pên," i.e. "Text of the Brahman (language)."

\(^3\) 1873; 2nd ed. 1893, p. 63.

\(^4\) 2nd ed. 1888, p. 144b.
which, for instance, Hiuen Thsang or I-tsing had before them were Sanskrit, for their transliterations are so clear and accurate that we can easily trace the words to the original sounds. But in the case of the earlier translators it is by no means easy to form an opinion as to the dialect of the original.¹

Mr. C. F. Koeppen, in his "Religion des Buddha," says² that the Chinese possess, besides Sanskrit texts, a number of Pāli works, which they obtained probably from Ceylon through some of their travellers. His statement, however, rests only on the authority of Gützlaff, who misunderstood almost every Sanskrit transliteration as Pāli, as may be seen in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 199–213. Gützlaff’s "List of Principal Works from the Pāli in Chinese Characters" contains some 156 works, not one of which presents the appearance of Pāli origin; among them are even such well-known Sanskrit works as the Vajracchedikā, Amitābha-sūtra, and the like. Afterwards, in 1880, when Chinese Buddhism had been studied with a greater accuracy, Dr. Edkins positively asserted that there are no Pāli books in China.³ Moreover, in speaking about Koeppen’s statement, he says: "Koeppen, saying that the Chinese have also a number of Pāli texts, has been misled by Gützlaff, who, coming to China after having lived in Siam, saw the Sanskrit inscriptions in the island of Puto and took them to be Pāli. From him the opinion spread; but it is an error. The Buddhists of Burma, Siam, and Ceylon⁴ have never spread their religion in China or Japan, or introduced their sacred books into those countries." His was, I think, the last attempt at solution, which aims at

¹ Take, for instance, the "Sha-mên": although it is nearer to Pāli "Samaṇo" than to Skt. "Śramaṇa," yet we have no right to judge from it that the original was Pāli, for we meet with "Sha-mên" also in those texts whose original is Sanskrit. But when we come across the word "Sha-lo-mo-na" (舍羅摩拏), we see at once that it can only be from Sanskrit Śramaṇa.


⁴ Compare, however, note 1, p. 419.
the greatest precision among the opinions yet produced. The result of his research was that the early translations were from Prâkrit, and not from Pâli, as Dr. Eitel supposed.

Now as to the third council of the Buddhists under the great Asoka, which is generally believed to be unknown to Chinese Buddhists, Mr. O. Palladji, in his interesting "Historische Skizzen des alten Buddhismus," drawn up from Chinese sources, mentions at length Asoka's council as well as the two former ones. One may well wonder why Mr. S. Beal, more than twenty years later, informed Prof. Oldenberg that Asoka's council is not found mentioned in the Chinese Piṭaka.\(^1\) It may be due to Beal's oversight, or he may have had some ground for asserting this.\(^2\) He expressed more than once, if I remember well, the opinion that there is a trace of Pâli in the Chinese collection; but on examining the original on which his supposition rests, I found nothing to indicate its Pâli origin.

In the thorough examination of the Tripiṭaka by my friend Bunyiu Nanjio, he found no Pâli text, and traced most of the books to Sanskrit, and compared them with Tibetan texts, the names of which, at any rate, he, when possible, restored into Sanskrit.

It is thus well-nigh settled that the Chinese books, on the whole, are translations from the Sanskrit original, and that there is no Pâli work in China, and no mention of the Council of Pâṭaliputta in the Chinese Buddhist books.\(^4\)

---

1 Erman's "Russisches Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Kunde" (1856), Band xv, pp. 206 and foll.
2 See Oldenberg, "Vinaya-piṭakam" (1879–82), vol. i, p. xxxii.
3 We see with M. Barth the importance of a complete examination of the contents of the Chinese Piṭaka ("Religions of India," Engl. p. 108 note). One can give two or three quite different accounts from Chinese sources, which are a mixture of various elements. Compare, for instance, Wassilief's "Buddhismus," in which many pieces of information from the Chinese are identical with the Tibetan, with Palladji's "Historische Skizzen," which are not very much different from the Sinhalese chronicle.
4 I should be sorry if I have omitted any later authorities who touched these questions, and would welcome any communications about them.
I for my part doubted from the beginning the idea that there was not a single text in Pali brought to China by any one of those 173 translators we know of, some of whom came from Southern India, from Ceylon, or from Siam, others of whom are said to have collected books in Ceylon as well as in India, to say nothing of those Chinese travellers who went to Ceylon to search for the law. He who brought a MS. may not have translated it himself, but may have left it behind to his successors to translate. Had there been a MS. there is no reason whatever why they should not translate it, seeing that several Hinayana works were interpreted and preserved in the Chinese collection. Resting on this supposition, I have been for some time looking for a text of Pali origin. My attention was naturally directed to the texts bearing on the Indian Chronology, while perusing many a work without any result. At last I came across a text which contains an account of the third Buddhist Council at Pataliputta under the great Asoka. Besides, this book has the following stanzas, which have been hitherto found only in Pali and not in Sanskrit books:

Pali.

Anekajatisaṁsāram sandhāvissam anibbisam
Gahakārakaṁ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunam
Gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna geham na kāhasi
Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭam visamkhitam
Visamkhāragatam cittam tānḥānam khayam ajjhagā 'ti.

1 One from Ceylon, three from Siam, four from S. India, and one Javanese. Nanjio's Catal., App. ii, Nos. 92; 101, 102, 107; 111, 131, 160, 163; 138.
2 i.e., Nos. 137, 155.
3 e.g. Fā-hien and nine of those sixty travellers recorded by I-tsing went to Ceylon. See Chavannes, "Mémoire sur les Religieux Éminents," par I-tsing (Paris, 1894), §§ 20-2, 24, 28, 29, 32, 49, 52.
A translation from the Chinese:

(I have been) running through the transmigration of many a birth without hate or grief just to seek for the place of the abode (of Corporeity); rebirths (indeed) produce a bitter pain. But now I have seen thy house. Thou shalt not build thy house again. All thy ridge and ribs are shattered, (so as) not to be born anew. The heart has been separated from thirst (passion), and, as all desires have been exhausted, it has reached its Nirvāṇa.¹

These stanzas are the words which the Buddha is supposed to have uttered at the moment he attained to Buddhahood. The Lalita Vistara does not seem to know these verses—in any case, not as the first words of the founder of Buddhism; for it gives (ch. xxii) quite a different verse as the Buddha’s first words: “The vices are dried up; they will not flow again” (ṣuṣkā āśravā na punaḥ āsravanti).²

The text which contained those verses appeared to me, at first sight, as if it were a portion of the Dīpavaṃsa or Mahāvaṃsa, inasmuch as it gives the three councils,


Asoka's devotion to the faith, Mahinda's mission to Ceylon, etc.; besides the periods of the reigns of Indian kings, Chandragupta and others, agreeing on the whole with the Ceylonese Chronicle. But on further perusal I found that the book was a translation of Buddhaghosa's Introduction to the Samanta-pāsadikā, a commentary on the Vinaya-piṭakam, which gives the historical tradition from the Buddha's death to Mahinda's death in Ceylon.

I was glad to find this text in the Chinese Piṭaka, for I thought it might give us the following results, if I were not overestimating the value of its discovery:

1. It can be no longer disputed that the Chinese Collection contains also Pāli elements.
2. The Council of Asoka, under the presidency of Moggali-putta Tissa, is found mentioned in the Chinese Collection, but as yet only in the books of Pāli origin.
3. Some of the information obtained from Chinese sources, and hitherto considered to be derived from Sanskrit books, may be from Pāli ones.
4. Translations and transliterations of names and words contained in this book may furnish us a key to a further discovery of Pāli texts.
5. In any case it will give us a large Pāli-Chinese vocabulary, as we have the text as well as the translation.
6. It may help us in the collation of Pāli MSS. of the text translated, preserving as it does a tradition of very early date, i.e. before A.D. 489.
7. The migration of a work of Buddhaghosa to China in 489 A.D. may serve to confirm the dates of his arrival in Ceylon in about 430, and of his sail to Burma in about 450.

1 Childers, s.v. Atṭhakathā; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 237. A portion of this valuable record was published by Prof. Oldenberg in his "Vinaya-piṭakam," vol. iii (the end).
With the hope of realizing these points, I borrowed the Chinese text of the India Office, and began an examination into its contents last year. As I have other studies on hand, I am not able at present to lay the whole of my examination before the Society. I shall, however, notice in the following pages some of the points which, I think, may give an idea of the nature of the book.

The book in question is called in Chinese, "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü," or "I-ch'i-shan-chien-lü-p'i-p'o-sha" (一切善見律毘婆沙). If I were to translate it quite literally, this would mean "All-good-appearing-vinaya-vibhāṣā." This, it will be at once noticed, is the exact meaning of the Pāli title. The first two characters "i-ch'i" are generally left out, and Nanjio restored "Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha-lü" to Sanskrit "Sudarśana-vibhāṣā-vinaya." No Sanskrit book with this title is known to have existed. It is neither found in the catalogues of Sanskrit books, nor is it mentioned by any Sanskrit author, or by any Chinese author writing about Sanskrit Buddhist books. The invention of this new title, therefore, to explain Chinese words which so exactly reproduce the Pāli title, seems to me unnecessary. This book is found also in Julien's "Concordance Sinico-sanskrite d'un nombre considérable de Titres d'Ouvrages Bouddhiques" (J.A. 1849, pp. 353–445), Nos. 55, 55a.

The translator, Sêng-ch'ieh-po-t'o-lo (=Samgha-bhadra), was a Samaṇa from a foreign country under the Ts'i

---

1 This seems to be a translation of "Samanta-pāsādikā" (‘pleasing all’). Samanta-prāsādika (adj.) occurs in the Mahāvastu, p. 3; -tā (‘having complete amiability’) in the Dharmasāṅgahra, lxxxiv, p. 57, one of the eighty signs of the Buddha (41); the Chinese being "I-ch'i man-tsu" (I-ch'i = samanta). The Lalita Vistara, vii, p. 122, has this word, the translation of which is "Chien-chê-chieh-shêng-hai," ‘all those who look at him obtain joy.’ Asoka is called "Shan-chien" (‘good-appearing’ meant for Priyadarśin). The translator, not finding a suitable word for "pāsādikā," may have used "Shan-chien." "Vibhāṣā" in a Buddhistic sense means ‘commentary.’ It ought to be Vinaya-vibhāṣā, not Vibhāṣā-vinaya. Cf. the Chinese Bk. xii, fol. 16a.

2 In his Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, No. 1125 (see p. 243).
dynasty, of the Siao family (A.D. 479–502) (蕭齊外國沙門, 僧伽跋陀羅譯).

The date of the translation is A.D. 489 (=the seventh year of the Yung-ming period of the Emperor Wu-ti) (武帝, 永明七年).

The book is recorded as belonging to the Hinayāna. It is divided into 18 books, and consists of 440 leaves, each leaf containing about 400 Chinese characters.

It begins with the adoration “Namo sabbasam Buddhā- nam” (南無諸佛), and an opening verse. The first three books are devoted to the historical introduction; a rough analysis of the whole will be as follows:—

Bk. i to Bk. iv, fol. 2. The history from the Buddha’s Death to Mahinda’s Death. The first section is devoted to the Council of Rājagaha, which took place during the rainy season immediately after the Buddha’s death at Kusinārā. 500 Arhats meet under Mahākassapa: Upāli recites the contents of the Vinaya, while Ānanda rehearses the Suttas in answer to the questions of the presiding theras. It lasted seven months.

Next comes the Vajjiputtīya section. In it the “Ten Points” brought forward by the Vajjian Bhikkhus are given, and the Council of Vesāli, which met A.B. 100, is shortly described. The presiding theras of the second council were ten in number, Sa-p’o-chia-mei (Sabbakāmi), Li-p’o-to (Revata), and others, the members in all numbering 700. It ended in eight months.

The third is called the Asokarāja section, which covers some three books and fifty-two folios. It gives the rise of Asoka, his conversion to Buddhism by Ni-ch’ü-t’o (Nigrodha), the building of Saṃghārāmas and medical halls, his invitation of Moggaliputta Tissa, whose life is also given at length, the examination of all Bhikkhus by Asoka, and then the Council of Pāṭaliputta, which lasted nine months, Tissa presiding over 1000 members. Then follow the ordinations of Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, the sending out of the Missionaries, the conversion of Devānampiya Tissa, the planting of a branch of the Bo-tree in
Ceylon, the arrival of Sāmghamittā, and lastly, the deaths of Mahinda, Arika, and others.

The whole agrees pretty well with that portion of the Pāli text edited by Prof. Oldenberg at the end of his Vinaya-piṭakam, vol. iii.

Bk. iv, fol. 3 to Bk. vi. Commentary on the introductory portion of the Vinaya, i.e. the first part of the Suttavibhaṅga.

The Mahāmoggallāna Khandhaka (Oldenberg, V.P. iii, 1, p. 7), the Sāriputta Khandhaka, and the Monkey Khandhaka (i.e. p. 23), etc., are explained.

Bks. viii–xii. An explanation of the Pārājikā rules.

Bks. xiii–xviii. The Samghādisesā rules and other sections are explained.

The last part (Bk. xviii) gives some remarks in a very short form about the Katina Khandhaka, Bhikkhuṇi Khandhaka, etc., and also thirty-two questions to Upāli (Upāli-puccha) by Mahākassapa, and the answers as well. It ends with the words: “There are four wrong proceedings in the Natti-kamma of the special priests [i.e. in the Gaṇa-kamma], four in the Natti-dutiya-kamma, and four also in the Natti-catuttha-kamma; therefore there are three times four, i.e. twelve wrong proceedings” (別衆白羯磨中有四非法, 二羯磨中有四非法, 四羯磨中有四非法, 三四合十二非法).

The following extracts may perhaps serve to convince my readers of the fact that my identification is not imaginary. For shortness' sake I will omit the Chinese characters.

I. The Chinese text, Bk. i, fol. 9. Compare Sūmaṅgala-vilāsini, pp. 16, 17, § 47.

What are the San-Ts’ang (Ti-piṭaka)? They are the P’i-ni Ts’ang (Vinaya-piṭaka), the Hsiu-to-lo Ts’ang

---

1 See Childers, s.v. Kammavācā.
2 Those in italic are translations and not transliterations. “Ts’ang,” “store” stands for “Piṭaka.”
3 Samghabhadra here used an earlier transliteration from Skt. sūtra, hence “Hsiu-to-lo.”
(Sutta-piṭaka), and the A-p’i-t’ang Ts’ang (Abhidhamma-piṭaka). Of what does the Vinaya-piṭaka consist? It consists of—

a. Two Po-lo-t’i-mu-ch’a¹ (Pāṭimokkha). (Sum. vil. 2 Pāṭimokkhas, 2 Vibhaṅgas.)

b. 23² Chien-t’o (Khandhaka). (Sum. vil. 22 Khandhakas.)

c. The Po-li-p’o-lo (Parivārā). (Sum. vil. 16 Parivārās.)

What is the Sutta-piṭaka? It consists of—

a. The long A-han (Digha-āgama),³ in which there are 44 suttas, beginning with the Fan-wang king (Brahma-net sutta=Brahmajāla). (Sum. vil. 34 suttas.)

b. The middle A-han (Majjhima-āgama), 252 suttas, beginning with the Mon-lo-po-li-yeh (Mūlaparīyāya). (Sum. vil. 152.)

c. The Sèng-shu-to A-han (Samyutta-āgama), 7762 suttas, beginning with the Wu-ch’ieh-to-lo-a-p’o-t’o-na (Oghatara-apadāna).

d. The Yang-chüeh-to-lo A-han (Ānguttara-āgama), 9557 suttas, beginning with the Chê-to-po-li-yeh-t’o-na (Cittapariyādāna-sutta).

e. The Ch’ü-to-chia A-han (Khuddaka-āgama), 14 divisions of which are—

1. The Fa-chü, i.e. verses on the law (Dhammapada).
2. The Yū, i.e. parables (Apadāna).
3. The Wu-t’o-na (Udāna).
4. The I-ti-fu-to-ch’ieh (Itivuttaka).
5. The Ni-po-to (Nipāta).
6. The P’i-mo-na (Vimāna-vatthu).
7. The Pi-to (Peta-vatthu).

¹ From Skt. “Prātimoksha” : see the last note.
² It may be meant here that the Khandhakas with the Parivārā are 23. The Mahāvagga had 10 Khandhakas and Cullavagga 12: see the Vinaya texts, iii, S.B.E. vol. xx, pp. 416-417.
³ Āgama is another name of the “Nikāya” : see Childers, a.v.
8. The Ti-lo (Thera-gāthā).
10. The Pēn-shēng, i.e. Original Births (Jātaka).
11. The Ni-t’i-sha (Niddesa).
12. The Po-chih-san-p’i-t’o (Paṭisambhidā).
13. The Fo-shung-hsing, i.e. Buddha’s Genealogy or Clan (Buddhavamsa).

(Sum. vil. 15 divisions with the Khuddaka-pāthā. Childers seems to have had a MS. which, like Saṃghabhadra’s, omits the 15th book: see his Pāli Dictionary, p. 508a, line 10.)

What is the A-p’i-t’ang Ts’ang (Abhidhamma-piṭaka)? It consists of—

1. The Fa Sēng-ch’ieh (Dhamma-samgaha, sic sum. vil.).
2. The P’i-pēng-ch’ieh (Vibhaṅga).
3. The T’o-tou-chia-t’a (Dhātu-kathā).
4. The Ya-mo-chia (Yamaka).
5. The Pa-ch’ā (Paṭṭhāna).
7. The Chia-t’a-po-t’ou (Kathā-vatthu).²

II. a. The Chinese text, Bk. i, fol. 21; the Pāli (Oldenberg, Vinaya, vol. iii), p. 299.

“During four years after the death of King Pin-t’ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra), A-yuk (Asoka) killed all his brothers, leaving only a brother of the same mother. After four years he crowned himself and became king. It was 218 years since the Buddha’s death that King Asoka took sole command of the land of Jambudipa (Yen-fu-li).”

The Pāli: “Te sabbe Asoko attanā saddhiṁ ekamatikam Tissakumāram ṭhapetvā ghātesi. Ghātento cattāri vassāni

¹ “Jâk-yo” according to the Japanese pronunciation. It stands for “Cariyā.”
² For all these names see Turnour, Mahāvamsa, p. lxxv; Rhys Davids, “Buddhism,” pp. 18–21, where an account of these books is given in a clear form; and Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakaṃ.
anabhisitto 'va rajjāṁ kāretvā cattunnaṁ vassānaṁ accayena
tathāgatessa parinibbānato dvinnam vassasatānaṁ upari
atthārasame vasse sakala - Jambudīpe ekarajjābhisekam
pāpunī.

b. Ch. Bk. i, fol. 23; Pāli, p. 300.
“During three years following his enthronement he was
a follower of the heretical doctrine; it was during his fourth
year that he inclined his heart to the Buddha’s law [through
Ni-ch’ü-t’o (Nigrodha)].”
The Pāli: “Rājā kira abhisekam pāpunītvā tīni yeva
saṁvaccharāni bāhīrakapāsāndam parigaṇhi, catutthe saṁ-
vacchare buddhasāsane pasīdi.”

c. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 1; Pāli, p. 306.
Mo-shén-t’o (Mahinda) received his Upasampa when
he reached his full 20 years of age, his Upajjhāya being
Ti-shu, son of Mu-chien-lien (Moggaliputta Tissa), his
Ācariyā Mo-ho-t’i-p’o (Mahādeva) and Mo-shan-t’i (Majjhantika).
Sèng-ch’ieh-mi-to (Samghamittā) received his Pabbajjā
ordination in his 18th year under Upajjhāya T’ang-mo-po-lo
(Dhamma-pāli) and Ācariyā A-yu-po-lo (Āyupāli). These
incidents happened in the sixth year after Asoka ascended to
the throne (i.e. 10 years after Bindusāra’s death).\(^1\)

d. Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 9; Pāli, p. 312.

Prior to the great Council at Po-ch’ā-li-fu (Paṭaliputta)
Asoka summons several Bhikkhus and questions one after
another:

Asoka: “What, sir, was the law of the Buddha” (大 德
佛法 云 何; Kīmvādi bhante sammāsambuddho ’ti)?
Bhikkhu: “The Buddha was one who held the doctrine
of Distinction” (佛 分 別 說 也; Vibhajjavādi Mahārājā ’ti).
Asoka, turning to Thera Tissa: “Was the Buddha one
who held the doctrine of Distinction” (大 德, 佛 分 別
説 不; Vibhajjavādi bhante sammāsambuddho ’ti)?
Tissa: “Just so” (如 是; Āma, Mahārājā ’ti).

\(^1\) Compare Dipav., vi, 24; Oldenberg, Vinaya, i, p. L.
Asoka, seeing that Religion had been purified, said to the Bhikkhus: "Let us, sirs, hold the Uposatha to expound the morality [sīla]" (Suddham bhante dāni sāsanaṁ, Karotu bhikkhusamgho uposathan ti). Thereupon Moggaliputta Tissa becomes the president of the Assembly, which consists of 1000 chosen Bhikkus. He then refutes the opinions of all those adhering to heretical doctrines and wrong views. Here there is a difference between the Chinese and the Pāli. The words, "Tasmīṁ samāgame Mogalliputta-Tissa-thero parappāvādham maddamāno Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṁ abhāsi"—"In this assembly, Moggaliputta Tissa, refuting the opinions of the other parties, propounded the work Kathāvatthu"—are not well traceable in the Chinese. At any rate, the name Kathāvatthu is not mentioned there, though it is given in the list of the books in the Kuddakanikāya, as we have seen above.¹


The Buddhist missionaries sent out after the Council of Pāṭaliputta are as follows:—

1. Mo-shan-t’i (Majjhantika) to Chi-pin and Ch’ien-t’o (Kasmīragandhāra).

2. Mo-ho-t’i-p’o (Mahādeva) to Mo-hsi-sha-man-t’o-lo (Mahisa- or Mahimsaka-māndala).

3. Lo-ch’i-to (Rakkhita) to P’o-na-p’o-ssū (Vanavāsi).

4. Tan-wu-të (for Dhammagutta, but the Pāli has { to A-po-lan-to (Aparantaka). Dhammarakkhita)}

¹ Compare Mahāv., p. 42; Dipav., vii, 40. The Kathāvatthu is very likely Tissa’s own compilation. See, however, Childers, s.v. Tipiṭakaṁ (p. 507v), and Max Müller, Dhammapada, xxvi, xxvii.
² See above, p. 426.
5. Mo-ho-tan-wu-tê (for Mahādhammagutta, but the Pāli has Mahādhammarakkhita) to Mo-ho-lo-ch‘a (Mahāraṭṭha)

6. Mo-ho-lo-ch‘i-to (Mahārakkhita) to Yū-na (Yona). ¹

7. Mo-shih-mo (Majjhima), Chia-shê (Kassapagotta), T‘i-p‘o (Deva), and Tun-t‘i-pi-shu (Dundubhissara) to the Border of the Snow Mountain (Himavanta).

8. Shu-na-cia and Yū-to-lo to the Kingdom of the Gold Earth (Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi).

9. Mo-shen-t‘o (Mahinda), I-ti-yü (Iddhiyaror Itṭhiya) Yū-ti-yü (Uttiya), Po-t‘o-sha (Bhaddasāla), San-p‘o-lou (Sambala), Hsiu-mo-na (Sumana), and P‘an-t‘ou-cia (Bhaṇḍuka) to the Island of Lion (Sim-hala, Ceylon). ²

IV. The chronological table given in the Chinese Bk. ii, fol. 18⁷, does not exactly agree with that of the Samanta-pūṣādikā (p. 320), or of the Mahāvaṃsa. The period, 236 years, between the Buddha’s death (= the 8th year of Ajāta-sattu’s reign) and Mahinda’s mission to Ceylon (= the 18th year of Asoka’s reign), is filled up by the following list of kings:——

¹ “Yonaka,” the land of the Greeks, i.e. Baktria. The Chinese is 舊那 Yū-na, but a Korean text and the new Japanese edition have 史那, Shih-na, and explain it as 漢地也 i.e. China. A scholar said that China received Asoka’s mission. His assertion probably rests on this misinterpretation of the Korean text.

² For all these geographical names see Rhys Davids, “Buddhism,” p. 227 note; Dipav., viii, 4–12; Mahāv., xii (Turnour), pp. 73, 74.
KINGS.

A-shê-shi (Ajātasattu) \hspace{1cm} 24 years.¹
Yü-t'ō-yeh-po-t'ō-lo (Udayabhadra or Udāyibhaddaka) \hspace{1cm} 16 years.²
A-t'u-lou-t'ō (Anuruddha) \{ each³
Min-ch'u (Munḍa) \} \hspace{1cm} 8 years.
Na-chia-tai-sha-chia (Nāga-dāsaka or -dassaka) \hspace{1cm} 14 years.⁴
Hsiu-hsiu-na-chia (Susunāga) \hspace{1cm} 18 years.
A-yū (or A-yuk, i.e. Chia-lo-yū; Kālāsoka) \hspace{1cm} 28 years.
10 sons of the last \ldots together \hspace{1cm} 22 years.
Mei-nan-t'ō (for Chiu-nan-t'ō)⁵
Chan-t'ō-chüeh-to (Candagutta) \hspace{1cm} 24 years.⁶
Pin-t'ou-sha-lo (Bindusāra) \hspace{1cm} 28 years.

[The interregnum between the death of the last and the enthronement of Asoka]

A-yū (or A-yuk; Asoka) \hspace{1cm} 18 years.

(when Malinda was sent out).

\hspace{1cm} 234 years.

We have thus an anachronism of only two years in the list (compare Turnour, Mahāv., p. xlvii, "6 years"). But this gap would be filled up if we read "18 years" for the reign of Anuruddha and Munḍa instead of "each 8 years."

¹ He reigned 32 years; the Buddha died in his eighth year.
² Ajātasattu and Udāyibhaddaka are omitted in Bk. ii, fol. 18⁵, perhaps by the copyist's mistake, but we can see from fol. 18⁶ that Udāyibhaddaka reigned more than 15 years, and I put here 16 years from the Pāli. [The copyist seems to have jumped from A of Ajātasattu to A of Anuruddha while copying.]
³ Not "collectively" as in Turnour's Mahāvaṃsa, p. xlvii. Samantapāśa (p. 320) has 18 years (Anuruddha ca munḍo ca Atṭhārasa).
⁴ Samantapāśa, 24 years.
⁵ Mei (玫) seems to be a misprint. There is no corresponding sound in the Pāli. It is, I think, a mistake for Chiu (玖), which is sometimes used for another "Chiu" (九) meaning "nine," and the "nine nanto" for the Pāli "nava nandā." In one of my slips from the new Jap. edition of the Chinese Piṭaka I note, "玫 mei for 玖 chiu?"; but I do not remember whether it is my conjecture or that of the Japanese Editors. Anyhow, it is pretty certain that it must be "Chiu" nine.
⁶ Not 34 as in the Mahāvaṃsa, which is an error.
I do not know whether the difference in figures between the Pāli and the Chinese texts is to be attributed to various readings in the original, or simply to a mistake on the part of the Chinese translator or copyists.

V. From the commentary itself, I shall notice only a point or two. In explaining "Ariyakaṁ" in the Pārājikā, Buddhaghosa says:

a. "Ariyakaṁ nāma Ariyavohāro Magadhabhāsā. Milakkhaṁ nāma yo koci Anariyako Andhadaṁilādi," etc. The Chinese: 善語者，何謂 善語；所以善人所行，是摩竭國語。若邊地，安陀羅彌國語，etc. "Now, as to the 'good language.' What is called the 'good language'? What is in use among the 'good' men. This is the language of the kingdom of Mo-chieh (Magadha). In case of the border lands, (there are) the language of the kingdom of An-t'o-lo-mi (Andhadamiļa)," etc. (Ch. Bk. vii, fol. 13b.)

Next, under the Saṁghādisesā, Buddhaghosa says as to 'Ādi' and 'Sesa':

b. "Imaṁ āpattim āpajjitvā vutthātukāmassa yantarā āpattivutṭhānam. Tassa ādimhi c'eva parivāsadānatthaya ādito sese majjhе mānattadānatthaya... avasāne abbhānatthaya ca saṁgho icchitabbo" (Sam.-pās., fol. ne). The Chinese: 此比丘之得罪，樂欲清淨。至到僧所。僧與波利婆沙，是名初。與波利婆沙竟，次與......摩那埵，為中。死者與阿浮諦那. "The Bhikkhu, having become guilty, wishes to be purified, and goes to the place of the Saṁgha. The Saṁgha confers on him the Po-li-p'o-sha (parivāsa) —this is called the first. After having conferred the Parivāsa (the Saṁgha) next confers the Mona-to (Mānatta), which is the middle. Last of all, the A-fu-ho-na (Abbhāna) is conferred on him." (Ch. Bk. xii, fol. 18b.)
Although the Chinese translation is not always literal, yet it is not so free that we cannot recognize the original in the Pāli text. Several points seem to have been omitted, when probably the translator’s knowledge of Chinese failed to interpret them, while many words seem to have been added to make the sense of the original clearer. For instance, as to some medical herbs, Saṃghabhadra adds whether they are found or not in Tong-king and Canton, and in some cases gives Cantonese names besides the Indian (see e.g. Bk. xv, fol. 19b).

It is probable that the translator dictated the meaning of Buddhaghosa’s commentary from a MS., while the Chinese assistants wrote it down, and fashioned it into a Chinese composition. There are some passages so free and incorrect, that we can hardly attribute the version to anyone understanding the Pāli language.

VI. I shall notice one more point about the verses quoted by Buddhaghosa from the “Ancient Historical Records” in the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā. The verses in the Samantapāsādikā seem to consist of the three elements: (1) The verses composed by himself or by an unknown author. (2) Those taken from the ancient Aṭṭhakathā, which are indicated by the words: “Tenāhu porāṇā” (“Therefore have the ancients said”). (3) Those from the Dīpavaṃsa, which are often preceded by the words: “vuttam pi etam Dīpavaṃse” (“It is said in the Dīpavaṃsa as follows”). The first is called in Chinese simply “Chi” (偈) which had been meant originally for Skt. gāthā, hymn, verse, but later became a general name for any religious verse, whether a śloka or any other metre. The second is called “Wang-hsi-chi” (往昔偈), “Verses from Past Ages” or “Ancient Verses.” The third, which is taken from the Dīpavaṃsa, is called “Wang-hsi-chi-tsan” (往昔偈讚), “Praise-Songs from Past Ages” or “Ancient Praise-Songs.” Saṃghabhadra must have understood that the Dīpavaṃsa was nothing but a version of the ancient Sinhalese Records, made specially
for chanting or recitation. The name "Dīpavamsa" is not traceable in Chinese, but it is possible that the original had "Dipavamse," and Sāṃghabhadra translated it by the "Ancient praise-songs," in order to show what relation it had to the ancient historical record which he called simply the "ancient verses." 2

In the introductory part of the Chinese text of the Samanta-pāsāḍikā there are more than seventeen verses from the Dīpavamsa (also found in the later work Mahāvaṃsa), though some of them widely differ from those found in the existing texts of the two books.

The above will, I think, suffice for our present purpose, and will, I hope, leave no doubt as to the existence, at any rate, of the book in question. There is only one other possibility, and it is this. The Chinese translation may be from the original of Buddhaghosa, i.e. the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā, seeing that the date of the translation is as early as 489 A.D. But it would take us too far to discuss this point now.

We have then before us a translation of the Samantapāsāḍikā (and under the same title) into the language of China, where the name or fame of Buddhaghosa had never reached. 3 A MS. of his work, however, must have reached

---

1 Compare Mahāv., p. 257: "And that he might promulgate the contents of the Dīpavamsa, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud thoroughly." The fact that the Dīpav. is called here the "Ancient praise-songs" may in a way help Prof. Oldenberg's opinion that the work "Porānehi kato" mentioned in the Mahāv., i, p. i, may refer to the Dīpav. (Oldenberg, Dīpav., p. 9).

2 There are similar cases: whenever the Pāli text has "Tanthapanthi" or "Laṅkā," he translates it by the "Island of Lion" = Sihala, the object being to make it clear to the Chinese readers.

3 But it is possible that some Buddhist book may refer to him under another name. No Chinese travellers known to us mention his name. In Fa-hien's time (A.D. 399-414) Buddhaghosa must have been very young and still in India. As the Hinayāna faith was looked upon as heretical by Huen Thang (A.D. 629-645), Buddhaghosa's fame seems to have escaped his notice. I-ting (A.D. 671-695), though a follower of the Hinayāna, says nothing of that great Buddhist writer.
there soon after its compilation, probably brought by the translator himself, who may have been a direct disciple, or, at all events, a young contemporary, of Buddhaghosa.

Buddhaghosa, a young Brahman of Magadha, who was born "Bodhimaṇḍasamīpañhi," is said to have been converted by Revata, a Buddhist priest. The latter further instigated the young convert to go to Ceylon, pointing out that the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā were genuine, being composed by Mahinda, and a translation of them into the language of Magadha would be a work conducive to the welfare of the whole world.1 Buddhaghosa then came to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma (A.D. 410–432)2—strictly speaking, at the end of his reign, about 430 A.D.3—and succeeded in carrying out his literary undertaking, during his stay there in the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura. The Samanta-pāśādikā must have been compiled at this time. He is said to have sailed to Burma about 450 A.D., taking with him all the works of his compilation.4

We cannot trace him further than this, but his fame, and perhaps his works also, seem to have reached Siam, Kamboja, and even Campā (Cochin China, now French). According to Dr. Bastian, Campā was once a Buddhist country,5 its Buddhism having been derived from Ceylon, and being generally connected with the name of Buddhaghosa. Had his Aṭṭhakathā made their way to Campā it would not have been very difficult for them to have reached Canton, the place of this translation, in South China. But this does not seem to have been the case. We have no reliable record as to the fact that Kamboja or Campā were Buddhist countries in the fifth century.

---

1 Turnour, Mahāv., p. 251.
5 This is confirmed by I-tsing (A.D. 671–695), who says that Campā mostly belonged to the Sammūtiya school, while there were a few adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school.
Siam is said to have received Buddhism first in 638 A.D., though there are some traces of the existence of Buddhism at an earlier time. In any case it is reasonable to suppose that the conversion to Buddhism of the whole area from the western coast of Burma to the north limit of Cochin China, and with it the migration of the Sacred Books, would have taken a longer time than thirty-eight years (489–450 = 38).

The only other possibility as to how this MS. got to China at so early a date is by way of the sea. Either a Sinhalese or a Burmese who might have known Buddhaghosa, personally or by name, may have secured a copy of the Atthakathā and sailed to China, possibly stirred up by the missionary spirit which might have prevailed during or after the time of the great commentator. Suppose that man were a direct disciple or an admirer of Buddhaghosa; he would have simply followed the brilliant example of his teacher, who made for the eastern peninsula with his Buddhist works, as we have seen above. The voyage over the Indian Ocean would have been no difficulty before 489 A.D., for, as we know, Fa-hien returned home in 414 by a merchant ship which sailed between Ceylon and China by way of Java.

The man who brought the book is no other than the translator himself, i.e. Samghabhadra. Unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining his nationality. He is said to have been a samanà of the Western Region, a name often used for "India," of course including Ceylon. The use of the name Hsi-yü (Western Region) is very vague, and there is no reason why Burma should be excluded from it. So we have no guide at all in it. Still, it is more probable that he was a Sinhalese. The voyage from Burma to China must have been more difficult than that from

2 Three priests from Siam came to China between A.D. 503–589. See above note 1, p. 419. I-tsing says there was no Buddhism in his time, but there was before a wicked king of that country persecuted the Buddhist priests.
3 But Buddhism may have been established in Asoka's time in Burma (two missionaries went to Suvannabhumi).
4 See Nanjio, Catalogue, App. ii, 96.
Ceylon to China in his time. For the latter we have the witness of Fa-hien; but for a communication by the sea between Burma and China we have no record in so early a time, and the discovery of the Malacca Strait seems to be very late. But we have no positive proof that he came from Ceylon,¹ and at present we must rest satisfied with the result that he must have come from some country where the orthodox Buddhism prevailed. He seems to have been a Hinayānist, for his translation, which is closely connected with the tradition about him given below, is recorded as a Hinayāna work. He came to Canton and never proceeded to the North, and he brought with him the same tradition as the Sinhalese or Burmese about the date of the Buddha’s death. These points can be seen from the following interesting tradition about his life in China:—

"In 534 A.D. (中大通六年) an ascetic, Chau P'o-hsü (隱士趙伯休), visited the temple on the mount Lu (盧山), met a sāmaṇa called Kung-tu (弘度) there and obtained from him a historical record named

'A Dotted Record of many Sages' (衆聖點記).

A tradition about the Record—

After the Buddha’s death, the venerable Upāli collected the Vinaya-piṭaka. On the 15th day (Purnamadivase) of the 7th moon (Assayuja) he held the Pacāraṇā ceremony, as it was the closing day of the Vassa (the Rain-Retreat). Upāli then marked the Vinaya-piṭaka² with a dot, and did the same every

¹ The following fact may perhaps help us. When the Pāli has various readings, as noted in Oldenberg’s Samantapāsa., the Chinese has the same readings as the Burmese MS. (E.). Whether this tendency is found throughout the commentary, I am not at present able to state. If this be proved to be the case, we can see at least that the Burmese MS. keeps the readings of 489 A.D., not long after Buddhaghosa.

² It seems from this as if the Vinaya existed in book. But we need not understand it literally. Compare Turnour, Mahāv., p. 207: the Vinaya was not in writing till the time of King Vaṭṭa Gāmanī, i.e. 88-76 B.C. But some seem to believe that it was written down in book in the first council.—Bigandet, "Life of Gaudama," p. 350. Has the custom of marking the sacred years ever existed in Ceylon or in Burma?
following summer. After Upāli's death this method was care-
fully kept up, handing it down from teacher to pupil, until at
last it came to the hand of Saṁghabhadra, the translator of the
Vinaya Vibhāṣā, who brought that Vinaya-piṭaka to Canton.
He held the Vassa in Canton (廣州) A.D. 489 (齊永明
七年), and when he finished the Pavāraṇā ceremony he added
a dot to the Vinaya-piṭaka. At that time the number of dots
was in all 975 (the Buddha's death therefore falls, according
to this Record, in the year 486 B.C.). ¹ The ascetic Chau asked
the samaṇa Kung-tu why the Record was not kept up
after 489 A.D., the time of Saṁghabhadra. Kung-tu
answered: 'In former ages there were many Ariya-puggalas
who themselves marked the Record with dots. We are
only common men, whose duty it is to keep and guard
this Record, not to mark it.' The ascetic Chau continued
the marking till A.D. 535 (大同之初), when there were
1020 dots.' ²

Saṁghabhadra's date of the Buddha, B.C. 486, was not
quite unknown to the Buddhist writers in China, but was
never considered as authoritative. Perhaps it did not seem
"ancient" enough to the Chinese Buddhists, who would
have claimed a greater antiquity for the founder of their
religion than that of Confucius. Prof. Max Müller told
me that he noticed some years ago the "Dotted Record" in
the Academy, as he was informed of it by his pupil Kasawara.
I failed to find the Number of the Academy, but I do not
think that there is any difference between Kasawara's
information and mine, except in wording, for the source
from which we derived it is in all probability one and the
same. Now that we have identified Saṁghabhadra's trans-
lation with the Samanta-pāsādikā, the above tradition about
him turns out to be more important than curious, and I did
not think it superfluous to give it here.

¹ The Siṃhalese date of the Buddha's death, 543 B.C., wants a curtailing of
at least about 60 years, as pointed out by Turnour, which would bring us to
483 B.C., not to speak about a further curtailing made by Max Müller, Rhys
Davids, and others. The anachronism seems to have been introduced after
Saṁghabhadra's time.
² 486 B.C. + 535 A.D. = 1021; perhaps the year 535 was not marked.
In conclusion, I may add, that I am still comparing the Chinese with the Pāli and translating it, when I can spare time. I have already collected some 800 names and words, whose Sanskrit equivalents are not to be found in Eitel's Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary, or in Julien's "Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanskrits qui se rencontrent dans les Livres Chinois," but whose Pāli equivalents are found in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, or in the Mahāvamsa. I strongly hope that this book will serve as a key to lead us to a further discovery of Pāli works, which might have found their way into the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Mr. Palladji may have known our work, for his "Historische Skizzen des Buddhismus" give an account which, on the whole, agrees with that of our book, though there are many points whose sources are not ascertainable.¹ There must be some more Pāli works in China if we only look for them. This line of research is, I think, very important for the study of the Chinese Piṭaka, which is nothing but a mixture of all sorts of books coming from various sources. It may contain books compiled in the council of Asoka as well as those in the so-called council of Kanishka. There must be in it some elements from Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, or Prākrit, as Dr. Edkins thinks, and further, it is possible that there is a trace of Mongolian or some dialects of Further India. It may seem to be impossible at first to recognize the elements from all those languages under the dress of Chinese, but when we have the texts in both languages before us, our work is comparatively simple and easy.² When, for instance,

¹ Above note 3, p. 418. First I thought that Palladji might have drawn his materials from Pāli sources. There was in his time Turnour's "Epitome of the Pāli Annals" (1837). But the names which Palladji gives, e.g. Rihata for Revata (p. 212), Kāmadeva for Devānampiya (p. 220, Ch. Tien-ni, "Heaven-love"; he translated this into Skt. Kāmadeva), made me think that his account was from Chinese sources.

² A comparative study of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts is also very important. Without this even the interpretation of a Chinese text becomes impossible or unsuccessful. We often run the risk of thoroughly misunderstanding the Chinese translators. Compare, for instance, Beal's Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king (S.B.E., vol. xix), §§ 564-568 (=Ch. Bk. ii, fol. 11r), and my rendering in Heinrich Lüders' paper, "Zu Asvaghosa's Buddha-carita," p. 2, note 2, and Tokiwa's in Leumann's note, p. 8 (Göttingen, Phil.-histor. Klasse 1, 1896).
the whole of the Pāli Piṭaka is published, we can easily compare the contents of both.¹ Then we shall see, at least, whether they agree or not. To do such work we must begin with the Vinaya works, Tibetan, Chinese, and Pāli, which in substance agree with one another.² Prof. Oldenberg encourages the students of Chinese Buddhism to make a careful examination of the important literary documents of the Vinaya.³ I wish with him that Chinese scholars who are interested in the study of Buddhism, will pay attention to those texts preserved in the Lü-ts‘ang, which is as yet almost an unbeaten track of Chinese literature.

¹ The whole Vinaya edited by Oldenberg: many texts from the other Piṭakas in the Pāli Text Society's publication. We have also the whole Piṭaka of a Siamese edition.
² See Oldenberg, Vinaya, p. xl; the Vinaya of different schools is based upon the same fundamental rédaction. (Compare Waselief, “Buddhismus,” p. 38; the Vinaya was the same in all schools.)
³ I.e., p. xliii.
ART. XI.—*Vidhūra Jātaka.* (No. 548 of Ceylon List.)
[From the Burmese.] By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.R.A.S.

One day, when the disciples were discussing the various forms of wisdom peculiar to the Buddha, the Lord came into the hall and inquired what they were discussing. On being informed, he said: “Rahans, there will be no difficulty in understanding how I can now so easily overcome the opinions of Brahmans, princes, and others, bringing them to a right frame of mind, when you hear how, in a former existence as the high-born Vidhūra, on the summit of Mount Kālāgiri, I overcame and subdued the virulence of the Rakshasa Puṇṇaka.” He then related as follows:—

Long ago, in Kururajjaṃ, in the city of Indapattanagaram, there reigned a king whose name was Dhanañcaya Korabya, whose prime minister, Vidhūra, expounded the law so well and sweetly that everyone was attracted to him, and all the rulers of Jambudvīpa came to get his decisions. Now in the city of Bārānasi there were four rich Brahmans who were friends, and they, having determined to renounce the lusts of this world, went into Himavanta. Having dwelt there some time as hermits, they came into the inhabited country in search of salt and pickles, and at last arrived at Campānagaram, in the country of Aṅga, and dwelt in the king’s garden. The rich people of the city, seeing that their deportment was correct, undertook their maintenance, and begged them to remain. One of these hermits, in a state of ecstatic meditation, used to go daily to the country of the Nāgas, another to Tāvatimsa, another to the country of the Gañanas, and the fourth to the park called Migājina, which belonged to King Dhanañcaya Korabya, at Indapattanagaram. On
returning, each praised the delights of these places to his particular supporters, so that each desired, when the time of change came, to go to these places.

When they at length died, by reason of the good works they had performed, one became Sakko, another became king of the Nāgas, another became king of the Gaḷunas in a forest of silk-cotton trees, and the fourth took birth with the chief queen of King Dhanañcaya Korabya. At his father’s death Prince Korabya succeeded to the throne.

King Korabya was passionately fond of dice, but abiding by the instructions of his minister Vidhūra, observed his fasts and religious duties. One-fast day, in order to be quiet, he went into his garden. Sakko, the Nāga king, and the Gaḷuna king, also came to that garden to spend the fast-day in quiet meditation; and, in the cool of the evening, all four met at the auspicious water-tank and recognized each other. Sakko sat on the auspicious stone slab, and the others seated themselves in suitable places.

Sakko then asked: “Which of us four kings, do you think, has performed the most excellent duty?”

Varuṇa, the Nāga king, answered: “I think mine is the best. The Gaḷunas generally take our lives, and yet, when I saw their king, I displayed no anger.”

The King of the Gaḷunas said: “This Nāga king is the food in which we most delight, and yet, though oppressed by hunger, I did him no harm.”

Sakko said: “I have left the wonderful pleasures and delights of Tāvatimsa and come down to this earth to keep my fast.”

Then said King Korabya: “I have left the delights of my palace and sixty thousand concubines and come to fast in this garden.”

Thus the four kings extolled their own piety.

Then said the three kings: “O King Korabya, have you no wise man in your dominions who can dispel our doubts in this matter?” King Dhanañcaya Korabya answered: “I have a wise minister named Vidhūra, and he will probably be able to do so.”
So they all agreed to go to the Judgment Hall, and, having caused Vidhūra to take his seat on a splendid couch, stated their case to him.

Vidhūra (after questioning them) replied: "O kings, your words are all good, and there is no fault in them. Wise men say that, like an axle well fitted to the hub of a wheel, those persons who are longsuffering, who do no ill to obtain food, who avoid lust, and have no anxiety, are they who in this world have extinguished evil" (Samañāna).

On hearing this, the four kings gave great praise to Vidhūra, and said: "Indeed, thou art a religious person. There is no one equal to thee. Thou canst decide clearly, as the worker in ivory cuts through an elephant's tusk with a saw."

Sakko presented him with a valuable cloth. The King of the Gañunas gave him a golden flower garland. The King of the Nāgas presented him with a priceless ruby; and King Korabya gave him one thousand milch cows, ten bulls, ten elephants, ten horses, ten chariots with Sindh horses, and the revenue of sixteen villages.

Now the King of the Nāgas had a queen, whose name was Vimalā, and, when he returned, she noticed that the ruby he usually wore round his neck was gone, so she said: "My Lord, where have you left your ruby?" He answered: "Lady, I wished to do honour to Vidhūra, the son of Canda, the Brahman, who decided a case for me, and gave it to him. Sakko gave him a cloth. The Gañuna king gave him a gold garland, and King Korabya also gave gifts."

Queen Vimalā asked whether he was one who preached the law; and on being told that there was no one equal to him, she thought thus: "If I were to say—'My Lord, I want to hear him preach the law: bring him here,' the King would not bring him. I will say that I want this wise man's heart, and, by worrying the King, get what I want." So she went into her inner chamber, and, giving notice to her attendants, went to sleep. On that day the Nāga king, at the time when the Queen and concubines usually came to pay their respects to him, missing Vimalā, asked where she
was. They told him she could not come, because she was ill. Hearing this, he got up from his seat, and, going to her couch and stroking her with his hand, said: "Lady, you are like a withered leaf, and your body emaciated. What ails you?"

Queen Vimalā answered: "O Lord of the Nāgas, in the land of men if women do not get what they want they suffer great pain. I have a strong desire to obtain the heart of this wise Vidhūra, lawfully and not by force. When I have obtained his heart I shall be well. If I do not, I shall shortly die."

The King answered: "Lady, if you wanted the sun, or the moon, there would be no difficulty. Even the kings of the island of Jambudvipa find a difficulty in getting to see him. How, then, can he be brought here?"

Hearing this, the Queen turned her back on the King, saying: "If I cannot get the heart of Vidhūra, may I die on this very bed."

When the King found she would not answer him he went into his chamber and threw himself on his couch, saying: "Who can bring Vidhūra's heart? Verily the Queen will die if she cannot get it."

Just then the Princess Irandhati came, magnificently dressed, to pay her respects to her father, and, seeing him so unhappy, said: "My father, you seem very unhappy: why is it?"

Her father replied: "My daughter, your mother wants the heart of the wise Vidhūra; but who can bring him to Nāga-land? Dear daughter, you are the only person who can do it. If you wish to save your mother's life, search for a husband who can bring him." The King was so wrapped up in his desire to preserve his Queen's life, that he spoke thus shamefully to her, telling her to get a husband.

Irandhati, having pacified her father, went in to see her mother, and, after comforting her, dressed herself in all her

1 Irandhati: is this a form of Arundhati, one of the stars, and said to be the wife of the seven Rishis?
ornaments and, that very night, took her way through the water to the upper world, and went to a place in the Himavanta near a river where there is a mountain called Kāla. That mountain is sixty yūjanās in height, and entirely composed of black rocks. Having gone thither, she collected a number of beautiful flowers, and strewed them all over the mountain, and made it look as if it were a heap of rubies; she spread a bed of flowers on the summit, and began to dance and sing, saying—

Nāgas, Devas, and Gandhabbas,
Kinnaras, and all who dwell
In this Himavanta forest,
Stay, and list to what I tell:
Lives Vidhūra, wise and gracious,
In the courts of Kuru’s Lord;
Who Vidhūra’s heart will bring me
Shall receive me as reward.

Just then Puṇṇaka, the nephew of the Deva Vessavaṇ (Kuvera), riding on his horse Manomaya, was on his way to the assembly of the Rakshasas, and heard her song. As she had once been his wife in a former existence, as soon as he heard her he was smitten with delight, and, stopping his horse, said: “Lady, by the power of my wisdom, I will bring you Vidhūra’s heart. Be not afraid. You shall be my wife.”

On hearing this, Irandhati replied: “Go at once and demand me of my father.”

Overcome with love, Puṇṇaka dismounted and stretched out his hand to put Irandhati on his horse, but she drew back, saying:

Irandhati.

Back, Puṇṇaka, nor take me by the hand;
I am no orphan to be brought to shame:

1 The gāta of Irandhati’s song have been left out, except the first line; and only the Bur. translation given.
Varuṇa, lord of serpents, is my sire,
And Vimalā, my mother, his chief queen.
If, then, to wed me be thy firm desire,
Demand me from them in accustomed form.

Hearing this, Puṇṭaka at once proceeded to the Serpent King’s palace, and addressed him thus:—

_Puṇṭaka._

Lord of the Nāgas, list unto my suit,
And give Irandhatī to me for wife.
Ages have passed since first our lots were linked:
I love her still, and she to me inclines.
Take as her price one hundred elephants,
One hundred steeds, and e'en one hundred carts
Piled with the seven gems, to which are yoked
One hundred mules: an offering far too small.
But who could name a price for one so fair?

_Varuṇa._

O Raksha Prince, Vessavan’s nephew true,
Fitted in every way to be my son-in-law
Art thou; but not in haste may this be done:
A hurried marriage ofttimes causes woe.
First with my queen and kith I must consult.
Irandhatī is but a child, and ’tis
The nature of all womenfolk to pine
When parted from their home. Perchance she, too,
May grieve when taken hence. Wait here awhile.

(He enters the palace and addresses Queen Vimalā.)

Queen of my queens, my well-loved Vimalā,
There waits without, in haste to wed our child
Irandhatī, the darling of our heart,
Vessavan’s nephew, chief of all his hosts.
His gifts and words are fair. What thinkest thou?
VIMALA.

Lord of this widespread realm, we need no gifts:
Irandhati, whose beauty glads all hearts
Cannot be bought with gems: 'tis he alone
Who brings Vidhūra's heart shall wed the maid.

VARUNA (coming out).

Leader of hosts, if our consent you'd win,
Bring us the "wise man's" heart, thy lawful spoil.

PUNNAKA.

Some are called wise and others are called fools;
But on this point all men are not agreed.
How shall I know the wise man from the fool?

VARUNA.

What! hast not heard of Rāja Korabya,
Who reigns at Indapattan? and of him
Who guides with perfect wisdom his affairs,
All-wise Vidhūra? 'Tis his heart we want.

Punṇaka ordered his attendant to get ready his horse
Manomaya, and, urged by his great love for Irandhati,
having smoothed out his beard and hair and arranged his
clothes, mounted and set off on his way to the dwelling
of his uncle Kuvera (Vessavan).

On arriving there he recited some stanzas descriptive of
the beauty and wealth of Kuvera's city. He recited these
verses because he did not dare to carry off Vidhūra without
his uncle's permission. Kuvera, however, was deciding a
dispute between two devas, and did not attend to him,
so Punṇaka sat down near the deva who had won his
case. Kuvera, turning to the deva, gave him an order to
go and take possession, so Punṇaka took the order as if it
were given to himself, and went off with him. On the
way he thought thus: "Vidhūra's attendants are very
numerous; I shall not be able to take him unawares. King Korabya is passionately fond of dice. I will win him from Korabya by a cast of the dice. King Korabya is very wealthy, and will not play with me for anything of small value. In the hill of Vepulla, near Rājagriha, there is a ruby fit to be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs; it is a ruby of great power. I will overcome him by means of that ruby." He accordingly went to Rājagriha, in the country of Aṅga.

(The translator here remarks: "Why is it said that Rājagriha is in Aṅga, when it is in Magadha?"—It is because at that time the King of Aṅga ruled over Magadha.)

Ascending to the top of Mount Vepulla, he came to the place where that wonderful ruby which is called Manohara (Captivating) is guarded by 100,000 Kumbhandaś. Terrifying them by his terrible glances, he took the ruby and pursued his way to Indapattanagaram. On arriving there, he got off his horse and left it in concealment near the city. Taking the form of a young man, he approached King Korabya and addressed him thus:—

Punnaka.

"In this assembly of chiefs, who will play with me for an excellent stake? From which of you shall I be able to win something of value? Who of you wants to win my incomparable treasure?"

Korabya.

"Youth, what is your country? Your speech is not that of Kururāj, and your appearance is more comely than that of the people of my country. Tell me your race and name."

Punnaka.

"King, I bear the noble title of Kaccāyano. As for my parents and race, they dwell in the city of Kālampanagaram in Aṅga; and I have come to this country to cast dice."
Korabya.

"Since you have come here to gamble, what have you brought with you? If you have nothing, will not the princes who overcome you make you their slave? How, then, do you propose to play against princes?"

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, my stake is a ruby.¹ It is of immense value—more valuable than any other. It brings whatever you desire, and is called Manohara. That is not my only property: I possess a steed that can drive away all my enemies. I will play for both of them. Let the winner take them."

Korabya.

"Youth, what can you do with your one ruby and horse? We kings have many such rubies, and swift steeds innumerable."

(Here ends the canto called "Dohāḷa." ²)

Puṇṇaka.

"My lord king, why do you speak thus? My horse is worth a thousand, and my ruby is worth a thousand. Though your Majesty may have horses, they are not like mine. Just look at the qualities of my horse." Saying thus, he mounted Manomaya and rode round the city wall so fast that the city appeared to be surrounded by

¹ The ruby was not a red one, but a Veṣuṇīyam.
² Dohāḷa, "longing for"; more especially applied to that of women in a certain condition.
a band of horses, which could not be distinguished, and even Puṇṇaka himself was not distinguishable, but the red girdle on his waist was like the whirling of a firebrand. Having thus displayed the good qualities of his horse, he dismounted and said: "O King, have you beheld the power of my horse?" And, on the King replying that he had seen it, he said, "Look again," and rode his horse across the surface of the lake which was in the royal park, backwards and forwards, so that not even its hoofs were wetted. Having caused it to stand on a lily-leaf, he spread out his hand and it stood upon the palm. When the King remarked, "This is, indeed, very wonderful," he replied: "Now behold the power of my ruby. You have only to look into it to see everything that is in this city or on the face of the earth, and all the delights of Devaland."

(Here ends the canto called "The Ruby.")

Puṇṇaka.

"Surely, O King, if I gamble with you and lose, take my ruby. But what will you stake?"

Korābya.

"Kaccāyano, I will stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne."

Puṇṇaka.

"If that be so, O King, since I am from a distant country and cannot tarry long, make ready the gaming-place."

So the King summoned all his nobles, and ordered a place to be prepared. The nobles, having spread curiously-worked carpets and arranged places for the King and his hundred nobles, suitably to their rank, reported to the King that all was ready.

Then Puṇṇaka requested the King to come to the

1 The description of what may be seen in the ruby is too long to translate.
gaming-place, and said: "My lord king, you have stated that you will play with me for anything save your royal person, your queen, or your throne, and your words are as ivory [i.e. firm]; but I am a poor person and you are the lord of many. If you win, you will assuredly take my ruby; but if I lose, you may delay in paying me, and fall back upon the fact that you are a king: how, then, can I play on equal terms?" But the King replied: "Kaccāyano, be not afraid; whether I win or lose I will act according to the law."

So Puṇṇaka called all the kings who were present to bear witness, saying: "Kings of Pancala, Paccuggata, Sūrasena, Madda, and Kebhi, who are here assembled, you have heard the words of Korabya your lord. Take good note of them. You are all law-abiding kings, and I call upon you to be my witnesses, without fear or favour; listen and watch between us, and according to the custom of the righteous, with heed, observe closely, and do that which is right."

Thereupon King Korabya, surrounded by a hundred princes, proceeded to the gaming-shed, and they sat in their appointed places; and King Korabya placed the golden dice upon a silver table.

Then Puṇṇaka said suddenly: "My lord king, the marks upon the dice are called 'thé,' 'than,' 'einzé,' and 'nguzon': take which you please." The King elected to take "einzé," and Puṇṇaka took "than."

The King then called upon Puṇṇaka to throw first; but Puṇṇaka said: "My lord king, I am a poor man: it is not right that I should begin; it is for you to throw first." So the King agreed.

Now there was a fairy, who had been his mother in his third state of existence, who constantly looked after King Korabya, and through her power he had always won when he played with dice. He used also to sing the following verses whenever he played: (Sabbā nādi viśka nādi, etc.), which mean—

---

1 These words are not given in the Bur. Dictionary, but according to the text thé = 8, than = 6, einzé = 4, and nguzon = 2.
Rivers, all are crooked rivers;  
Firewood grows in every tree;  
Woman ever doeth evil  
Get she opportunity.  

In order to invoke his fairy guardian he sang as follows:—

O fairy, now my guardian be;  
Fame and renown bring quick to me:  
Upon thy kindness I rely.  
Pure is the gold that forms each die;  
Brightly they shine within the bowl:  
Stand near me and my luck control.  
Sweet fairy, ever kind to me,  
Come now and bring me victory.

Then King Korabya, singing his gambling song, threw the dice into the air, but through Puṇṇaka’s power they fell so that he would have lost; knowing, however, by his great skill that this would happen, he caught them before they fell on the silver table and again threw them into the air, but seeing that they would a second time fall against him, he again caught them in his hand.

Seeing this, Puṇṇaka looked round to see the reason, and observed the good fairy standing near the King. He thereupon glared fiercely at the fairy, and she fled terrified to the top of a mountain on the confines of the world. The King then threw them again thrice, but by Puṇṇaka’s power was prevented, from putting out his hand to catch them before they fell. Then Puṇṇaka threw, and seeing that he had won, rose from his seat and cried, “I have won, I have won.” And the sound of his voice was heard throughout all Jambudvipa.

King Korabya was very sad at having lost, so Puṇṇaka, in order to comfort him, said: “My lord king, when two persons have a wager each puts forth all his strength

1 See Jātaka No. 62.
to win, but both cannot do so—one must lose; and so it is in this dicing: your Majesty, however, has not lost your own person. Be not cast down, but give me that precious thing that I have won, and let me depart, for I have come from afar and may not delay."

**Korabya.**

"Youth Kaccāyaṇo, I have everything that is on the face of this earth: take what you want and go."

**Puṇṇaka.**

"My lord king, in your realm there are elephants, horses, precious stones, and lovely virgins, but the greatest treasure of all is Vidhūra, 'the wise minister.' In accordance with your promise give him to me."

**Korabya.**

"Kaccāyaṇo, before we began to play I said I would stake anything but myself, my queen, or my throne, and this Vidhūra is as my very self, and you ought not to take him. It is on him that I rely. He is even greater than I, for I worship him. He is the source of my good fortune and like an island of refuge."

**Puṇṇaka.**

"My lord king, as I have far to go and cannot stay to argue the question, let us call Vidhūra and abide by his decision."

**Korabya.**

"Kaccāyaṇo, you are honest in all your actions: I am pleased with your suggestion. We will go to Vidhūra and abide by his decision." So the King, accompanied by all his nobles, took Puṇṇaka with him and went to the Hall of Justice.
When Vidhūra saw the King coming he descended from the judgment-seat and sat in a suitable place.

Puṇṇaka then addressed him thus: "O wise minister, you are well established in the law, and would not speak falsely even to save your life. These things are known unto all men. I, too, would know this, O wise one—Art thou the servant of the King, or one of his kin?"

**Vidhūra.**

"Youth, I am not of the King's kith, neither am I greater, but I am one of his servants. Of these there are four classes, viz.: the house-born, the purchased, the self-made, and the captive. As I am one that pays respect to the King, I am a 'self-made' slave, and though I may be taken to another country, I shall still be the servant of the King. And if the King for any reason give me to you, or another, his gift will be lawful."

**Puṇṇaka.**

"O princes, my victory is twofold. As for this king of kings, his wish was contrary to law. Why should he not give me this wise Vidhūra, who has given a true decision?"

**Korabya (in anger).**

"O Vidhūra, though I have honoured and raised you to high estate, you have no regard for me, but regard only the face of the youth Kaccāyano, whom you have only just seen. Youth, take this true slave and go thy way."

(End of the canto called "The Dice-throwing.")

The King, thinking he might still detain Vidhūra by getting him to solve difficult questions, asked him as follows:

1. Vidhūra, how may householders dwell in safety?

1 Antojāta, dhanakkita, sayamdāsupagata, karamarānita.
2. What is the law of mutual assistance?
3. Under what circumstances may they be without poverty and anxiety?
4. What is the rule for fidelity?
5. After passing from this life to another how may they be free from dread?

Vidhūra replied—

1. "O King, people should not commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, nor should they eat without giving food to those who deserve it. They should not rely on absurd casuistry, for it tends not to true wisdom.

2. "Daily they ought to observe diligently the five duties. They should observe their duties to one another as rulers and householders. They should not forget to heap up merit. In all matters they should act with deliberation. Instead of being arrogant they should be humble. They should obey the instructions of the righteous. They should be neither short-tempered nor malicious. They should be bold and unflinching in almsgiving. They should speak loving words and be tender in thought, word, and deed.

3. "They should be liberal to their friends and loving, doing to them as they would be done by. They should be mindful of seed-time and harvest, and when mendicants come round ever ready to fill their bowls.

4. "They should desire to follow the precepts of the righteous. They should be mindful of their good birth and lineage. They should read and converse on good books, discussing and asking questions.

5. "O King, they who do these things are free from danger and anxiety in this life, neither shall they have dread when they pass to another existence."

(Here ends the canto called "The Householder.")
Now when Vidhūra returned from conducting the King back to his palace, Puṇṇaka said: "Vidhūra, you have been given to me by the King and must go with me as my servant. Look closely to my advantage, for wise men have said that whosoever acts only for the good of his lord becomes well acquainted with it."

_Vidhūra._

"Young man, I know that you have got possession of me, and that it was because the King gave me to you. It was for your good also that I answered his questions. In return for this kindness remain two or three days in my house, and allow me to instruct my wives and children."

_Puṇṇaka._

"Vidhūra, I will remain with you a few days, and during that time set your affairs in order and instruct your wives and children."

So Puṇṇaka went with Vidhūra to his house.

Now Vidhūra's house was built in three mansions, one suitable for each season. They were named¹ Kuñjara, Mayura, and Piyaka. They were as well appointed as that of Sakko. So Vidhūra installed Puṇṇaka in one of those mansions, with everything that he could want and 500 damsels to attend upon him, and retired to the one in which his family was living, and entering into the chamber of his wife Anulā, told her to call all his children; but she, by reason of her great grief, was unable to do so, and sent her daughter-in-law, saying: "My tender and loving daughter-in-law, beautiful as the flower of the blue lotus (Indavaramuppalam), go and summon my son Dhammapāla and your other brothers-in-law."

Vidhūra received them with streaming eyes, and embraced them; and after a little while, having come out into the

¹ Kuñjara, "elephant." Mayura, "peacock." Piyaka, "a spotted deer." But these names are also connected with certain plants.
reception hall, thus addressed his sorrowing family:—“My beloved children, I, your father, may only remain here in peace for three days, and after that must go away with the youth Kaccāyaṇo and obey his commands. Indeed, he desires to depart on this very day, but, as I had not given you my instructions, I begged him to remain a day or two. I will now tell you your line of conduct, and do you all take it well to heart; and if the king asks you, when you go into his presence, whether your father gave you any commands, you can relate to him all I now say, and when he hears your words he will remember me with regret, and appoint you to proper posts.” On hearing these words his family wept bitterly.

(Here ends the canto called “Lakkhaṇa.”)

When the weeping had ceased, he said: “My children, be not afraid: all the laws of ‘Bhūmakasaṅkhāra’ are impermanent.¹ Wealth and riches are lost and destroyed. I will now relate to you the verses called ‘Rājavasati,’ attention to which will ensure earthly wealth and happiness.”

The Rājavasati, or “King-service.” ²

1. If anyone desire royal service, being seated, listen to me;
   How a man, having entered the service of royal
   personages, may attain unto honour.
2. That man obtains not a royal family who is inconspicuous
   in wisdom;
   Nor the coward, the fool, nor the sluggard, at any time.

¹ I do not find this combination in Childers. According to the Burmese, 
saṅkhāra means “mutability,” but here it seems to indicate the stages of 
existence both in this life and the next.
² This consists of 46 couplets, beginning—
   1. Ethayyo rājavasatim | nisīditya sunātha me |
   Yathā rājakulam patto | yasam poso nīgacchati |
I am indebted to Mrs. M. Bode for her valuable assistance in translating 
these Pāli gāta.
3. When he acquires virtue, wisdom, and purity,
   He (the king) confides in him, and keeps no secret
   from him.
4. Even as a balance, held rightly with equal beam,
   Unshaken, let him not tremble; let him serve the king.
5. Even as a balance, rightly held with equal beam,
   Obtaining full knowledge of all things, let him serve
   the king.
6. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
   Unshaken, not wavering, let him serve the king.
7. By day or by night, learned in the king's service,
   Gaining knowledge in all things, let him serve the king.
8. Though one say to him, the road is made ready for
   the king;
   Even though the king urge him to go by it, he should
   not; let him serve the king.
9. Let him not eat, as the king, food or dainties.
   Let him even keep behind others; let him serve the king.
10. Let him not wear garments, wreaths, perfumes, nor
    ornaments, nor speak, nor do as the king does:
    Let him use other adornments; let him serve the king.
11. Should the king take his pleasure, surrounded by
    courtiers and women,
    With his courtiers and women let not the wise man
    dally.
12. Not puffed up with pride; prudent, with senses well
    guarded;
    Firmly resolved in his heart; let him serve the king.
13. He should not dally with the king's wife, nor remain in
    a secluded place with her:
    Let him not use the king's treasure; let him serve
    the king.
14. Let him not love much sleep, nor drink intoxicating
    drinks;
    Nor fling the dice, nor game in the king's presence; let
    him serve the king.
15. Let him not mount the king's couch, chair, throne, or
    chariot,
Thinking, "I am chosen for honour"; let him serve the king.

16. Let not the discerning man go too far from the king, nor too near him:
Let him stand in his presence so as to be seen and heard without difficulty.

17. He should not say, "The king is my friend; the king is my foster-brother":
Swift is the anger of the king, as the smart of a mote in the eye.

18. Though he think himself revered (by the king), the wiser and more learned man,
Let him not answer harshly the king when in the assembly.

19. Though he has the right to enter the door, let him not enter without the king's permission:
King's authority is as fire: let him serve the king.

20. If the king thinks to favour son or brother with villages, townships, districts, or provinces,
Being silent let him look on, nor cunningly speak ill of him.

21. To the elephant-riders, the royal guards, the charioteers, and foot-soldiers, when he gives wages, and the king increases their pay,
Let him not interfere; let him serve the king.

22. As a bow with an arrow fitted to it, bending as a bamboo reed,
Let him not act in opposition; let him serve the king.

23. His words should be as few as those of a tongueless fish,
Measured, prudent, brave; let him serve the king.

24. Let him not go to touch women, for loss of power is sure;
Cough, asthma, suffering, weakness, and wasting come upon him.

25. Let him not talk over much, nor let him keep silence:
When the time is fit let him speak, not ramblingly but measuredly.
   Let him not talk frivolous talk; let him serve the king.
27. Let him cherish mother and father, and respect his elders.
   Fearful of sinning, let him serve the king.
28. Well-trained, skilful, temperate, steadfast, and kind;
   Strenuous, pure, and clever; let him serve the king.
29. Lowly to his elders, obedient, and humble;
   Compassionate, and pleasant to dwell with; let him serve the king.
30. Though he speaks with ambassadors on secret business,
   He should look only to his lord's welfare.
31. Both on Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
   Let him respectfully wait; and let him serve the king.
32. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
   Let him lodge with care; and let him serve the king.
33. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
   Let him refresh with food and drink; and let him serve the king.
34. Both Samanas and Brahmans, holy and profound in learning,
   Who have attained wisdom, let him serve, asking deep questions.
35. Let him not omit customary gifts to Samanas and Brahmans;
   Nor let him forbid beggars at alms-time.
36. Wise, endowed with knowledge, skilled in rites and observance of the law,
   Well knowing times and seasons, let him serve the king.
37. Active in his doings, vigilant, discerning,
   Acting with good arrangement, let him serve the king.
38. Constantly visiting his threshing-floor, barns, cattle, and fields,
   Let him store up the corn when measured, and when measured let it be cooked in his house.
39. If son or brother be unstable in the commandments [duties], like helpless children in arms, or ghosts, Let him give them clothes, food, and abiding places.
40. Servants who are steadfast in their duties, Skilful and active folk, let him place before others.
41. Religious and uncovetous, strongly attached to the king; Both openly and in secret beneficial to him; let him serve the king.
42. Let him know the king’s wish; let him know the king’s aims;
Unfaltering in his conduct, let him serve the king.
43. When (the king is) clothing and bathing, or feet-washing, head-lowered,¹
And when struck not wrathful; let him serve the king.
44. If one gives salutation to pots and does reverence to basins,
Why to the giver of all good things should not the best be given?²
45. Whosoever gives beds, clothes, vehicles, habitations, and houses,
Even as a rain-cloud to beings, he pours down wealth.
46. This Rājāvasati if a man practise,
He propitiates kings, and obtains both wealth and honour.

On the third day Vidhūra, having bathed and dressed himself, went to the King’s palace, to pay his respects and take leave, and addressed the King thus:—“My lord king, this young man is taking me away; his mind is set upon going. I would speak to thee concerning the good of my family: listen, victorious one. When the youth asked me how I was related to thee, I truly replied that I was thy servant. That, indeed, is the only fault, as far as I can see, that I have committed. If a man slips upon the earth

¹ That is to say, “he should not look at the king’s face, but stand with averted eyes.”
² The first line of 44 runs thus: “Kumbhaṇṇhi paṇjaliṁ kavirā | cātucāpi padakkhiṇān.” The meaning is obscure, and the Burmese translation is: “On beholding pots full of water, kingfishers and other birds, though they can give no advantages, yet we salute them with raised hands.”
and falls, on that spot even he must remain. That slip of mine I look at as my fault. Be not angry with me for that error, but take care of my family and possessions, and let them not be destroyed."

*Korabya.*

"It is not pleasant to hear that you must depart. I will endeavour by some stratagem to prevent your departure. I will summon the youth to my palace and secretly make away with him."

*Vidhūra.*

"My Lord, though this thought of thine arises through love and pity for me, it is not right; there is no benefit in it. Put it from thee and think only of what is meritorious. All beings must grow old and die. I bear no ill-will to this youth. He may beat me, or free me, or kill me. Being his slave, I must submit to his will and go with him."

So Vidhūra, having respectfully saluted the King, and admonished the nobles and attendants, left the palace; and all the queens and ladies, being unable to restrain their feelings, with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes, beating their breasts, followed him in great sorrow. The people of the city came in crowds to see him depart; and he exhorted them, saying: "Be not sorrowful: actions, affections, seasons, food, are all impermanent. Both one's earthly body and possessions must come to an end; therefore, reflecting on these things, we should give alms and observe our religious duties." Having thus admonished them and sent them home, he proceeded to his house. Just then his son Dhammapāla, and the rest of his family, having come out to look for him, met him at the gate; and when he saw his children, being unable to restrain his sorrow, he embraced them, weeping, and entered into his house. Now Vidhūra "the wise" had a thousand sons, a thousand daughters, a thousand wives, and seven hundred concubines, and very
many slaves and kinsmen. The whole of these were smitten with grief and sorrow, and lay prostrate as the "sal" trees when smitten by a whirlwind from Mount Yogantara; and with a mighty murmur they besought him not to leave them; but, having comforted them, and set his household affairs in order, he left them and entered into the presence of Puṇṇaka, saying: "Youth, in accordance with my wish, you have waited here in my palace two or three days, and my instructions to my family are complete: do according to your wish."

Puṇṇaka.

"Since you have completed your arrangements let us depart, for the distance we have to go is long. Without fear take hold of my horse's tail, for this is the last time that you shall behold the habitation of men."

Vidhūra.

"Of what should, then, I be in dread?
To none have I ever done evil
By thought, or by word, or by deed,
To make me the prey of the Devil." ¹

Then, fearless as a lion, he uttered this act of truth: "May this cloth with which my loins are now girt ne'er leave me as long as I require it"; and, mounting on to the horse's crupper, and firmly grasping the tail, he said: "Youth, I have firm hold of your horse's tail: go whithersoever you desire."

At that instant Puṇṇaka thought, "What is the use of my taking this Vidhūra to a distant place? I will carry him to the Himavanta forest, and, having dragged him through the ravines and thorn-brakes till the life is out of him, cast his dead body into a chasm, and carry his heart to Nāga-land." So he directed his horse Manomaya thither, and urged him swiftly through the trees. But by the

¹ "Gaccheyva duggatim." But Buddhists believe that they will be tortured by devils in hell.
virtue of the Bodhisat’s accumulated merit the trees kept away from his body for the distance of a cubit.

When Puṇṇaka looked back to see if he were dead, and beheld his face shining with brightness, he again urged his horse thrice through the thickets; but to no purpose. Being greatly enraged, he rode into a mighty wind, but by the power of the Bodhisat it divided in two; and though he did this seven times he was unable to kill him, so he carried him off to the mountain called Kāḷāgiri.

Now Vidhūra’s wives and family, thinking that he was a very long time in the upper chamber with Puṇṇaka, ascended to see what he was doing; and when they saw him not, raised a great cry, saying, “This demon in the likeness of a youth has carried off our lord”; and they wept and wailed bitterly. And when the King heard the sound thereof, he inquired what was the matter; and when they told him, he comforted them, saying: “Be not afraid, and cease from weeping, for he can preach the law sweetly, and will bring that youth to reason. Do not be so disturbed: he will soon return.”

When Puṇṇaka arrived at the top of Kāḷāgiri, he thought—“If I do not kill this Vidhūra I shall not get Irandhati, and all my trouble will be for nought. I will kill him, and, having taken out his heart, carry it to Queen Vimalā, and bear away Irandhati to my abode. It will not, however, do for me to kill him with my own hands, but I must cause his death through fear.” So he set Vidhūra down on the peak of the mountain, and took the appearance of a frightful demon, which threw Vidhūra prone on his back, and then held him between its tusks as if it would devour him; but the Bodhisat was not in the least terrified. He then endeavoured to frighten him by taking the appearances of a lion, a must elephant, and a huge serpent; but the Bodhisat was not terrified by them. Then, thinking he would grind him to powder, he caused a mighty whirlwind to blow on him as he lay on the mountain-top; but that wind did not even disturb one hair of his head. He then caused the whole mountain
of Kālāgiri to be agitated, but was unable to terrify him; so he entered into the heart of the mountain and yelled loudly, but, though the noise was terrible, the Bodhisat was not disturbed.

Finding that he could not terrify him by any of these means, he, in the form of a frightful demon, took him by both feet and hurled him from the top of Kālāgiri; but the Bodhisat fell lightly, as a ball of dressed cotton, at a distance of fifteen yūjanās. Then, taking him up again head downwards and finding that he was not yet dead, he hurled him again into the heavens, and he fell at a distance of sixty yūjanās.

After this had been done, the Bodhisat thought—“He may hurl me away again, or, taking me by the feet, beat me to death against this mountain, but I shall not be afraid; for to say nothing of these terrors, if at the end of this cycle, during the samvāṭathāyī (desolation ?),

even were I cast down from the realms of Vehapphalo into bottomless void, yet by reason of self-possession I should have no fear; I should still be Vidhūra, the wise minister of the King of Kuru.” Then he said:—“Youth, your appearance is that of a good man, but you are not so. Your appearance is that of one who keeps himself under restraint, but you do not do so. You do that which is evil and profitless. Your actions are not meritorious. Why do you hurl me into these chasms? What advantage will you gain by my death? I do not think you are a man, but a Rakshasa: by what name are you known amongst Devas?”

Puṇṇaka.

“Have you not heard of Puṇṇaka in the country of men? I am the general of the armies of King Vessavan. I desire to wed the lovely Irandhati, daughter of Vimala, the Queen of the Nāga king Varuṇa; and because I desire to wed her, it is my purpose to slay you.”

1 See Childers, under “Kappo.”
"O Puṇṇaka, descend not to the level of fools. Oftentimes men come to destruction for doing the evil that they ought not to do. Why do you want to marry this lovely Nāga princess? What profit will you get by my death?"

"O wise minister, I will tell you. I know not whether it was because we were once married and loved each other in a former existence, but from the first moment that I saw her I was urged by love to demand her from the Nāga king, who informed me in the verses beginning 'Dujjemukho,' etc., that I must obtain lawfully, as her price, the heart of Vidhūra; and, therefore, I desire to get your heart. I do not desire to injure you for a mere idle whim. I won you lawfully and I desire to take your heart lawfully and present it to the Nāga king, so that I may obtain Irandhati. And as your death would be a great advantage to me, I have brought you to this place."

The Bodhisat, on hearing this, reflected—"What does Vimalā want with my heart? Varuṇa, having heard me preach the law, and having presented me with the ruby that adorns her neck, will probably, when he returned to the Nāga country, have praised my preaching before his queens and courtiers; and, on that account, his chief queen, Vimalā, wishing to hear me, has laid this stratagem, and Varuṇa, not understanding it, has sent this ignorant Rakshasa Puṇṇaka, and he is ill-treating me owing to his bad disposition. I indeed am wise, but if I die by the hand of this Puṇṇaka what will be the use of my having been wise? I will even now show him my power." So he said: "Youth, listen to the law called 'Sādhunara,' and after you have heard it do with me according to your desire."

Puṇṇaka, saying to himself, "I do not think this law

---

1 Vidhūra either had the power of omniscience, or Puṇṇaka thought aloud.
has ever been preached before to men and devas," raised up Vidhūra and set him on his feet on the top of the mountain, saying: "I have taken you out of the abyss and set you on the mountain. I have other business besides taking your heart, so that no good law may be unknown to men make it known to me."

The Bodhisat answered: "Youth, since you have other business besides taking my heart, and have saved me from the abyss, and, desiring to hear the law called 'Sādhunara,' have set me on the top of this mountain, I also will declare this law unto you; but my body is covered with dust and dirt, and it is not proper to preach when the body is defiled with dirt: permit me, I pray you, to bathe."

So Puṇṇaka brought bathing water, and caused the Bodhisat to bathe in it; and when he had done, dressed him and anointed him with fairy scents, and fed him with fairy food. Then, having prepared the top of Kāḷāgiri in a suitable manner for preaching the law, the Bodhisat, sitting cross-legged, said—

"Follow him who goes before thee;
Dry not, youth, the hand that's wet;
Never to thy friend be faithless;
Follow not the wanton's beck.

These are the four precepts of the 'Sādhunara,' and he who adheres to them may be called a good man."

Puṇṇaka, not being able to understand, answered: "O wise one, who is he that has gone before? Why must one not dry the wet hand? Who is he that errs against his friend? What is a wanton? Explain to me this law; it is too difficult for me to understand."

Whereupon the Bodhisat replied: "If another should confer acts of hospitality on oneself, though he has never seen or met one before, to that person one should in like manner repay with gratitude those acts which he has done. This is the law called 'Pātānuyāyī'."

"If, for even one night, one should rest in a person's house, and obtain the slightest refreshment, one should not
transgress against that person, even in thought. This is
the law called ‘Allapāni parivājaya.’

“Whosoever takes shelter beneath a tree, he should not
break even a branch or twig thereof; it is his friend. This
is the law called ‘Mittadubbhi.’

“Though a badly-disposed woman be taken in marriage,
and obtain all the worldly goods it is possible to give her,
yet, if she sees an opportunity for entertaining a lover, she
will do injury to her husband without thought of gratitude.
Verily, if a man be overcome by the blandishments of such
a woman and gives her all her desires, his profit will be
nought, and he will be harassed in body and mind. This
is the law called ‘Asatinam nagacche.’”

(Here ends the “Sādhunara” canto.)

The Bodhisat having thus preached the law, Puṇṇaka
thought thus:—“The wise one appears by these four laws
to ask for his life. He never saw my face before, and
though I was not his close friend, yet he treated me in his
house as if I had dwelt with him aforetime. I enjoyed
his hospitality for three or four days, and now the only
reason I have for ill-treating him is for the sake of a woman.
If I look at these four laws I see that I have been false
to my friend. If I were to kill him I should verily be
one who follows not the law called ‘Sādhunara,’ and if
I am said to be one who does not according to this law
I should not be desired by the Nāga king’s daughter. I
will restore the wise one to his country, and gladden the
hearts of his people and family”: so he said: “O most
excellent one, I dwelt in your home for several days, and
you fed me; you are indeed a friend against whom I should
not transgress. Truly, I will release you. I deserve not
the Nāga king’s darling; through desire for her I ought
not to have done this evil deed. Because you have preached
the law well I will free you from death.”

When he said this the Bodhisat answered: “O Deva, do
not convey me to my home yet. Since I have never yet
beheld the treasures of the Nāga king, take me to Nāgaland."

Puṇṇaka thereupon answered gladly: "We will go at once to the glorious land of the Nāgas, and thou shalt behold it. That country is full of all splendours and delights." When they arrived there, Puṇṇaka, placing the Bodhisat behind him, went into the presence of the Nāga king; and when the King saw them he said: "Youth, you went to the country of men to fetch the heart of the wise Vidhūra; now that you have brought him himself, is your purpose accomplished?"

And Puṇṇaka answered: "My lord king of the Nāgas, you desired Vidhūra, and he has come. I obtained him lawfully. Behold him. There is great happiness in associating with good people, even though it be for a moment."

(Here ends the chapter called "Kāḷāgiri.")

After the Nāga king had conversed thus with Puṇṇaka, he turned to Vidhūra and said: "O wise nobleman, is it because of these unwonted splendours, which you have not beheld in the country of men, that, without fear of death, you are unable to pay respect to me, but remain in a state of stupefaction? He who is afraid when opportunity arrives cannot be called wise. Judging from your present conduct, I am of opinion that your fame for wisdom amongst men is a mistake."

The Bodhisat.

"O Nāga king, I have no fear of death. Who is likely to kill me? Verily, beings should not bow to those whom they are about to kill; neither should they bow down to those who are about to kill them."

The Nāga king.

"Thy words are true, indeed; one should not bow down to the person who ought to be slain, nor should one bow to the slayer. For who would do obeisance to the person who desires to slay him?"
The Bodhisat.

"O king of the Nāgas, this wealth and glory of yours are not lasting. I will ask you one question. Why did you obtain this fairy palace? Did you get it for nothing, or through the change of seasons? Was it wrought by your hand, or was it given you by some fairy? How did you get it?"

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, I got not this palace and wealth without cause; nor did I get it through the natural changes of the seasons. It was not given to me by the fairies; but I obtained it by merit accrued in a former existence."

The Bodhisat.

"O Nāga king, what was this meritorious action? What was the good deed that you performed? Your glory and wealth are very great: of what good deeds are they the result?"

The Nāga king.

"O wise one, when I and my queen Vimalā dwelt in the city of Cāmpānagaram, in the country of Aṅga, we were both of like mind as to almsgiving, and never lost an opportunity for giving alms. Our house was full of all those things that are bestowed on ascetics, as it were a well of water, and we gave them the ten lawful gifts, viz.: rice, sweet liquor, scent, unguents, lamp oil, cloths, mattrasses, couches, monasteries, and medicine. As the result of those excellent deeds we enjoy these delights."

The Bodhisat.

"Since then, O Nāga king, you obtained this palace as the result of a good deed, you know what is merit and also its results. Forget not this knowledge, and continue to act upon it. If you do so you will in the hereafter obtain another palace."
The Nāga king.

"As there are no hermits or Brahmans in this country, as in the land of men, I am unable to give alms. What meritorious action can I do here so as to ensure a happy abode in the next state?"

The Bodhisat.

"O King, be ever kind to your people, relations, and attendants, chastening them with a loving hand if necessary. Be not angry with them. By increasing your love and patience you will hereafter acquire a higher station amongst the Devas."

The Nāga king.

"Vidhūra, thou art the minister who art wont to instruct the intimate friends of the King of Kuru, and Korabya himself, through being long parted from you, is very sorrowful. He can only be comforted by your return."

The Bodhisat.

"O King, you say this through having reflected on the law of righteousness. It is well known that my great qualities can assist him in calamity."

The Nāga king.

"Tell me truly, did Puṇṇaka obtain you for nothing or did he win you by dice? He tells me that he obtained you lawfully."

The Bodhisat.

"My lord king, Dhanañcaya lost me to Puṇṇaka by a throw of the dice; and as I belonged to the King, he gave me to Puṇṇaka. He obtained me lawfully."

The Nāga king

(Having taken Vidhūra into the Queen’s chamber).

"My Lady Vimalā, you were sickly, downcast, and wasted on account of the wise Vidhūra. He whom thou desiredst
is even this man here. He can dispel all wrath and darkness from the hearts of men and Devas. O Queen Vimalā, youdesired his heart’s flesh; he has now come to you: listen to the law that he will preach to you. It will be difficult to find his equal in wisdom.”

When Queen Vimalā saw the Nāga king coming and leading Vidhūra by the hand, with joy she raised her ten slender fingers to her head, and said: “Wise one, thou payest not reverence through stupefaction on seeing such splendours. It is a mistake to call thee ‘wise.’”

The Bodhisat.

“Nāga princess, I am not afraid through beholding you. Who would kill one so wise as I am? Nāga princess, no one about to be slain makes obeisance to his slayer, nor does the slayer do reverence to him whom he is about to slay.”

Vimalā.

“It is as you say, O wise one. A person should not do reverence to those who intend to slay him.”

The Bodhisat then asks the Queen the same question as he asked the King, and the Bodhisat preaches the law of kindness. The Queen states that she is satisfied with having heard the “law,” which is his “heart”; and that she thinks King Dhanañcaya Korabya must be very sorrowful at being separated from him, and will be delighted to see him again.

The Bodhisat replies that this is undoubtedly the case, as there is no one so skilled in giving good advice as he is.

The Queen asks him to tell her how Puṇṇaka managed to get possession of him, and the Bodhisat replies: “Be not afraid, O Nāga, and take no thought as to how to slay me. I present myself wholly to thee. If you still desire my heart I will take it out and give it you, and if you want my flesh I will cut it off and give it you.”
The Nāga king.

"O wise one, the 'heart' of a wise man is his wisdom. I have heard you preach the law, and my desire is fulfilled. Since Puṇṇaka has brought thee to this country, according to my wish, and both the wishes of myself and queen have been fulfilled, we will give him our daughter Irandhati to wife; and do you, Puṇṇaka, this very day convey Vidhūra back to Indapattanagaram."

So Puṇṇaka, being delighted at having obtained Irandhati, said: "O wise nobleman, I will repay you for the good you have done me by giving you this 'Manohara' ruby, and this very day restore you to Indapattanagaram."

The Bodhisat.

"May you dwell happily in your palace with this lovely Nāga princess for the rest of your existence, and may nothing interfere with your mutual love; and since you are a true friend, you may give me the ruby and restore me to my home."

Puṇṇaka.

"Good, let us depart. Get up on to my horse." And placing Vidhūra before him on his horse "Manomaya," in an instant, after bidding farewell to the Nāga king, they arrived in the country of Kuru, where Puṇṇaka set him down, and, after again thanking him, rode off to the realms of the four great Rājas.

On the morning of the day on which Vidhūra returned, King Korabya dreamed that there was a great tree near the door of his palace covered with sweet fruit, and which gave shade and shelter to all kinds of animals, and that all men made offerings and adorations to it. A cruel-looking black man, carrying a sword and wearing a bright red cloth, came and cut down this tree and took it away, to the great grief of everyone. Not long afterwards the same savage-looking man came back and set it up as it was before.
When the King awoke he related his dream, and felt sure that it related to Vidhūra; for none other than Vidhūra could be like unto this tree, for his wisdom resembled the roots, his religious duties the branches, and his preaching the sweet fruit. He felt sure, therefore, that Vidhūra was about to be restored to him, and was joyful. He therefore ordered the city to be decorated, the court to be prepared, and all the princes and nobles to be assembled.

So when Puḷṇaka set Vidhūra down in the law-court, and went off with Irandhatī to “Catumahārāj,” the King was overcome with delight; and, rising from his seat, took him by the arm and led him to the throne that had been prepared opposite to him, and thus addressed him: “Vidhūra, you have come back to rejoice my heart as a chariot that has been repaired after it has been broken. How did you escape from the hands of the youth who took you away?”

Vidhūra then related (in verse) all that had befallen him, and at the conclusion said:—“Thus, O King, because Puḷṇaka had set his affections on Irandhatī he carried me off to slay me; but obtained his desire only by placing full reliance on me. The King of the Nāgas, and his queen Vimalā, too, by obtaining my heart, which is ‘true wisdom,’ were satisfied. In gratitude the Nāga king restored me to my home and country, and I obtained the wonderful ruby which may be worn by Cakkavatti monarchs alone; I now present it to you, my Lord.”

The King then related his dream to the assembly, released all those who were in prison, and proclaimed a universal holiday for a month.

After the rejoicings were over, and to the end of his life, Vidhūra instructed the King and his people with discourses in almsgiving and religious duties, and when he died passed to Tāvatimsa. All those who were confirmed in the law went to the land of the Devas.

At the end of the Jātaka the Buddha summed up as follows: “The then king and queen are now my royal
parents, the heads of the Sākī race; Vidhūra’s wife, Anuḷā, is now Rāhulā’s mother; Varuṇa the Nāga king is now my disciple Sāriputtarā, the son of the Brāhmani Rūpa,\(^1\) of the village of Upatissa; the Gaḻuna (Garuḷa) king is now Moggalāno, my second disciple, the son of the Brāhmani Moggali, of the village of Kolita; Sakko is now my uncle Dōdōdhana’s son, Anuruddha; King Korabya is now Ānandā; Puṇṇaka is now Angulimāla, the son of the Brahman Bhattagga, the chief teacher of Kosala, king of Sāvutthi; the horse Manomaya is my horse Kandaḷaka; Queen Vimalā is now Khemā, the nun, who was the queen of Bimbisāra, king of Rājagriha (see R.A.S. Journal, July 1893, p. 529); Irandhatī is now Kisagotamī; and Vidhūra is now I, the Buddha.”

\(^1\) Both Rūpa and Moggali are here called “Puṇṇ̄ma,” the fem. form of “Puṇṇ̄,” ဗုး, used by the Burmese to denote a Brahman. Stevenson has made no attempt in his dictionary to explain the word. The fem. is evidently Puṇṇ̄ + ma, the Burmese fem. affix. The word is probably a very old one, and derived rather from Sanskrit than Pali.
ART. XII.—Chao Ju-kua’s Ethnography: Table of Contents and Extracts regarding Ceylon and India, and some Articles of Trade. By F. Hirth, Ph.D.

[For an introduction to this paper see Art. III—Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Medieval Geography, p. 57 seqq. of this volume.]

Chao Ju-kua’s ethnographical work, the Chu-san-chih, consists of two parts (books, chüan). In the first part the author describes the various countries concerned in the Oriental sea-trade of his time; while the second part treats upon the foreign products brought as merchandise to China, and is followed, by way of supplement, by a detailed description of the island of Hainan, which in those days had among all the possessions of the empire risen to a high state of civilization, owing to a large number of statesmen, poets, and philosophers having spent years of their lives there in banishment during the Sung dynasty.

The following Table of Contents gives the headings under which the various countries and articles of trade are discussed:—

PART I. COUNTRIES, viz.:

1. Chiao-chih [Tungking].
2. Chan-ch’êng [Annam; CochinChina].
3. Pin-tung-lung [a territory of Southern Annam, comprising the island of Pulo Condor, so called from the name of a Buddhist saint—Pin-t’ou-lu].
4. Chên-la [Kambodja].
5. Têng-liu-mei [a territory in the west of Kambodja].
6. P’u-kan [Pagán in Burma].
7. San-fö-ch’i [Palembang, Sumatra].
8. Tan-ma-ling.
9. Ling-ya-ssū [Lingas].
10. Fo-lo-an.
11. Hsin-t’o [Sunda?].
12. Chien-pi [Kampar?].
14. Shè-p’o [Java].
15. Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, the central part of Java].
16. Nan-p’i [Malabar].
17. Hu-ch’a-la [Guzerat].
18. Ma-lo-hua [Malwa].
19. Chu-lien [Orissa, the empire of the Kesari dynasty].
20. Ta-ts’in [Syria, perhaps blended with matter belonging to the See, then removed farther east, of the Nestorian patriarch].
21. T’ien-chu [part of India].
22. Ta-shih [the Arab territories].
23. Ma-chia [Mecca].
24. Tsèng-po [Zanzíbar].
25. Pi-pa-lo [Berbera].
27. Chung-li [some African territory: Somali?].
29. Chi-shih [the island of Kish].
30. Pai-ta [Baghdad].
31. Pi-ssū-lo [Basra].
32. Chi-tzū-ni.
34. Lu-mei [Rûm].
35. Mu-lan-p’i [Murâbit, Andalusia].
37. Ngo-kên-t’o [Alexandria].
38. Miscellaneous countries, viz.:
   a. Yen-t’o-man [the Andaman Islands].
   b. K’un-lun-tsèng-chi [the Zingis, Zinj, or Zeng tribes on the coast of Africa].
   c. Sha-hua-kung [a pirate state in the Archipelago].
   d. The Country of the Women.
e. Po-ssū [here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify].

f. Ch’a-pi-sha [Djabarso].

g. Ssū-chia-li-yeh [Sicily].

h. Mo-chieh-la [Maghrib, Morocco].

39. Po-ni [Brani, Borneo].

40. Ma-yi [Mindoro, Philippines].

41. San-hsūi [certain islands among the Philippines].

42. Liu-chiu [part of Formosa].¹

43. Pi-shè-yeh [Bizaya?—savages of South Formosa].

44. Hsin-lo [Sinra, Corea].

45. Wo [Japan].

PART II. Articles of Trade, viz.:

1. Camphor.

2. Frankincense.

3. Myrrh.

4. An incense called Ch'in-yen-hsiang.

5. Dammar [dhuna, Tu-nao-hsiang].


8. Becho Nuts [Chi-tzû-hua, Gardenia floribunda].

9. Rosewater.

10. Lignaloes.


15. Sandalwood.


17. Nutmegs.

18. Lakewood.

19. Musk Wood [Shè-hsiang-mu].

20. The Jack Fruit.

21. The Areca Palm; Betel Nuts.

22. Cocoa Nuts.

23. Galls [Mo-shih-tzû].


25. Sapanwood.


27. Mats.

28. Putchuck.

29. The Cardamom.

30. Pepper.

31. Cubebs.

¹ The text of Chao Ju-kua's Liu-chiu contains various passages identical with the old account in the Sui-shu, which it has been shown does not apply to the Loo-choo Islands, but Formosa. See Schlegel, "Problèmes géographiques," in T'oung-pao, vol. vi, p. 165 seqq.
33. Aloes. 41. Castoreum.
34. The Coral-tree. 42. Kingfishers' Feathers.
35. Glass. 43. Parrots.
36. Cats' Eyes. 44. Ambergris.
37. Pearls. 45. Tortoise Shell.
38. Ch'è-ch'ü [a kind of shell]. 46. Yellow Wax.

SPECIMEN OF TRANSLATION.

(a) Extracts from Part I: Foreign Countries.


The country of Lan-wu-li [Amoy dialect: Lam-bu-li = Ramni or Lambri¹] produces sapanwood, ivory, and white rattan. The inhabitants are warlike and often use poisonous arrows. With the north wind you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon], which is under the government of Nan-p'î [Malabar]. Sailing from Lan-wu-li, you know that you are coming to Hsi-lan [Ceylon] by the flashing of lightning always visible. The king is black, with unkempt hair, and wears no covering on his head; he wears no regular clothes, but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours, and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather [fastened] with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter [juan-tou, a word which Professor Schlegel, T'oung-pao, vol. vi, p. 163, suggests to be a transcription of a Ceylonese word handul, meaning a litter]. He eats every day a paste made of betel nuts burnt together with

¹ Cf. Yule, Marco Polo, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 283, note 1. A German version of Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Lan-wu-li and Nan-p'î has been published in the T'oung-pao, vol. vi, p. 152 seqq., where the sinological reader will find the Chinese characters of some of the names.
real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with cats’ eyes and blue and red jewels [sapphires and rubies?], cornelians, and other precious stones; the very floor he walks upon is so adorned. There is an eastern and a western palace, at each of which there is planted a golden tree; their stems and stalks being made of gold, their flowers, fruits, and leaves of cats’ eyes, blue and red jewels, and the like precious stones. Underneath [each of] these trees there is a golden throne with [partition] walls of glass. When holding court, the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening. At the spot where the king sits down there is continuous glittering of the jewels reflecting the sun’s rays, the glass and the jewel tree shining upon each other like the glory of the rising sun. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish to receive the dregs of the betel nuts chewed by the king. The king’s followers pay a monthly tax of one yi of gold [about 16 taels] into the Government treasury for receiving the betel-nut dregs, which contain camphor and all kinds of precious substances. The king holds in his hand a jewel [lit. precious pearl] five inches in diameter, which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch; by rubbing his face with it every day, the king will keep his youthful looks, though he may be over ninety years old. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned; they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs, are bareheaded, and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. Household vessels are made of bronze. There is in the country a hill [or, an island] called Hsi-lun [lit. fine wheel], peaks rising over peaks, [on the top of which] there is the imprint, over seven feet in length, of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 n from that hill. The trees in the forests of the hills, whether high or low, all round are bent towards it [as if curtsying].

1 There can be little doubt as to the identity of this hill Hsi-lun with the Sripada of Buddhist lore, the footprints of Buddha on Adam’s Peak (as it is called by the Muhammadans—the Samanta Kūta of the Sinhalese). Some
The [mineral] products are cats’ eyes, red glass, camphor [sic], blue and red pearls [sapphires and rubies]; and the land produces cardamoms, the bark of the Mu-lan tree [Mangrove Bark?], coarse and fine incense. Foreign merchants import, in exchange for these products, sandalwood, cloves, camphor [sic], gold, silver, porcelain, horses, elephants, and silk stuffs. The country sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ch’i [Palembang, Sumatra].

16. Nan-p’i [Malabar].

The country of Nan-p’i¹ is in the extreme south-west. From San-fo-ch’i [Palembang, Sumatra] one may arrive

---

¹ Pronounced Nampi in Canton. I am inclined to interpret this name as the transcription of some Indian word. The list of states or places mentioned by our author as belonging to this country (Collon, Guzerat, Cambay, etc.) greatly facilitates its identification with the then flourishing kingdom of Malabar, but it appears that the name Nan-p’i is an ethnical title rather than a political term. The only passage which has occurred to me as throwing light on this subject was in the Hsi-yang-ch’ao-kung-tien-lu (ch. iii. p. 3), a work placing on record the results of the famous expeditions of the emnuch Ch’eng Ho about a.d. 1436. Speaking of the inhabitants of the country of Ku-li, i.e. Kalikut, it says that there five different classes, or castes, are distinguished, viz.: 1, the Nan-p’i; 2, the Hsi-lui; or Muhammadans; 3, the Chê-ti; 4, the Ka-ling; 5, the Mu-lun. The Hsi-lui are well known as Muhammadans; the term Chê-ti I venture to identify with the "Chetty," or merchants’ caste (cf. Yule, Anglo-Indian
there with the monsoon in a little more than a month.¹

The capital of the country is styled Mieh-a-mo; in Chinese
this says as much as li-sū [controller of sacrifice, priest?].²

The chief of the country wears clothing on his body, but
walks barefoot; he wraps his head in cloth [i.e. wears
a turban], and wears a loin cloth, all being of white cotton.
Sometimes he wears a white cotton shirt with narrow
sleeves.³ When going out he rides on an elephant, and
is covered with a golden cap decorated with red pearls and
gems. On his arm a golden band is fastened, and a golden

Glossary, p. 144, s.v. Chetty, and p. 615, s.v. Sett); Ko-ling may stand for
"Kling" (cf. Yule, op. cit., p. 372). Mu-kua is apparently the same as
Mucova, Mukuva. "The fourth class are called Mucova, and these are fishers"
(Varthema, Yule, p. 454). These identifications are based on similarity in sound
merely, but the passage referred to gives us some further detail regarding the
Nan-p'î and the Hui-hui. The former eat no beef, the Hui-hui eat no pork;
the two castes, if we may so call them, do not intermarry, and have their
own burial customs. In Calicut sixty per cent. of the entire population in
those days (about A.D. 1430) were Hui-hui, or Muhammadans. I do not
dare to forestall the opinion of Indian scholars with regard to the name Nan-p'î
(Nambil). Could this word stand for namuri, "a Brahman of Malabar" (Yule,
p. 471, s.v. Nambooree)?

¹ It took Ibn Batuta forty days to sail from Sumatra to Kaulam.—Yule,
Cathay, p. 513.
² Mieh-a-mo, in Cantonese: Mīt-ad-maht, in the Amoy dialect: Biat-ö-hwat,
possibly a Chinese corruption of Arabic Māddxi or Māhvī (Marabia), said to
have been an old city in the kingdom of Elî described by Marco Polo.
However, the few notices collected by Yule as referring to this city (Marco
Polo, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 375 seq.) do not encourage me in thinking seriously
of this identification. Another possibility may be looked for in the name
Ma'abar, now applying to the coast of Coromandel. This would involve the
extension of Chao Ju-kua's Nan-p'î to both the east and west coast of Southern
India. Certain analogies in the Chinese and Marco Polo's account seem to
support this supposition. The king of Ma'abar, like the ruler of Nan-p'î,
wears golden armlets and ankle-rings (cf. Yule, p. 322). Both monarchs take
pleasure in surrounding themselves with a large number of fine women, even
the number agreeing in the two accounts. According to Marco Polo (Yule,
p. 323), the king has "some five hundred wives"—"for whenever he hears of a
beautiful damsel he takes her to wife." The king of Nan-p'î, besides his five
hundred women, had a body-guard of twenty men guarding the royal insignia
right and left, while Polo says: "there are about the king a number of
Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near
him," etc. We learn from a later Chinese authority that the Nan-p'î caste
restrained from eating beef. So Polo says (Yule, p. 325): "The people are
idolaters, and many of them worship the ox, because (they say) it is a creature
of such excellence. They would not eat beef for anything in the world, nor
would they on any account kill an ox."
³ "Ibn Batuta describes the King of Calicut, the great Zamorin, coming
down to the beach to see the wreck of certain junks: his clothing consisted of
a great piece of white stuff rolled about him from the navel to the knees, and
a little scrap of a turban on his head; his feet were bare, and a young slave carried
chain surrounds his leg. Among the royal insignia there is a standard, adorned with peacocks' feathers, on a pole covered with vermilion, over twenty men guarding it right and left. He is attended by a guard of about five hundred picked foreign\textsuperscript{1} women, selected for their fine physique: those in the front, leading the way with pantomimes, have cloth wrapped about their bodies, but walk barefoot, using merely a piece of cloth around their loins; those in the rear ride on horses without saddles, their loins are wrapped in cloth, their hair is dressed, and they wear necklaces of real pearls, anklets and foot rings of real gold, their bodies are anointed with camphor and musk mixed with drugs, while umbrellas made of peacocks' feathers protect them against the sun. In front of these dancing women are carried the officers in the king's train, sitting on bags of white foreign cloth, called "cloth-bag sedans," which are lifted on poles plated with gold and silver. In this country there is much sandy soil, and when the king goes out, they first send out an officer with over a hundred soldiers to sprinkle the ground with water to provide against gusts of wind whirling up the dust. The people are very dainty in their diet; they have a hundred ways of cooking their food, which varies every day. There is an official with the title "Academician" (Han-lin) who lays the meats and drinks before the king, and sees how much food he consumes; he regulates his diet in order that he may not exceed the proper measure. If perchance the king should fall sick for this reason, then he has to taste his faeces, and treat him according to their being sweet or bitter. The inhabitants of this country are of red-brown complexion; the lobes of their ears hang down to their shoulders. They are skilled in archery, and are good sword and lance men; they love fighting, and sit on elephants when doing so. In battle their heads are wrapped in turbans of coloured silks. They are particularly devout Buddhists. The country is warm, and there is no cold season. Rice, hemp, beans, wheat,

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{fan}, "foreign"; possibly standing for \textit{fan}, "Indian," "Brahmin."
millet, and edible roots and provisions, are produced in sufficient quantity, and may be had at reasonable prices enough. They cut an alloy of white silver into coins, on which they engrave an official seal; the people use them for purposes of trade. The following products are found in this country: real pearls, all descriptions of foreign cloth, and cotton cloth. There is in this country a river with fresh water, which, at a place where a number of different passages unite, assumes very broad dimensions. By its side there are bold cliffs, on which there are constantly sparks [stars] to be seen. The magic emanating from these hardens into small stones resembling cats’ eyes; their colour is clear and transparent; they lie buried in the recesses of the hills, until some day they are washed out by the rush of a flood. The officials at such times send out men in small boats to pick them up. The inhabitants consider them precious stones.¹ The following States are subject to this country,² viz.:—

2. Hu-ch’a-la [Guzerat].
4. Pi-li-sha [Barotsch ?].

¹ “The cat’s eyes, by the Portuguese called Olhos de Gatos, occur in Zeylon, Cambaya, and Pegu.”—Baldaeus, Beschreibung der ostindischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel: Amsterdam, 1672. S. Yule, Anglo-Indian Glossary, p. 774. Probably neither Ceylon nor Pegu are meant in this passage, but Cambay, which, as we shall see directly, is enumerated as one of the territories belonging to Nan-p’i.

² The Chinese text merely contains the following thirty characters, which I have tried to divide and identify as nearly as possible with the limited knowledge of mediaeval India now at my disposal. The characters are: 故臨胡茶穀甘琵逸弼離沙麻喱華馮牙喱麻哩抹都奴何啞哩咗唎喱哩. Regarding the ports on the coast of Malabar during the Middle Ages, see Yule’s note devoted to this subject in Cathay, p. 600 seqq.
5. Ma-lo-hua [Canton: Má-lo-vá = Malwa].
   Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i, p. 188: Mangarut, 
   Mangalor].
7. Ma-li-mo [Amoy: Ma-li-huat = Malibar?].
8. Tu-nu-ho [Tanore?].
10. Ngao-lo-lo-ni [Cananor?].

This country is very far, and the foreign vessels rarely go thither. Shih-lo-pa-chih-li-kan, father and son, belong to this race of people. They now live in the south of the city of Ch‘üan [Chinchew]. The products are carried from this country to Chi-lo-ta-lung [a name which I cannot identify] and San-fo-ch‘i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and the following goods are exchanged in barter against them: silks of Ho-ch‘ih [Playfair, Cities and Towns of China, No. 2208], porcelain, camphor, rhubarb, huang-lien [rhizoma of Koptis teeta?], cloves, camphor drops, sandalwood, cardamoms, and eagle wood.

The country of Ku-lin [Kulam, Coilom, Quilon] may be reached from Nan-p‘i by ship with the monsoon in five days. It takes a Chinchew junk [ch‘üan-po, i.e. an ocean junk of Ch‘üan-chou-fu] over forty days to arrive at Lan-li [Lambri]; there the winter is spent, and, in the following year, a further journey of a month will take her to this country. The customs of the people are, on the whole, not different from those of the Nan-p‘i people. The products consist in cocoa nuts, sapanwood, and a kind of wine made of honey and sugar [mi-t‘ang, perhaps syrup] mixed with cocoa nuts and the juice of some flower, the mixture being allowed to ferment. The inhabitants are devoted to archery; when assailing the enemy [or, in battle] they wrap their hair in silken turbans. For trading purposes they use gold and silver coins; twelve silver coins are worth one

1 This is probably the beverage known as toddy, regarding which see Yule, Anglo-Indian Glossary, p. 706.
gold coin. The country is warm, and has no cold season. Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra], Chien-pi [in Cantonese: Kam-pi, described by Chao Ju-kua as a revolting colony of San-fo-ch'i, with a warlike population, probably Malays, carrying on trade in tin, ivory, and pearls], and Chi-t'o [in Cantonese: Kat-to=Karta?]; and the articles they barter with are the same as in the case of Nan-p'i. The Ta-shih [Arabs] live in great numbers in this country. Whenever they have finished taking a bath they anoint their bodies with Yu-chin [turmeric], as they wish to resemble a Buddha in the gilt appearance of his body.

17. Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat].

The country of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat] rules over more than a hundred chou [cities]; its [main] city has a four-fold wall. The inhabitants of this country are white and clean-looking. Both men and women have double rings hanging down from holes in their ears; they wear tight clothes, and are wrapped in plain cotton cloth; they wear on their heads white hoods, and on their feet shoes of scarlet leather. They are forbidden to eat flesh. There are four

---

1 The relation between gold and silver, for centuries previous to the discovery of America, was twelve to one. Cf. Yule, Cathay, etc., p. 442.
2 Coiom is well known as a resort of trade during the Middle Ages up to the time when the Portuguese appeared with ships of deeper draught which could not anchor in its shallow harbour.—Reinaud, Relation, etc., p. lxxxiii. According to Reinaud’s traveller Soleyman, Coiom was the starting-point in India for the journey to China. Similarly, according to Chao Ju-kua, it was the landing-place in India for those coming from China; for, while junk made the trips from Chinchew to Lambri, and thence direct to Ku-lin (Coiom), it is distinctly said that foreign ships rarely go to Nan-p'i. To arrive in Chu-lien (Orissa), as we shall see further on, the traveller hailing from China had to change ship at Ku-lin (Coiom). This seems to show that China skippers were not in the habit of visiting the coast of Coromandel.
thousand Buddhist temple buildings, in which there are living over twenty thousand nuns, who, twice every day, sing hymns, while offering food to Buddha or while offering flowers. When offering flowers they bind them into bouquets with cotton thread, of which they use about three hundred catties every day. They have over four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 cavalry horses. When the king goes in or out, he rides on an elephant; on his head he wears a cap [or, crown]. His followers ride on horseback and are armed with swords. The following products are found in this country: indigo in great quantities, red kino, myrobalans, and all kinds of foreign cloth. Every year these goods are transported to the Arabian countries for sale.

18. MA-LO-HUA [Malwa].

The country of Ma-lo-hua [Malwa] connects with Hu-ch’a-la [Guzerat]. This country has under it over sixty chou [cities], and it is on the land road [i.e. it does not lie on the sea-coast]. The manner of dressing and the local customs are the same as those of Hu-ch’a-la [Guzerat]. Of products white cloth is very common. Every year 2000 oxen, or more, laden with cloth, are sent along the land road to other countries for barter.

1 Guzerat was famous for its many temples, most of which were situated on the south-western coast in the territory called Okamandala, which afterwards became the seat of a cruel set of pirates.—Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk., vol. i, p. 134.
2 Regarding the indigo of Guzerat, see Lassen, op. cit., vol. i, p. 325; and Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 383.
19. CHU-LIEN [Orissa, the Empire of the Kesari Dynasty].

The country of Chu-lien is the Southern India of the Western Heaven. In the east it [i.e., its capital, or chief city] is five li distant from the sea; in the west you go to Western India [Hsi T'ien-chu], 1500 li; in the south you go to Lo-lan, 2500 li; in the north you go to Tun-t'ien, 3000 li. This country has not, from olden times, carried on trade with us. By water you reach Chinchew in about 411,400, or more, li. If you wish to go to this country, then you must change boat in Ku-lin [Coilom], and thence travel there; some say that from [or, by way of] the country of P'u-kan [Pagán] you can also go there. In this country there is a city with a sevenfold wall, the wall being as high as seven Chinese feet, and extending twelve li from north to south, and seven li from east to west; the different walls are a hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are built of brickwork, two of mud, and the one in the centre, of wood, and there are flowers, fruit-trees, and other trees planted [on them]. The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people—they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls are for the dwellings of court officers; the fifth wall is for the dwellings of the king's four sons; within the sixth wall are the Buddhist (?) monasteries where the various priests dwell; and the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palaces where the king lives.°

1 Chu-lien may be a Chinese corruption of the name Chola. Cf. Yule, Anglo-Indian Glossary, p. 199.

2 There must be an error in this statement; if not, the li has here been confounded with a considerably smaller measure.

3 It appears that we possess an unmistakable record regarding this city in the fragments left to us of the history of the Kesari dynasty in India. It must be the ancient capital of that empire. Lassen [op. cit., vol. iv, p. 6], speaking of the events recorded in the history of Orissa, describes a king Jajáti, not as the founder, but as the restorer, of the Kesari dynasty, who established his court at
There are in all thirty-two divisions [pu-lo, 部落, possibly pura, cities]: of these, twelve are in the west, namely [47 characters, see below]; eight are in the south, namely [38 characters]; twelve are in the north, namely [44 characters].

the city of Djadjapura. Here he built a palace, called Chaturdeva, because it had four gates. The chief event of Jajati's reign is, according to Lassen, the establishment of the service of a deity called Dzagannatha, whose image had been carried away and concealed and was then recovered. Four images of that deity, including the original one, were brought to Puri, where a new temple was erected for them. "The entire surroundings of the city," Lassen says, "were devoted to the service of Dzagannatha, or Vishnu, and the maintenance of that temple; and Jajati laid the foundation for the wealth of its priesthood. One of his successors, Lalita Indra Kesari, who ascended the throne in A.D. 617, was the founder of a large and well-defended city in the neighbourhood of the above sanctuary, which was divided into seven quarters and contained thirty-two streets and where the King resided" (Lassen, i.e., p. 11). I am not able to say whether there is any connection between the "thirty-two streets of the city" mentioned by Lassen and the thirty-two pu-lo, or divisions, occurring in our text. These I would under ordinary circumstances consider to be divisions of the country, but I cannot do so in the face of Indian tradition as known to me through Lassen's account, pending an inquiry into the text forming the basis of that account of "thirty-two streets," which Lassen appears to have derived from A. Stirling's "An Account, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of Orissa Proper in Cuttack," in As. Res. xv, p. 269 sqq., which I have not been able to look up. In the Sung-shih the names of two kings are mentioned who sent embassies with tribute from this country to China, viz.: in A.D. 1033, Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo, which may stand for Sri Raja Indra Chola [or, Andhra Chola]; and again, in A.D. 1077, Ti-wa-ka-lo, which may stand for Dëva Kala, or Dëva Kara. The last-named king made a good bargain with his colleague on the dragon throne, since the embassy, consisting of 72 men, were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, i.e. about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute, comprising glassware, camphor, brocades [called Kimkw, 錦花, in the Chinese text], rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rosewater, putchuck, asa foetida, borax, cloves, etc. This so-called embassy was probably, like most of the missions to the coast of China, nothing better than a trading expedition on joint account, the 72 ambassadors being the shareholders, or their supercargoes. It appears that the relations between China and Orissa were not resumed after this expedition, and it is very likely that Chao Ju-kua's chapter on Chu-lien is derived from the account of one of the travellers having reached China during the rule of the Kesari dynasty. Such an account would most probably have been placed on record by one of our author's predecessors in the office of Shih-po, or Superintendent of Trade, at Ch'üan-chou.

1 The text says "thirty-one," but the enumeration following (12+8+12) shows them to be "thirty-two."
characters]. When anyone among the people is guilty

It may not be quite hopeless to attempt identifying some of these names, whether they represent “streets,” “divisions” (of the city, or of the country), or “cities” (pusa). Should they prove to be names of cities, their identification would assist us in gaining some positive knowledge of the political extent of the Kesari empire. The repetition of certain groups of sounds, such as pu-teng (twice, viz. a, 23, 24, and b, 21, 22), which may stand for patam, as an ending in city names, or mung-ha-lan (four times, viz. b, 36, 37, 38; c, 12, 13, 14; d, 21, 22, 23; and e, 42, 43, 44), which may stand for Mangalor, might lead to some interesting discoveries. The characters follow each other thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. In the West (12 names)</th>
<th>b. In the South (8 names)</th>
<th>c. In the North (12 names)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 只 25. 故</td>
<td>1. 無 20. 藍</td>
<td>1. 撥 23. 藍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 尼 27. 婆</td>
<td>3. 加 22. 登</td>
<td>3. 耶 25. 林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 亞 29. 厝</td>
<td>5. 麻 24. 伽</td>
<td>5. 沒 27. 藍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 羅 32. 業</td>
<td>8. 古 27. 藍</td>
<td>8. 注 30. 和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 無 34. 間</td>
<td>10. 苦 29. 里</td>
<td>10. 加 32. 堡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 龐 35. 黎</td>
<td>11. 低 30. 琵</td>
<td>11. 里 33. 琵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 琵 36. 池</td>
<td>12. 舍 31. 職</td>
<td>12. 蒙 34. 來</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 林 39. 部</td>
<td>15. 蜜 34. 亞</td>
<td>15. 漆 37. 蓋</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 布 40. 尼</td>
<td>16. 多 35. 亞</td>
<td>16. 結 38. 禮</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. 布 41. 遮</td>
<td>17. 羅 36. 蒙</td>
<td>17. 麻 39. 崇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 布 42. 古</td>
<td>18. 羅 37. 伽</td>
<td>18. 揍 41. 迷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. 古 43. 林</td>
<td>19. 伽 38. 藍</td>
<td>20. 折 42. 蒙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. 蕃 44. 亞</td>
<td>21. 布 45. 里</td>
<td>21. 蒙 43. 伽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. 布 46. 者</td>
<td>22. 林 47. 林</td>
<td>22. 伽 44. 藍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. 林 46. 者</td>
<td>23. 漣 47. 林</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence were light, the culprit is tied up on a wooden frame and given fifty, or seventy, or up to a hundred blows with a stick; heavy crimes are visited by decapitation or by the culprit’s being trampled to death by elephants. At State banquets the king salaams with his four court ministers at the palace steps, and the whole company then engages in instrumental music, hymns, and pantomimes; he eats meat, though he takes no wine, and by the native custom dresses in cotton cloth and eats flour cakes; for his table and escort he employs fully ten thousand female attendants, three thousand of whom are in waiting every day in rotation. When contracting marriage, one first sends a female go-between with a gold and silver finger ring to the bride’s house. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the bridegroom’s clan to decide on the amount of land, or cattle, or betel nuts, or wine, and the like, to be given as marriage gifts; and the bride’s family sends the gold or silver finger ring, Yüeh-no cloth, and the brocaded clothing worn by the bride, to their [intended] son-in-law. In case the man should wish to withdraw from the engagement, he will not dare to reclaim the marriage gifts; but if the girl should wish to reject the man, then she will make double compensation for it. Since the taxes and duties of the kingdom are numerous and heavy, travelling merchants rarely go thither. This country is at war with the countries of the Western Heaven. The Government possesses 60,000 war elephants, all seven or eight Chinese feet in height; when fighting, they set houses on the backs of these elephants, and the houses are full of soldiers, who shoot with arrows at long range and fight with spears at

---

1 Yüeh-no cloth is frequently mentioned in mediaeval texts on Central and Western Asia. Among other places Baghdad was engaged in its manufacture (see Die Länder des Islam nach chines. Quellen, Supplement to T'oung-pao, vol. v, p. 42, note 4); also in Rüm (Lu-mei), whatever may be meant by that name (ibid., p. 48).

2 This may refer to the imposts levied by Varja Kesari.—Lassen, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 11.

3 This seems to show that, when this item of information was placed on record, the great conquest of North India had not taken place.
close quarters. When they are victorious, their elephants are also granted honorary names to signalize their merit. The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords, and die without regret. Father and son, elder and younger brothers, will have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served on separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duty. The following articles are produced in the country: pearls, ivory, corals, transparent glass \([po-li]\), betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass \([liu-li]\), dyed silk cloth, and cotton cloth. Of quadrupeds, they have goats and oxen; of birds, pheasants and parrots; of fruits, the yú-kan \([a\ kind\ of\ mango:\ Spondias\ amara]\), the t'èng-lo \([\text{some\ kind\ of\ epidendrum};\ according\ to\ Parker\ in\ China\ Review,\ vol.\ xix,\ p.\ 193:\ Rattan]\), dates, cocoa nuts, the kan-lo, the k'un-lun plum, and the jack fruit; of flowers, the white jasmine \([18\ characters,\ some\ of\ which\ probably\ represent\ Indian,\ if\ not\ Persian,\ or\ Arabic,\ sounds}\); of grain, green and black beans, wheat, and paddy; and the bamboo is indigenous there. In former times they have not sent tribute to our court; but in the eighth year of the period Ta-chung and Hsiang-fu \([\text{A.D.}\ 1015]\) the chief of the country sent an embassy with pearls and the like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said that they wished to evince the respect of distant people for [Chinese] civilization. They were ordered by Imperial decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and be entertained with a repast by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys from Kuei-tzü \([\text{Kutsha in Eastern Turkestan}]\). It just happened to be

\(^{(1)}\) 1 散 2 絲 3 她 4 膽 5 桑 6 麗 7 秋 8 青 9 黃 10 碧 11 婆 12 羅 13 瑤 14 連 15 輔 16 紫 17 水 18 燕. Mr. E. H. Parker, in a similar passage, transliterates the characters 11 and 12 by solo, which he calls "a sort of cotton" \((\text{China Review, vol. xix, p. 193})\); but the term reads polo \("\text{blue, yellow, and green polo}\") , not solo. The character which Mr. Parker has in view is probably 安, so.
the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the "Sacred Enclosure." In the tenth year of Hsi-ning [A.D. 1077] they sent further tribute of local produce. The Emperor Shên-Tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department [a chamberlain, nei-shih], to bid them welcome.

The remaining countries, Nan-ni-hua-lo, etc., are more than one hundred in number; they are all included under the term Western Heaven.

Of the city which is called Wang-shê [lit. Royal Lodge], tradition says that, in the north of Chiao-chih [Tungking] you go to Ta-li [Ta-li-fu in Yünnan], and west of Ta-li you come to the city of Wang-shê in less than forty days' journey. The Huang-hua-hsi-ta-chi ["Record of Imperial Chinese Missions to the West"] by Chia Tan says: "To reach T'ien-chu [India] from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country; yet Ta-mo [Dharma] came floating on the sea to P'an-yü [Canton], and we may fairly ask whether the sea journey be not more expeditious than that lengthy road overland?"

1 Cf. the embassy mentioned in the Sung-shih. Note on p. 490, above.
2 Wang-shê, lit. Royal Lodge. I believe that our author here confounds the city of Radjagriha, the Wang-shê of Buddhistic lore, with the new capital founded in A.D. 989 by Nirûpa Kesari and named Katuka, the translation of which name is given as "Royal Residence." This is the same city which has given its name to the present province of Cuttack.—Lassen, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 12.
3 A great geographer of the T'ang dynasty, who lived about A.D. 730 to 805. He was the author of a number of important ethnographical works, none of which appear to have come down to our days. From his biography (T'ang-shu, ch. 166, p. 1 seqq.) I conclude that he devoted considerable interest to foreign nations. He drew several maps, among others one entitled Hsi-nei-hua-i, i.e. "Chinese and Foreigners within the Seas"; and that this was not a mere illustration of ethnographical types, which the word t'hu (map, drawing) often denotes, may be concluded from the remark, made in the T'ang-shu, that "it measured three ch'ung and three ch'î in breadth, and that it was drawn on the scale of 100 li to the inch." The geographical section of the bibliographical chapter of the T'ang-shu (ch. 58, p. 32) mentions under his name, besides "Ten books of Maps" (Ti-ts'hu shih ch'ian), the work quoted by Chao Ju-kua, with a slight variant, placing seu (four) for hsi (west) in the title.
The capital of the country of Pêng-ka-lo [Bengala] in the west is called Ch'a-na-chi.\textsuperscript{1} This city is 120 \textit{li} in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton, and other cloth. Some say that the doctrine of Buddha has originated in this country: for, when Hsüan Chuang, [the Master versed in] the Three Canons, of the T'ang dynasty, fetched the sacred books, he had come to the Western Heaven.

Nan-ni-hua-lo [or, Southern Ni-hua-lo].\textsuperscript{2}—Its city has a threefold wall; and the inhabitants, in the morning and in the evening, bathe and besmear their bodies with turmeric, thus imitating the golden colour of a Buddha. They are mostly called Po-lo-mên [Brahmans], as being genuine descendants of Buddha. The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they erect altars, three Chinese feet in height, which are ascended by three steps, and where they burn incense and offer flowers every day in the morning; this they call the sacrifice to Buddha. When the foreigners of Ta-shih [Arabs, Muhammadans] come to this country, they give them seats outside the doors, and lodge them in separate houses supplied with bedding and mess gear. When a married woman has been guilty of adultery she is killed, and the officials will not ask about it. The country produces first-class putchuck and fine white flowered and spotted cotton cloth. The people eat much kumiss [\textit{su-lo}, ghee?], rice, beans, and vegetables; they will rarely eat fish or meat. The road leads to the Western Regions [Hsi-yü]. When there are raids made by the light horsemen from the Western Regions, all the resistance they offer is to lock

\textsuperscript{1} In Cantonese Ch'a-na-kat, which may correspond to some name like Chandanagar = Chandernagar? Cf. Champanagar, Lassen, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. i, p. 175; and Sumarganu, Yule, \textit{Cathay}, p. 465.

\textsuperscript{2} An account similar to Chao Ju-kua's will be found in the letterpress, accompanying an illustration in the Chinese \textit{Orbis Pictus San-t'ae-t'u-hui}. It is reproduced in the \textit{T'u-shu-ch'i-ch'êng}, sect. 8 : 107, ch. i, p. 50.

their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and [the intruders] withdraw of their own accord.

21. T'ien-chu [part of India].

The country of T'ien-chu is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in; for the chiefs of the country are all selected by Ta-ts'in. It is customary with the people to plait their hair, which hangs down, whereas the temples and the top of the head are covered by a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster in lieu of tiles. They have walled cities for the people to dwell in. The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral tuft.

1 The term T'ien-chu, usually rendered by India, has a much more limited sense in Buddhist texts than the name thus rendered would suggest. The Hsiang-chiao-p'iu-pien, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopaedia of the Ming dynasty (see my notes regarding it in Young-pao, vol. vi, p. 318) says (ch. i, p. 4) that Bangala [Pang-lo-la] is in the east of T'ien-chu; Chao-no-p'o [Chandernaga?] in the middle; Magadha, in the south; Kapila [Buddha’s birthplace in the north of Oudh: Cunningham, The Ancient Geogr. of India, p. 414 seqq.], in the west; and Gazna [Ka-shê-na], in the north. Chao Ju-kua probably excludes the T'ien-chu of Buddhists from his own account, which forms the first part of this chapter, and is followed by a quotation from other sources, in which T'ien-chu is taken in another sense; for Wu-t'ien-chu, “The Five Indies,” was well known as a general term for India in the wider sense before Chao Ju-kua. “T’ien-chu is said to be an imitation of the sound Sun-tu or Shén-tu [Sindh], just as Tu-fan is said to stand for Tu-fat [Tibet].” I find this remark in a work published in A.D. 1175, the Ten-fan-lu, by Ch’êng Ta-ch’ang, a most interesting cyclopaedic collection of miscellanies and by no means the kind of work which Wylie (Notes on Chinese Lit., p. 129) represents it to be.

2 The only interpretation I am able to offer with regard to this remarkable statement is, that at some time or other Nestorian Bishops were regarded as “chiefs of the country.” With the exception of the Buddhist devotee Lo-hu-na, who called himself a native of T’ien-chu and who, as coming from T’ien-chu, or India, in the wider sense, may not be at all connected with the T’ien-chu here described, nothing occurs in this account which points to Buddhism or which strongly speaks against the assumption that Nestorians are referred to as “chiefs.” I am inclined to think that Chao Ju-kua’s T’ien-chu refers to the coast of Madras, the legendary burial-place of St. Thomas (see Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 342 seqq.), to which should be added the adjoining territory described by Marco Polo as the kingdom of Muffilî. Chao Ju-kua’s T’ien-chu produces diamonds: of these Marco Polo says (Yule, vol. ii, p. 347) that “no other country but this kingdom of Muffilî produces them.” Possibly the pieces of tale referred to in the Chinese text as looking like silken gauze have some connection with Polo’s “delicate buckrams” which look “like tissue of spider’s web.” Whether a bishop, or some other church authority, was in charge of the St. Thomas Christians, it is most probable that he took his appointment from the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical “King of Ta-ts’in.” Cf. China and the Roman Orient, p. 284 seqq.
on the top of his head, the remaining hair being cut short. When holding court in the morning he sits on a skin of the Têng [explained as the name of an animal in a gloss of our text, the native dictionaries affording no clue in this matter], adorned with representations of various objects painted with red wax; and his courtiers all do him reverence and pray for his life. When going out he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold [wu-chin, whatever metal this may have been] and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords. His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once in a year she shows herself in public, when a considerable bounty is given to the poor. In the country there is the sacred water which can still wind and waves. The foreign merchants fill glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get into a rough sea, they still it by sprinkling out this water.\(^1\) It is said that,\(^2\) during the reign of Hsûan-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty [A.D. 500–515], T'ien-chu sent envoys offering large horses. This country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoise shell, gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin; golden rugs made by weaving gold threads, white cotton cloth, and ta-têng [rugs ?]. There is a stone like talc, but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together, these pieces look like silken gauze. They have diamonds, resembling fluor spar, which will not melt though a hundred times exposed to the fire; they cut jadestone. There are, further, sandalwood and the like incenses, sugar-cane, sugar-candy [shih-mi],\(^3\) and all kinds of fruit. They

\(^1\) I am strongly tempted to here suspect an allusion to the use of consecrated water (aqua bauralis), known to the ancient Christians long before the existence of Roman Catholicism.

\(^2\) The entire passage following down to the words "they cut jadestone" appears with almost the same reading in the T'ung-tien, a work of the eighth century A.D. Altogether Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Ta-ts'ien and T'ien-chu are blended with matter occurring in older texts, to which fact the authors of the great Catalogue of the Peking Imperial Library have drawn attention.

\(^3\) "Sucre cristallisé." This is the translation adopted by Julien for the term shih-mi (lit. "stone honey," "petrified honey") on the strength of a definition,
have trade once every year with Ta-ts‘in and Fu-nan [Siam]; they use cowries as a means of exchange. They are clever in jugglery, and know the use of bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying ladders, and mining underground ways [or, tunnels], and also the contrivances of "the wooden ox" and "the gliding horse" [mu-niu-liu-ma]1; yet, they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and chronographers, and understand the "Siddham Rule Books"2 . . . . [a gap of seven characters follows here in the text, though no gap is mentioned in the corresponding paragraph of the T‘ung-tien]. They make paper of the leaves of the Pei-to [Patra] tree. During the periods Chêng-kuan [A.D.

derived apparently from the ancient work I-wu-chih (Pei-wen-yun-fu, ch. xiii, p. 72). The I-wu-chih says: "The juice pressed out of the sugar-cane produced in Chiao-chih [Tungking] is like t‘hsing [''sweet cakes''], and is called t‘ang [i.e. sugar]; when further boiled and exposed to the sun, it may be broken up like bricks, after it has coagulated and crystallized. To eat it, you take it into your mouth and dissolve it. At the time people called it shih-mi." This name shih-mi occurs as early as the Hou-han-shu, in the description of India, which involves that sugar-candy was known there during the first centuries of our era. The Hsi-ching-tou-chi, a record of events at the Western capital during the Han dynasty, even mentions that the king of Nan-yueh presented the emperor Kao-ti [n.c. 206-194] with shi‘mi (see Pei-wen-yun-fu, l.c.). Regarding Sugar and Sugar-cane in ancient India, see Lassen, op. cit., vol. i, p. 317 seqq.

1 "The Wooden Ox" and "the Gliding Horse," according to the San-kwo-chih (Chu, ch. v, pp. 13 and 15), were contrivances facilitating the transport of provisions invented by the great hero of the third century, Chu-ko Liang. The Chinese attach great value to these inventions, a detailed description of which has been preserved by the scholiast commenting on the passage referred to. I am not able, from a cursory perusal of it, to form a clear idea as to how they were constructed and how they worked.

2 Hsi-tan chang-shu. According to Julien (Hienan-Thang, iii, p. 627), the first chapters of a syllabary in twelve chapters attributed to Brahma. Cf. Eitel, Handbook for the Student of Chin. Buddh., s.v. Siddha Vastu. Watters, "The Shadows of a Pilgrim," in China Review, vol. xix, p. 220, shows it to be the beginning of a child’s primer, or A B C, the first chapter of which was headed by the word Siddham, forming an auspicious invocation. This may be the primary meaning and would be the orthodox interpretation according to the traditional explanation of this term as found in Buddhist glossaries. Since a gap appears in the text following it, we cannot easily decide what the author was going to say. His speaking of the astronomical achievements of the Hindus, however, seems to suggest that by the term Hsi-tan (= Siddhanta) the astronomical literature is referred to. Alberini (Sachau, vol. i, p. 163) says: "The book known among Muslims as Sundhinda is called by them Siddhanta, i.e. straight, not crooked nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinion, do not come up to the mark of our so-called Zij, i.e. handbooks of mathematical astronomy. They have five Siddhantas," etc. Lassen (op. cit., vol. iv, p. 621) calls the Siddhanta "ein Lehrbuch, in dem ein wissenschaftliches System durch Gründe bewiesen wird, besonders ein astronomisches."
627–650] and T'ien-shou [A.D. 690–692] of the T'ang dynasty they have sent envoys with tribute. At the time of Yung-hsi [A.D. 984–988], a Buddhist devotee, by name Lo-hu-na, arrived here by sea; he called himself a native of T'ien-chu [India]. The foreign merchants [fan-shang, who must have been Buddhists; possibly Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries, if not Indians, Ceylonese, etc., since Muhammadans would not build a Buddhist temple], considering him a foreign priest [hu-séng], vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones; but the devotee was not in want of these himself. He invested the presents thus received in the purchase of a piece of ground, on which he built a Buddhist temple; it stood in the southern suburb of Ch'üan [Chinchew], and the present Pao-lin-yüan [Monastery] is identical with it.

(b) **Extracts from Part II: Articles of Trade.**

1. Camphor.

Camphor comes from P'u-ni [Brni, Borneo], according to some Fo-ni; it also comes from the country of Pin-su.1

1 Pin-su, in Cantonese Pan-sok, the latter form representing the sound Pansur; for, since I had shown ("Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in foreign names" in Journ. of the China Br. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xxi, p. 220) that final n and final r were employed in Ancient Chinese transcriptions to represent final r in foreign names, M. Terrien de Lacouperie added k and p to the number of Chinese finals which can take the place of final r (see "The Djurtchen of Mandshuria" in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XXI, p. 442). Although this name Pansur is not mentioned anywhere else by our author, I do not hesitate to identify it with the country distinctly described as a producer of camphor under the name Fansur by Arab and other mediæval writers. "The camphor al-fansārī is mentioned as early as by Avicenna, and by Marco Polo, and came from a place called Fansūr in Sumatra, perhaps the same as Barus, which has now long given its name to the costly Sumatra drug."—Yule, Anglo-Indian Glossary, p. 116. The name Fansur is first mentioned by Mas'ūdi (about A.D. 948) and Abu Seyd (Reinaud, Relation, etc., vol. i, p. 7; Fansur). Marco Polo describes a kingdom of Fansur which produces camphor. Chao Ju-kua was apparently not aware that this country of Pin-su (Pansur, or Fansur) and his San-fo-ch'i were situated on the same island; and he may be correct, in a certain sense, in maintaining that in San-fo-ch'i (Palembang) itself the drug was not produced, but merely imported for re-shipment. This passage need not, therefore, involve the exclusion of the camphor industry from Sumatra. Regarding the Fansur question and its literature, see Yule, Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 280 seqq.
The common report that it is also found in San-fo-ch’i [Palembang, Sumatra] is an error; the fact is merely this—that, owing to this country being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for trade with foreign ships. The camphor-tree is like the pine-tree [shan]; it grows in the depths of the hills and the remotest valleys. So long as branches and trunk continue unhurt, the tree will contain the resin even for hundreds and thousands of years; otherwise it will evaporate. When the natives enter the hills, in order to gather the camphor, they must go in troops of several tens of men; they are provided with clothes made of trees’ bark [or, fibre] and supplies of sha-hu [Sago] for grain. They go in different directions, and whenever they meet any camphor-trees, they fell with a hatchet and mark as many as ten, or more; they then cut these into lengths and distribute them equally, and each cuts into planks his share; these boards, again, they crack along the side and cross-wise so as to produce chinks, and the camphor collecting in these chinks is got out by forcing a wedge into them. The camphor which forms crystals is called Mei-hua-nao [lit. Plum Flower Camphor], because it resembles the plum flower; an inferior quality is called Chin-ch’iao-nao [lit. Gold Foot Camphor]; broken bits are called Mi-nao [lit. Rice-grain Camphor]; when these are mixed up with splinters, it is called Ts’ang-nao [lit. Granary Camphor]; the wooden boards, after all the camphor has been removed from them, are called Nao-cha [lit. Camphor Slips]. Nowadays people break these boards into small bits and mix them with sawdust, which mixture they place in a vessel of porcelain, covered by another vessel, the openings being hermetically closed; when roasted in hot ashes, the vapour formed by the mixture condenses and forms lumps, which are called Chū-nao [lit. Collected Camphor]; it is used for women’s head ornaments and the like purposes. There is further an oily sort of camphor called Nao-yu [lit. Camphor Oil], which is of a strong
and stringent aroma; but it will do for moistening incense, or mixing with oil.

2. FRANKINCENSE.

Ju-hsiang [Gum Olibanum], also called Hsün-lu-hsiang, is produced in the three Ta-shih [Arabian] countries of Ma-lo-pa [Merbot], Shih-ho [Sheher], and Nu-fa [Dhofar], in the depths of the remotest mountain valleys. The tree which yields this drug may on the whole be compared to the Yung [Banian]. Its trunk is chopped with a hatchet, upon which the resin flows out, and when hardened, turns into incense, which is gathered and made into lumps. It is transported on elephants to the Ta-shih [Arabs]; the Ta-shih [Arabs] load it upon their ships for barter against other goods in San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra]; and it is for this reason that the incense is commonly collected at San-fo-ch'i. When the foreign merchants come to that place to trade, the Customs authorities, in accordance with the relative strength of its fragrance, distinguish thirteen classes of incense. Of these, the very best is called Chien-hsiang, or “Picked Incense”: it is round and of the size of the top of a finger; which is commonly called Ti-ju [lit. “Dripping Milk,” “Dripping Incense”]. The second quality is called P'ing-ju [lit. “Potted Milk”], and its colour is inferior to that of the “Picked Incense.” The next quality is called P'ing-hsiang [lit. “Potted Incense”]; they say, because, owing to its being prized so much at the time of gathering, it is placed in pots [vases, or jars—p'ing].

1 This word Hsün-lu [old sound: hun-luk] I look upon as the Chinese equivalent of Turkish ghyvneluk, “frankincense,” though I am not prepared to say whether the Chinese have got this word from the Turks, or vice versa. Cf. China and the Roman Orient, p. 266 seq.
2 Regarding the identification of these three names, see my Die Länder des Islam, etc., p. 21, note 3, and p. 27 note 1; also Professor de Goeje’s remarks on p. 58.
3 From a passage in the Hsiang-p'u, a later work on incenses, where the same sense is reproduced in almost identical words, I conclude that yung (Banian) is a misprint for sung (a pine-tree), the two characters being easily confounded. The passage referred to is quoted in the Fên-ts'ao-kang-mu, ch. xxxiv, p. 48.
Of this last kind three further qualities, viz., superior, middling, and inferior, are distinguished. The next quality is called Tai-hsiang [lit. “Bag Incense”]; they say, because, at the time of gathering, it is merely put into bags; it is also divided into three qualities, like the P'ing-hsiang. The next kind is the Ju-t'a, because it consists of incense mixed with gravel. The next kind is the Hei-t'a, because its colour is black. The next kind is the Shui-shih-hei-t'a, because it consists of incense which has been water-damaged while on board ship, the aroma having turned and the colour having spoiled. Incense mixed of various qualities and consisting of broken pieces is called Ch'ē-hsiāo [lit. “Cut-up”]; when passed through a sieve and thus made into dust, it is called Ch'ān-mo [i.e. “Dust”]. The above are the differences in the incense.

3. MYRRH.

Mo-yao [Myrrh]¹ comes from the country of Ma-lo-mo [probably another transcription for Morbot] in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree resembles in height and size the pine-tree [sung] of China; its bark is one or two inches thick. At the time of gathering the incense, they first dig a hole in the ground at the foot of the tree, and then cut the bark open with a hatchet, upon which the juice runs down into the hole for fully ten days, when it is taken.

4. DRAGON’S BLOOD.

Hsūeh-chiēh [Dragon’s Blood] also comes from the Ta-shih [Arabian] countries.² This tree is somewhat like the myrrh-

¹ Mo-yao, lit. Mo Medicine. The word mo, pronounced mūt in Cantonese, is a transcription for Arabic musr, myrrh.
² According to Part I, from the country of Chung-li, some Arab colony on the east coast of Africa. Cf. Die Länder des Islām, etc., p. 39. I had endeavoured to identify this country with that of the Somali as adjoining Berbera (Ps-pa-lo); but Prof. de Goeje may be right in suggesting Socotra as the producer of Dragon’s Blood. Probably the name Chung-li embraces the Somali coast with Socotra, the term shan, which I first translated by Gebirge, referring to an island here.
tree, except that its leaves are rather different in size from those of the latter; the manner of gathering is also alike. There is a kind which is smooth like the surface of a mirror; in this case the tree is old, so that the juice flows out spontaneously, without being touched by the hatchet; this is the best quality. Incense which contains an admixture of bits of wood is made of the juice of the lakewood-tree, and is commonly called "Imitation Dragon's Blood."

6. Dammar.

Tu-nao-hsiang [dhuna, Dammar] comes from the country of Chên-la [Kambodja]: it is the exudation of a tree which resembles the pine and juniper family in shape; but the incense lies concealed in the bark. When the tree is old, it runs out spontaneously, as a white and lustrous resin, which just for this reason does not melt, though the summer heat may be at its height, and which is called the tu-nao [dhuna]. If, in the summer months, the trunk of the tree be scorched by a fire kept burning around it, this will cause the fluid resin again to flow out freely, so that it may be gathered during the winter, when it hardens; for, this incense is liquid in the summer, and hardens during the winter; it is called "black tu-nao." The natives fill with it gourds [p'iao], and the shippers afterwards transfer it into porcelain vessels. The flavour of this incense is pure and lasting; the black variety easily melts and leaks through the gourd; but by breaking the gourd and exposing it to the fire, one may obtain something similar to the original substance. This is the article now called Tu-nao-p'iao.

23. The Cocoa Nut.

The appearance of the Cocoa Nut [yeh-tzu], as regards trunk and leaves, resembles that of the Tsung [the Chamaerops Fortunei, Lindl., known as the Chinese Coir-tree] and Areca
Palms. The fruit grows on the leaf in bunches of several nuts of the size of a vessel holding five pints [shêng]. It is the biggest of fruits, with the sole exception of the Jack Fruit. When cut the outer skin is at first green and tender, but after some time it turns yellow, and when kept a long time the skin shrivels and dries up. The nut shell contained in the outer skin can be made into vessels; the pulp inside the shell is of a jadelike white, and of an agreeable taste, resembling that of cow’s milk. The juice [lit. wine] inside the pulp is extremely clear and fragrant when fresh; but when old, it turns muddy and is no longer drinkable. In the states of Nan-p’i [Malabar] they make wine [toddy] out of the juice of its flower mixed with honey and sugar.

30. Pepper.

Pepper comes from the following places in Shê-p’o [Java], viz.: Su-chi-tan [Sukitan, East Java], Ta-pan [Tuban], Pai-hua-yüan [Pajajaran?], Ma-tung [Madang?], and Jung-ya-lu [Jangola]; but the pepper coming from Hsin-t’o [Sunda] is the best; the Ta-pan [Tuban] variety takes the second place. Pepper grows in the uncultivated wilds, and the villages in the country [here the text is interrupted] . . . . . the Chinese vine grape. The natives grow it on frames made of bamboo or other wood. [Here the text is again interrupted.] The flower opens . . . . [probably in the season specified in the preceding gap], and in the fourth month the fruit ripens. The flower resembles the tail of a phœnix [fêng-wei, probably the flower so-called], and is blue and red in colour. The grains are gathered in the fifth month [about June], dried in the sun, and stored in godowns, whence they are given out in the following year, carts drawn by oxen being used to transport them to the place of barter. The grain cannot stand the sun, but will endure rain; therefore, crops are but poor after dry weather, whereas heavy rainfalls may double the ordinary
size of the harvest. Some say that most of the pepper is grown in the country of Wu-li-pa [in Cantonese Mō-li-pat = Malabar], in Nan-p’i, and that the produce bought by the foreign traders in Shē-p’o [Java] comes from Wu-li-pa [Malabar].

32. Asa Foetida.

Asa Foetida [a-wei] comes from the country of Mu-chü-lan [in Cantonese Muk-kū-lam = Mekram], in Ta-shih [Arabia]. The tree is not a very high or large one, but the resin exsudes freely from its bark. The natives wind a piece of string round a twig, remove its tip, and cover it with a bamboo tube, which fills with resin. This bamboo tube is broken up in the winter, when the resin is gathered and packed in skin bags. Some say that this resin is so poisonous that people do not dare to come near it themselves, but, when the drug has to be gathered, tie a sheep up at the foot of the tree and shoot arrows at the latter from a distance. The poison of the resin then drops upon the sheep, which dies of it, and its decayed flesh turns into Asa foetida. I do not know which of the two accounts is correct; meanwhile they are here both placed on record.

---

1 The last paragraph is added to the text in two rows of small characters, and may possibly be a gloss added by another hand. It is certainly remarkable that Chao Ju-kua omits pepper among the products of Nan-p’i. In his description of Shē-p’o, on the other hand, pepper appears named among other products, besides a special note, which says: "There is vast store of pepper of these foreign countries, and the merchant ships, from the manifold profit they derive from that trade, are in the habit of smuggling copper cash for bartering purposes. Our Court has repeatedly interdicted all trade [with Shē-p’o, Java]; but foreign merchants deceitfully changed its name into that of Sukitan." Under the head of "Sukitan" our author says: "Pepper grows there in great abundance. In the proper season and in good years twenty-five taels of trade silver will buy from ten to twenty packages of pepper, each package holding fifty pecks [shèng, equal to about an English pint]; in years of dearth, or in times of disturbance, the same sum will fetch only half that amount. The pepper-gatherers suffer much from the scalding fumes they have to inhale and are commonly afflicted with headache [malaria?], which will yield to doses of the Hsiung medicine of Szechuen [Ch'üan-hsiung, a species of Levisticum, also mentioned among the Chinese articles imported in Shē-p’o, or Java]." Under Hsin-t’o [Sunda] we learn that "the pepper produced in the hills is small-grained, but heavy, and superior to that of Ta-pan [Tuban]."
42. Kingfishers' Feathers.

Kingfishers' Feathers are got in great quantities in Chên-la [Kambodja], where they are produced in nests built by the side of lakes [or, ponds] in the depth of the hills. Each pool [pond, gully, etc.] serves as an abode for just a male and a female bird; the intrusion of a third bird always ends in a duel to the death. The natives take advantage of this peculiarity, rear a decoy bird, and walk about with it sitting on the left hand raised. The birds in their nests, on noticing the intruder, make for the hand and fight it, quite ignoring the presence of the man, who, with his right hand, covers them with a net and thus makes them prisoners without fail. The river Ku in Yung-chow ¹ is the habitat of a bird called Jung-ts'ui [lit. "the downy Kingfisher"], covered with a down of blue feathers all over the back, which is used by luxurious people as an ornament, the feathers being twisted and woven into each other so as to resemble wool satin. Although, of late years, the use of this luxury has been strictly forbidden by the mandarins, the better classes still continue to add it to their dress, for which reason the foreign merchants, defying the law, mostly smuggle it by concealing it in the cotton lining of their clothes.²

¹ Yung-chou Ku-chiang. Yung-chou is the name used during the T'ung and Sung dynasties for the present prefecture of Nan-ning in Kuangsi (Playfair, Cities and Towns of China, Nos. 5116 and 3976). The Ku River is a tributary of the Yu-chiang, the navigable southern affluent of the West River, or Sikiang, which had been mistaken for the West River itself by Mr. Michael Moss in his "Narrative" of an expedition on that river, as I have shown in a paper on "The West River, or Sikiang" in vol. iii (1874) of the China Review. The Ku River is described as flowing ten li east of the Nan-ning city (Nan-ning-fu-chih, quoted in the T'ou-shu-chi-ch'eng, sect. 6, ch. 1242).

² The Sung-shih, in its chapter on official dress (ch. 153, p. 10), contains a list of dress materials presented to the various grades of higher officials by the emperor. In the year A.D. 963, according to this list, officials of certain grades, among which the huan-ch'iu chu-sui fu-shih, i.e. the Imperial Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners related to the Imperial family, are included, were to be presented each with a "fine brocade of kingfishers' feathers." Our author, being one of the class concerned in this bounty, is sure to have been well informed on whatever regulations were connected with it. It is, therefore, of some importance to know that, in the year A.D. 1107, this liberality was stopped by the Emperor Hui Tsung as far as Kingfishers' feathers were
concerned. "The ancient rulers," the Emperor says, alluding no doubt to the famous example set by King T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, "in their government measures, extended the principle of humanity to plants, trees, birds, and beasts: now the depriving of living creatures of their life, in order to obtain their plumage for quite an unnecessary purpose, is certainly not worthy of the kindness extended by the early rulers to all creatures. I, therefore, order the officials to stop the practice on pain of punishment." (Sung-shih, l.c., p. 16.) This is an early instance of a movement which has been resumed in our days by the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals in condemning the practice of adorning ladies' bonnets with the plumage of birds killed for the purpose.

In 1894 I began the preparatory studies for an account of the later Indian Moghul system of government and administration in all its branches, being impelled by the belief that some information of the kind was a necessary introduction to a History of that period, which I had previously planned and commenced. Before I had done more than sketch out my first part, which deals with the Sovereign, the Court Ceremonial, and the elaborate system of Entitlature, I noticed the issue of a book on a part of my subject by Dr. Paul Horn.¹ The perusal of this excellent work diverted my attention to a later section of my proposed Introduction, the subject of the Army and Army Organization; and in this way I have been led to write this portion before any of the others. Except incidentally, my paper is neither a translation nor a review of Dr. Horn's essay; and though indebted to him, as acknowledged from time to time, my study covers, in the main, quite different ground, forming a complement to what he has done, and, as I think, carrying the subject a good deal farther in several directions. Dr. Horn seems to have read chiefly the authorities for the period before Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr; while my reading has been confined in great measure to the reigns of Aurangzeb's successors in the period 1707–1803. The sources upon which we draw are thus almost entirely independent of each other; and I hope that my contribution to this rather obscure corner of Indian

¹ "Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Gross-Moghuls," by Dr. Paul Horn, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Strassburg, 8vo, pp. 160. (E. J. Brill: Leiden, 1894.)
II. Commissioned Rank and Mode of Recruiting.

Few soldiers were entertained directly by the emperor himself; and for the most part the men entered first the service of some chief or leader. These chiefs were ranked according to the number of men that they had raised or were expected to raise. In this way originated the system of mansab, first introduced by Akbar (Ajn, i, 237). This mode of recruiting the army through the officers, renders it necessary to begin by a statement of the manner in which the officers themselves were appointed and graded.

Mansab was not a term confined solely to the military service; every man in State employ above the position of a common soldier or messenger, whatever the nature of his duties, civil or military, obtained a mansab. In fact, there were for all grades, except the very lowest, only two modes of obtaining support from State funds: a man must either enter its active service, as the holder of a mansab, or he must petition for a madad-i-mu‘āsh (literally, "help to live"), on the ground of being a student of the holy books, an attendant on a mosque (mutawalli or khādim), a man of learning and religious life (darvesh), a local judge (kāzi), or an expounder of the Mahomedan law (mufti).

The word mansab is literally (Dastūr-ul-Inshâ, p. 233) "the place where anything is put or erected" (nasb kardan, to place, fix, appoint); and then, as a secondary meaning, the state or condition of holding a place, dignity, or office. It seems to have been in use in Central Asia before the Moghuls descended into Hindūstān; and Ross translates it by the vaguer term "privileges."—Tārikh-i-Rashidi, 103. This word mansab I represent by the word rank, as its object was to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay; it did not
necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office, and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the State, and bound in return to yield certain services when called upon.

The highest manṣāb that could be held by a subject, not of the royal house, was that of commander of 7000 men, though in the later and more degenerate times we find a few instances of promotion to 8000 or even 9000. The manṣāb of a prince ranged from 7000 up to 50,000, and even higher (Mirāt-ul-Istilāḥ, fol. 35). In the Ājn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann, 248, 249) sixty-six grades are stated, beginning at commanders of 10,000, and ending at those set over ten men. Even at that earlier period there seem to have been only thirty-three of these grades in actual existence (Blochmann, 238). All the later authorities agree in holding that the lowest officer’s manṣāb was that of twenty men; and these writers record, I find, no more than twenty-seven grades, beginning with that of 7000 and ending with that of twenty. In the earlier days of the dynasty, rank was granted with a niggard hand. In Akbar’s time the highest rank was for long that of 5000, and it was only towards the end of his reign that a few men were promoted to 7000, while many officers exercised important commands although holding a comparatively low manṣāb. The great accession of territory in the Dakhin and the incessant wars connected with these acquisitions may account in part for the increase in the number and amount of manṣabs granted by Shāhjahān and ‘Ālamgīr. But the relative value of rank was thereby much depreciated; and the author of the Ma‘āsir-ul-Umara (i, 8), while considering Akbar’s officers of 500 rank of sufficient importance to deserve separate biographies, contents himself in the later reigns with going no lower than those of 7000 or 5000, men below those ranks being too numerous and too insignificant to call for detailed mention.

The steps of promotion altered as the officer rose in grade. The usual gradation was as follows (Mirāt, B.M. 1813, fol. 35; Dastūr-ul-‘Āmi, B.M. 1641, fol. 44b): —
From 20 to 100 each rise was by 20
,, 100 to 400 ,, 50
,, 400 to 1000 ,, 100
,, 1000 to 4000 ,, 500
,, 4000 to 7000 ,, 1000

There is a slight discrepancy between this table and the facts as we find them in practice. It ought to be amended thus:

From 20 to 60 a man rose by 10 each time
,, 60 to 100 ,, 20

Otherwise we should exclude the rank of 50, which was common enough. Again, we find in many tables no ranks of 250 or 350, although both of these are required to accord with the above scheme of promotion.

We also find mention in the historians of ranks which do not appear in the above scheme of grades. For instance, in Dānishmand Khān's Bahādur Shāhnāmah (fol. 41b, 56a) we find men appointed to 1200 and 2900, grades which do not fit in with the scheme given above, nor do these grades appear in the pay-table, copied from the official manuals, which we give a little further on.

As an additional distinction, it was the custom to tack on to a mansāb a number of extra horsemen. To distinguish between the two kinds of rank, the original mansāb, which governed the personal allowances, was known as the zāt rank (zāt=body, person, self), and the additional men were designated by the word suvcār (=horseman). Thus a man would be styled "2500 zāt, 1000 suvcār." It is said (Mīrāt, fol. 35) that men below 500 never had suvcār added to their rank; but this is not borne out by what we find in actual practice. For instance, Mīrāz Muḥammad (Taṣkirah, I.O.L. No. 50, fol. 96a) was in Rabī' II, 1119 H., made 400, 50 horse, and his younger brother 300, 30 horse. There are also instances in Dānishmand Khān of 150, 50 horse; 300, 10 horse; 300, 20 horse; 300, 80 horse; 400, 40 horse; and so on. In fact, unless this had been the case, it would be impossible to divide the ranks below 500 into
first, second, and third grade, as was actually done. This division into grades we now proceed to describe.

On the distribution of rank into zāt and suvwār was founded a classification into first, second, and third class mansabs, by which the scale of zāt pay was reduced proportionately. From this classification were exempted officers above 5000 zāt; these were all of one class. From 5000 downwards, an officer was First Class, if his rank in zāt and suvwār were equal; Second Class, if his suvwār was half his zāt rank; Third Class, if the suvwār were less than half the zāt, or there were no suvwār at all (Dastār-ul-Insha, 222). I think that here Blochmann (A. ān, i, 238, lines 5 and foll.) obscures the subject by using "contingent" as the equivalent of suvwār, instead of leaving the untranslated original word to express a technical meaning.

Pay was reckoned in a money of account called a dām, of which forty went to the rupee. There were also coins called dām; but the dāms of account, bearing a fixed ratio to the rupee, must be distinguished as a different thing from the coin, though called by the same name. Here Dr. Horn, 16, is of opinion that the reckoning was made in such a small unit as the $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee, less to make a grand show with big figures than because the value of the rupee varied. On this head I am of exactly the opposite opinion, for I think that the principal, if not the only object, was to swell the totals and make the pay sound bigger than it really was. That spirit runs through everything done in the East, at any rate in the Indian portion of it, as could easily be shown were it worth while to labour the point further. As for the second reason, I have considered it as well as I am able, not being a currency expert; and it seems to me that with a fixed ratio between the two coins, it was a matter of indifference to the receiver of pay whether the amount was stated in the one or in the other unit of value. The two units being tied together by the fixed ratio, and the disbursements being in fact made (as we know) in rupees, the payee suffered, or did not suffer, equally by either mode of calculation.
In the following table, which shows all the *manṣabs* with their pay according to class, I have reduced the *dām* to rupees, as being simpler and more readily intelligible. In the present day, this reckoning by *dāms* has quite disappeared. When reading this table of pay, which shows the sanctioned allowances for a year of twelve months, it must be remembered that few of the officers received the whole twelve-months’ pay, the number of months’ pay sanctioned per annum ranging from four to twelve. Officers were also supposed to keep up an establishment of elephants and draught cattle. Apparently they were also liable to pay a fixed quota of their own allowances towards the expenses of the Emperor’s elephants and cattle, an item known as *khūrāk-i-dauwāb*, feed of four-footed animals. There were other petty deductions.

**Table of *Manṣab-i-Zāt* with Yearly Pay in Rupees.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank (Manṣab-i-Zāt)</th>
<th>Yearly Pay in Rupees.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Dastūr-ul-'Amīr, B.M. No. 1641, fol. 44b, Íd. B.M. No. 1690, fol. 173b, Dastūr-ul-Insāh, p. 234.) The rates of pay in Akbar's reign, as given in the last column of Blochmann's table (Ājn, i, 248), were much higher than the above, which refers to 'Ālamgīr's time and later. It will be noticed that the difference of pay between first, second, and third class is as follows:

| From 20 to 60 | 5,000 Dām, or Rs. 125 yearly. |
| For 80 | 10,000 " " 250 " |
| From 100 to 400 | 20,000 " " 500 " |
| For 1000 | 100,000 " " 2500 " |
| From 1500 to 5000 | 300,000 " " 7500 " |

(B.M. 6599, fol. 144b).

In addition to the simple division by manṣab alone, there was also a grouping of officers into three classes. From 20 to 400 they were merely "officers with rank" (manṣab-dār); from 500 to 2500 they were Nobles—Blochmann, i, 535 (Āmīr, pl. Umarā, origin of our form "Omrah"); from 3000 to 7000 they were Great Nobles (Āmīr-i-Aṭ'āzam, pl. 'Uzzām, Umarā-i-kībār (Blochmann, i, 529, note), or Pillars ('Umdah). All manṣabdārs were kept on one or other of two lists: (1) Ḥāzir-i-rikāb, present at Court; (2) Ta'īnāt, on duty elsewhere.

Suwār Rank.—The grant of suwār in addition to zāt rank was an honour. Dr. Paul Horn, 15, supposes, however, that these horsemen were paid out of the zāt allowances. In that case a man who had no suwār would be better paid than another who was honoured with the addition of suwār to his zāt rank. Naturally Dr. Horn, 16, holds that this "eigentlich nicht recht glaublich ist." He is quite right in his conjecture. The explanation is, that the table of pay in Blochmann, i, 248, and that given above, are exclusively for the zāt rank, from which money the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, and some horsemen. For the suwār rank there was a separate table, pay for these horsemen being disbursed under the name of
the Tābinān. As Orme says ("Hist. Frag.", 418), the officer raising the troops was responsible for the behaviour of his men; he therefore brought men of his own family or such as he could depend on.

Tābinān.—Blochmann, i, 242, note 1, who, apparently, translates this word as well as suwār by "contingent," derives it from the Arabic tābin, one who follows. The books (B.M. 1641, fol. 46b, B.M. 6599, 144b and 148b) give a long table setting forth their pay in dāms, beginning with that for five horsemen and ending with that for 40,000, but as the basis for calculation remains the same throughout, it is sufficient here to work out the pay for one horseman. For five horsemen, then, 40,000 dāms a year were allowed. That would be 8000 dāms for one man; and this sum in dāms yields Rs. 200 a year (at the fixed rate of 40 dāms to the rupee), or Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per man per mensem. Bernier, 217, states the rate as somewhat higher—"he that keeps one horse shall not receive less than 25 rupees a month." For this sum, of course, the man provided his own horse and armour, and paid for his own and his horse's keep. One Dastūr-ul-'Aml, B.M. 6599, fol. 144b, tells us that the number of horses to men among the troopers (tābinān-i-barādāri) was according to the rule of dah-bist (lit. "ten-twenty"), meaning apparently that the total number of horses was double that of the number of men. The scale was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Horse(s)</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, with 1000 men there would be 2000 horses. The pay of the men with the extra horses was higher, but not in proportion. Thus, a one-horsed man received 8000 D.

1 Steingass, 272, 474v, A, following in the steps of another; but Pavet de Courteille, Dict. Ture. Oriental, 194, claims it as a Chaghatae word, with the meanings of "a troop of 50 men, the body-guard, the pages."
or Rs. 200 a year (Rs. 16 10a. 8p. per mensem), while the
two- or three-horsed man got 11,000 D. or Rs. 275 a year
(Rs. 22 14a. 8p. per mensem). In some places we find other
rates of pay recorded. For instance, Bahādur Shāh enlisted
Ahadīs, men a little superior to common soldiers, at Rs. 40
a month (Dānishmand Khān, second Safar of the second
year, i.e. 1120 H. = 22nd April 1708). A century later, as
Fitzclarene tells us, "Journal," 73, 142, the rate was Rs. 40
a month in the Dakhin, and Rs. 22 in Hindūstān. Service
in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; thus
a common trooper was looked on as being, to some extent,
a gentleman, and such men, even when illiterate, often rose
to the highest positions.

The pay of the Tābinān was drawn by the manṣabdār,
who was entitled to retain 5 per cent. of their pay for
himself (Ājn, i, 265). Pay was not always allowed for a
whole year; often only for six, five, or four months. This
fact renders it impossible to calculate the actual expenditure,
for, although we generally can find out whether a manṣabdār
was first, second, or third class, we do not know for what
number of months in the year his pay was sanctioned.

Chešās.—As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their
employ, over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders
were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their
force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had
no one to look to except their master. Such troops were
known by the Hindī name of chešā (a slave). They were
fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly
been brought up and trained by him, and had no other
home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from
children taken in war or bought from their parents during
times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin,
but all were made Mahomedans when received into the
body of chešās. These chešās were the only troops on
which a man could place entire reliance as being ready
to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather.
Muḥammad Khān Bangash's system of chešās is described
by me in J.A.S. Bengal, part i, 1878, p. 340.
III. Rules connected with Pay and Allowances.

In the preceding paragraphs have been shown in general terms the rates of pay for the cavalry, and some of the rules by which pay was governed. When we come to the actual working out in detail of this part of the army administration, our difficulties increase. The official manuals, which are our only guide, are couched in the briefest of language, and naturally presume a knowledge of many things of which we are ignorant. Nor can we be certain whether the rules that they lay down were of general application or were applicable to certain classes of troops only. Thus the data are insufficient for any complete exposition of this part of the general subject. The matters treated of in the next following paragraphs are, moreover, of a somewhat miscellaneous description, and many of them might be better classed under other heads, such as Discipline, Recruiting, and so forth; but as there is not enough material to yield complete information, I have thought it better to deal with the greater part of them, as the native authors do, in their relation to the calculation of pay.

Rates of Pay.—The rates of pay for officers and men of the cavalry, forming numerically far the most important part of the army, have been already stated when dealing with the manṣāb system. The rates for Infantry and Artillery, so far as recorded, will be stated when we come to those branches of the service.

Date from which Pay Drawn.—On an officer being first appointed, if by his rank he was exempt from having his horses branded (dāgh), his pay began from the date of confirmation (ʿarż-i-mukarrar). If such branding were necessary, pay began from the date of branding (the day itself being excluded), and as soon as this condition had been complied with, a disbursement was made of one month’s pay on account. In the case of promotion, if it were unconditional, the rules were the same as above; if conditional, the pay began from the date of entering on office (Dastūr-ul-ʿAml, B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, 58a; id. 6599, fol. 146b, Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 233).
Conditional (Mashrūṭ) and Unconditional (Bilā-shart) Pay.
—Rank and pay might be given absolutely, or they might be conditional on the holding of some particular office. The temporary or mashrūṭ ba khudmat rank was given as an addition to the permanent, bilā-shart rank which a man already occupied. On ceasing to hold the office, such as that of governor (ṣūbahdār) or military magistrate (faunjdār), the mashrūṭ rank and pay were taken away.

Pay always in Arrears.—In later times pay due from the imperial treasury to the mansabdārs, as well as that due from the mansabdārs to the private soldiers, was always in arrears. In fact, we should not go far wrong, I think, if we asserted that this was the case in the very best times. The reasons are obvious. More men were entertained than could be easily paid; Indian Mahomedans are very bad financiers; the habit of the East is to stave off payment by any expedient. To owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal condition of mankind. For example, even such a careful manager as Nizām-ul-Mulk, in his alleged testament, dated the 4th Jamādi II, 1161 H. (31st May, 1748), is credited with the boast that he “never withheld pay for more than three months” (“Asiatick Miscellany,” Calcutta, 1788, vol. iii, 160). Another reason for keeping the men in arrears may have been the feeling that they were thereby prevented from transferring their services to some other chief quite as readily as they might have done if there were nothing owing. Disturbances raised by troops clamouring for their pay were among the unfailing sequels to the disgrace or sudden death of a commander. The instances are too numerous to specify. On this head Haji Mustapha, Seir, iii, 35, note 29, says truly enough:—“The troops are wretchedly paid, twenty or thirty months of arrears being no rarity. The ministers, princes, and grandees always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy that by withholding the pay they concern the men in the preservation of their lord’s life.” We can also quote Lord Clive as to the state of things in the Bengal ṣūbah in 1757 (“Minutes
of Select Committee of 1772," reprint, 52)—"There were
great arrears due to the army by Siraj-ud-Daulah as well
as by Mir Ja'far, and the sums amounted to three or four
millions sterling. It is the custom of the country never
to pay the army a fourth part of what they promise them;
and it is only in times of distress that the army can get
paid at all, and that is the reason why their troops always
behave so" (badly?).

Pay in Nakd and in Jāgīr.—Pay (tankhūcāh: literally,
tan 'body,' khwāh 'need') might be either Nakd, that is,
given in cash (nākdt); or Jāgīr (literally, jā 'place,' gīr,
taking, from gīrfātān), that is an assignment (jāgīr) of the
land revenue of a certain number of villages (mauza') or
of a subdivision (parganah). A certain number of officers
and soldiers, chiefly those of the infantry and artillery,
who were, as a rule, on the pay list of the emperor himself,
were paid in cash. This seems to have been the case in
all reigns up to quite the end. But the favourite mode
of payment was by an assignment of the government
revenue from land. Such an arrangement seems to have
suited both parties. The State was a very centralized
organization, fairly strong at the centre, but weak at the
extremities. It was glad to be relieved of the duty of
collecting and bringing in the revenue from distant places.
This task was left to the jāgīrdār, or holder of the jāgīr,
and unless such a manṣābedār were a great noble or high
in imperial favour, the assignment was made on the most
distant and most imperfectly subdued provinces.1 On the
other hand, a chance of dealing with land and handling
the income from it, has had enormous attractions in all
parts of the world, and in none more than in India.
Nobles and officers by obtaining an assignment of revenue
hoped to make certain of some income, instead of depending
helplessly for payment on the good pleasure of the Court.
Then in negotiating for a jāgīr there were all sorts of
possibilities. A judicious bribe might secure to a man

1 This may have been a development of Taimūr’s practice of granting the pay
of his amirs from his frontier provinces.—Davy and White, "Institutes," 237.
a larger jagir than was his due; and if he were lucky, he might make it yield more than its nominal return. Many such considerations must have been present to their minds. Whatever be the true reasons, of this there can be no doubt, that the system was highly popular, and that the struggle for jagirs was intensely keen. A recent French writer, M. Emile Barbé, "Le Nabab René Madec," 117, speaking of a jagir given in 1775, says: "Cette apparition des jaguiris dans l'Empire Mogol à son declin est un fait sociologique du plus haut intérêt." The system of jagir grants may be an interesting sociological fact—as to that I have nothing to say for or against; but it was not introduced into the Mogol Empire during its decline. Jagirs existed in that empire's most flourishing days, having been granted as early as Akbar (Blochmann, Äjû, i, 261), while under Shāhjahān they existed on a most extensive scale.

If the jagir were a large one, the officer managed it through his own agents, who exercised on his behalf most of the functions of government. Such jagirs were practically outside the control of the local governor or faujdâr, and formed a sort of imperium in imperio. The disastrous effects of the system, in this aspect, need not be further dwelt on here. On the other hand, a small jagir was more frequently left by the assignee in the hands of the faujdâr, through whom the revenue demand was realized. Gradually, as the bonds of authority were relaxed from the centre, the faujdârs and šābahdârs ignored more and more the claims of these assignees, and finally ceased to remit or make over to them any of the collections.

I append here the first steps of official procedure followed in the grant of a jagir. We are to suppose that one Khwājah Rahmatullah has been recalled from duty in some province, and that on appearing at court he has applied for a new jagir. Through the Dīcân-i-tan, a great officer at the head of one of the two revenue departments, a hakikat, or Statement of Facts, was drawn up, in the following form (B.M. No. 6599, foll. 156a to 157b):—
Statement (Haqiqat).

Khwajah Rahmatullah, son of Khwajah Ahamad, a native of Balkh, who was attached to the standards in Province So-and-so, having come to the Presence in pursuance of the exalted orders, and the jagir which, up to such-and-such a harvest, was held by him in the said Province, having been granted to So-and-so, in this matter what is the order as to the tankhwaah jagir of the above-named.

[on the margin] { Presentation (mulazamat)
   } Day So-and-so, month So-and-so
   { Offering (nazar)
       } 9 Muhrs (gold coins) and
       } 18 Rupees.

This haqiqat was passed on by the Divan-i-tan to the Divan-i-ala (or wazir). The latter placed it before the Emperor. If an order were given for a jagir to be granted, the wazir endorsed on the paper, "The pure and noble order issued to grant a jagir in tankhwaah from the commencement of such-and-such a harvest." This paper then becomes the voucher for the chief clerk to the Divan-i-tan, who wrote out a siyaha daul, or Rough Estimate, as follows:

Rough Estimate.

Khwajah Rahmatullah, son of Khwajah Ahmam, of Balkh. Whereas he was on duty in Province So-and-so, and according to order has reached the Blessed Stirrup (i.e. the Court)—

One thousand, Personal (zat)
200 men, Horse (suvar)
Pay in damns

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Personal} & \text{Troopers} \\
34 \text{lakhs} & (tabinan) \\
18 \text{lakhs} & 16 \text{lakhs} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

= Total, 34 lakhs.
Feed of Four-footed animals (Khurâk-i-dawâbb) remitted.

Parganah So-and-so, situated in Province So-and-so, 20 lakhs of Dâms.

Parganah So-and-so, situated in Province So-and-so, 14 lakhs of Dâms.

It will be seen, on referring to a previous page, that as the man was 1000 zât, but had only 200 suvâr rank, he was a third class Hazârî. By the table this gives him 18 lakhs, and then 200 horsemen at 8000 dâms each comes to 16 lakhs, making the 34 lakhs which are sanctioned in the above.

The dâul, or estimate, was made over to the diary-writer (wâki'ah navis), who, after he had entered it on the wâki'ah (diary), prepared an extract called a memorandum (yâd-dâshât) for submission to the office of the confirmation of orders ('arz-i-mukarrar, lit. second petition). The yâd-dâshât repeated the facts much in the same form as the hâzikat and the dâul. On it the wâzîr wrote: “Let this be compared with the diary (wâki'ah) and then sent on to the confirmation office ('arz-i-mukarrar).” On the margin the diary-writer (wâki'ah navis) then reported: “This yâd-dâshât accords with the wâki'ah.” Next the superintendent (dâroghah) of the confirmation office wrote: “On such-and-such a date of such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year this reached the confirmation office. The order given was—‘Approved.’”

We need not follow here the further fate of the order after it left the Court and reached the governor of the province referred to.

Loans, Advances, and Gifts.—The technical name for a loan or advance of pay was musâ'adat (Steingass, 1225, H, helping, favour, assistance, aid), and the conditions as to interest and repayment are given in Book ii, Ājn 15, of the Ājn-i-Akbarî (Blochmann, i, 265). Historians frequently mention the advance of money under this name. In later times, especially from the reign of Muhammad Shâh, no commander ever took the field without
the grant of the most liberal cash advances to meet his expenses. Possibly these were never repaid, or were from the first intended as free gifts. When we meet with the phrase *tankhwāh-i-inā'm*, I presume that there can be no doubt of the payment being a gift. Here the word *tankhwāh* seems to denote the order or cheque on the treasury, and the word *inā'm* (gift, present), differentiates it from other *tankhwāh*, which were in the nature of payments to be repeated periodically. The recovery of loans and advances came under a head in the accounts called *mutālibah* (Steingass, 1259, asking, claim, due). Another term of somewhat similar import, *bāz-yāft* (Steingass, 146, the resumption of anything, a deduction, stoppage), seems to have been confined to the recovery of items put under objection in the revenue accounts by the *mustauffīs*, or auditors. At one time the recovery of an advance was made from a man’s pay in four instalments; but towards the end of ‘Ālamgīr’s reign, it was taken in eight instalments (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 58b).

**Deductions.**—Of these I have found the following: *kasūr-i-do-dāmī* (fraction of the two dāms), *kharch-i-sikkah* (expenses of minting), *ayyām-i-hilāli* (days of the moon’s rise), *hiṣṣah-i-ijnās* (share in kind), *khūrāk-i-dawābb* (feed of four-footed animals).

**Kasūr-i-do-dāmī.**—*Kasūr* is, literally, fractions, deficiencies; faults. This item was a discount of five per cent., that is, of two dāms in every forty, and therefore styled “do-dāmī” (B.M. 1641, fol. 37a). The origin of this is to be found possibly in Akbar’s five per cent. deductions from the Aḥadī troopers on account of horses and other expenses (*Aijin*, i, 250, line 14). The rate of deduction is differently stated in fol. 58b, B.M. 1641, as four dāms in the 100, if the officer drew seven or eight months’ pay, and two dāms in the 100, if he drew less than that number of months.

*Kharch-i-sikkah* was also deducted: in ‘Ālamgīr’s reign the rates were Rs. 1 12a. 0p. per cent. on Shāhjahān’s coinage, and Rs. 1 8a. 0p. per cent. on the coin of the reigning emperor. Under the rules then in force, the Shāhjahānī
coins, not being those of the reigning emperor, were uncurrent, and therefore subject to a discount. Why a deduction was made on the coins of the reigning emperor, is harder to explain. It was not till Farrukhisiyar's reign, I believe, that the coinage was called in annually, from which time only coins of the current year were accepted, even by the government itself, at full face-value.

_Ayyām-i-hilāt._—This was a deduction of one day's pay in every month except Ramzān. Manṣabdārs, Ḍhadis, and _barkandāz_ (matchlockmen) were all subject to it. But, towards the end of 'Alamgīr's reign, it was remitted until the Narbada was crossed, that is, I presume, so long as a man served in the Dakhin (B.M. 1641, fol. 55b, 62b). The reason for making this deduction is difficult to fathom; and about the name itself there is some doubt. In the first of the two entries just quoted, I read the word as _talāfi_ (Steingass, 321, obtaining, making amends, compensation, reparation); but this variant, instead of throwing light on the subject, leaves it as obscure as before.

_Hiṣṣah-i-ijnās._—_Jins_ (goods) is used in opposition to _nakād_ (cash), and this item (_hiṣṣah_=share, _ijnās_=goods) seems to mean the part of a man's pay delivered to him in kind. Apparently this item did not apply to the cavalry. In the case of the matchlockmen, artillerymen, and artificers, the deduction was $\frac{1}{4}$ if the man were mounted, and $\frac{1}{3}$ if he were not. This represented the value of the rations supplied to him. There is another entry of _rasad-i-jins_ (supplies of food?), the exact nature of which I cannot determine (B.M. 1641, fol. 62b).

_Khūrāk-i-dawāb_.—This is, literally, _khūrāk_, feed, _dawāb_, four-footed animals. It was a deduction from a manṣabdār's pay on account of a certain number of horses and elephants belonging to the emperor, with whose maintenance such officer was saddled. The germ of this exaction can, I think, be found in Akbar's system of making over elephants to the charge of grandees (Ājin, i, 126). "He (Akbar) therefore put several _halkahs_ (groups of baggage elephants) in charge of every grandee, and required them to look after them."
Akbar would seem to have paid the expenses; but in process of time, we can suppose, the charge was transferred to the officer’s shoulders entirely, and in the end he had to submit to the deduction without even the use of the animals being given to him. At any rate, the burden became a subject of great complaint. This is shown by a passage in Khāfī Khān, ii, 602.

“In the reign of ‘Ālamgīr the manṣabdārs for a long period were reduced to wanting their evening meal, owing to the lowness of the assignments (pāebākī) granted by the emperor. His stinginess reminds one of the proverb ‘one pomegranate for a hundred sick men,’ yak anār, sau bimār. After many efforts and exertions, some small assignment (jāgīr) on the land revenue would be obtained. The lands were probably uncultivated, and the total income of the jāgīr might not amount to a half or even a third of the money required for the expenses of the animals. If these were realized from the officer, whence could come the money to preserve his children and family from death by starvation? In spite of this, the Akhtah Begī (Master of the Horse) and other accursed clerks caused the cost of feeding the emperor’s animals to be imposed on the manṣabdārs, and, imprisoning their agents at court, used force and oppression of all kinds to obtain the money.

“When the agents (vakīls) complained of this oppression to the emperor, the head of the elephant stables and the Akhtah Begī so impressed matters on the emperor’s mind, that the complaints were not listened to, and all the men were reduced to such an extremity by this oppression, that the agents resigned their agency. In Bahādur Shāh’s reign, the Khān-i-Khānān decided that when the manṣabdārs received a jāgīr for their support, the number of dāms required for the cost of feeding cattle should be deducted first from the total estimated income, and the balance should be assigned as the income. In this way, the obligation for meeting the cost of feeding the animals was entirely removed from the heads of the manṣabdārs and their agents. Indeed, to speak the truth, it was an order to absolve them
from the cost of the cattle provender.” Dowson (Elliot, vii, 403) could make nothing of this passage.

In the case of officers below a certain rank, the deduction of *khūrāk-i-dawābāb* was not made. The rule says that where the pay (*tankhvāh*) did not come up to 15 lakhs of *dāms*, the deduction was not made; but apparently no lower rank than that of 400 *gāt*, 200 *suvār*, was liable. This rank would by the tables draw a pay of 20 lakhs of *dāms*. As to the rate of deduction, the records are so obscure that I am unable to come to any conclusions. Sometimes we are told that the calculation was made at so many *dāms* on each 100,000 *dāms* of pay; at others, that for each 100,000 *dāms* one riding and five baggage elephants were charged for. A distinction in rates was made between Mahomedans and Hindus, the former paying more; also between officers holding *jāgīr* in Hindūstān and those holding them in the Dakhin and Aḥmadābād, the former paying slightly less than the latter.

Fines.—We come now to the subject of fines, which were of various sorts, such as *tāfāwat-i-asp* (deficiency in horses), *tāfāwat-i-silāḥ* (deficiency in equipment), *tāfāwat-i-tābīnān* (deficiency in troopers), also called, it would seem, *kamī-i-barādāri*, *tawakklūf* o *‘adam-i-tāshīhāh* (non-verification), *sinkāti* (casualties), *bartarafī* (rejections).

*Tāfāwat-i-asp.*—This is literally “difference of horses,” and refers to a classification of horses by their breed and size, which will be referred to more fully under the head of Branding and Verification. In each rank or *manṣāb* a certain number of each class of horse had to be maintained, and if at Verification it was found that this regulation had not been complied with, the result was a fine. In the section on Branding I give the rates so far as recorded.

*Tāfāwat-i-silāḥ.*—This “difference in armour” was a fine for not producing at inspection arms and armour according to the required scale. The amount of fine and so forth I have stated further on under the head of Equipment.

*Tāfāwat-i-tābīnān* (difference of followers) or *kamī-i-barādāri* (deficiency in relations) was a fine imposed on an
officer for non-production of the number of men stipulated for by the ṣuwar rank. The following rates are stated in B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, and I presume that the deductions apply to maṃṣabdārs as well as to Aḥādis, and that they were made from the monthly pay for each man deficient, although the entry is so brief as to remain very obscure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Months for which Pay was Drawn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Four Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In another passage, fol. 41, the same authority explains the matter thus. In the twenty-first year of Ṭālamgīr, a report on this subject having been made, the emperor allowed a term of four turns of guard (chauki) for a maṃṣabdār to produce men of his own class or family (barādārī), and for this period pay for the men was passed as if they had been present. But subsequently, on the first Rabī' of the twenty-third year, the delay was extended to two months, and for the time during which such men were not actually present, pay at half-rates was sanctioned.

Aḥshām.—In the case of the Aḥshām, or troops belonging to the infantry and artillery, we have a little more definite information under this head (B.M. 1641, fol. 64a). Officers of this class fell into three subdivisions, ḥazārī (of a thousand), ṣadīvat (hundred-man), and mirādahāh (lord of ten). The first class was always mounted (suwar) and the second sometimes; these mounted officers might be two-horse (duaspah) or only one-horse (yakaspah) men. Working on these distinctions, we get the following scheme of pay. Duaspah Suwar: Where, inclusive of the officer's own retainers (khāsah), there were one hundred men present per 100 of rank, pay was drawn at duaspah rates. But
if the number were under fifty per 100 of rank, pay was passed to the hazari as if he were a mounted sadival; subject to restoration to duaspahe pay when his muster again conformed to the standard. Yakaspah: If, including khahsah men, there were fifty men present per 100 of rank, full pay was given; if only thirty-one or under, then the hazari was paid as a sadival piyadah (unmounted), and certain other deductions were made. Piyadah (unmounted officer).—If a sadival produced under thirty-one men out of his hundred, he received nothing but his rations. When the numbers rose above thirty, he was paid as a mirdahah till his full quota was mustered. In the case of a mirdahah, the production of two men entitled him to his pay. If one man only was paraded for inspection, a deduction from the pay was made, varying, on conditions which I have not mastered, from one to three annas per man.

Tawakkuf-i-tashihah (Delay in Verification).—The rules for Branding and Verification will be found further on. If the periods fixed were allowed to elapse without the verification having been made, a man was reported for delay; and then a mansabdah was cut the whole, and an ahadi the half, of his pay (B.M. 1641, fol. 580).

Saḵati and Bartarafi.—The first word is from saḵun shudan ‘to die’ (applied to animals, Steingass, 687), and may be translated casualties. The other word means setting aside or rejecting, in other words to cast a horse as unfit. We find the groundwork of the saḵati system in the Ajn-i-Akbari, Blochmann, i, 250. In later times there were the following rules for regulating pay in such cases. First it was seen whether the man was duaspahe (paid for two horses) or yakaspah (paid for one horse). In the first case, (1) if one horse died (saḵun shavad) or was cast (bar taraf shud), the man was paid at the yakaspah rate; (2) if both horses died or were turned out, the man obtained his personal pay for one month, and if after one month he had still no horse, his personal pay was also stopped. In the second case, that of a yakaspah, if there were no horse, personal pay was disbursed for one month;
but after one month nothing was given (B.M. 1641, fol. 41a).

If an aḥādi’s horse died while he was at headquarters, the clerk of the casualties, after having inspected the hide, wrote out his certificate (ṣakat-nāmah), and pay was disbursed according to it. If the man were on detached duty when his horse died, the brand (dāgh) and the tail were sent in to headquarters (B.M. 1641, fol. 29b).

Other incidents of military service considered as affecting pay.—Among these may be mentioned: (1) Ghair-ḥāzirā (absence without leave); (2) Bimārī (illness); (3) Rukhsat (leave and furlough); (4) Faraḥī (desertion); (5) Bartarafi (discharge or resignation); (6) Pension; (7) Fault (death).

(1) Ghair-ḥāzirā.—If a man were absent from three consecutive turns of guard (chaunk), his pay was cut; but if he did not attend the fourth time, the penalty was dismissed, and all pay due was confiscated. Absence from night guard or at roll-call (jāizah) involved the loss of a day’s pay. If absent at the time of the emperor’s public or private audience, or on a day of festival (‘īd), half a day’s pay was taken (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 62b).

(2) Bimārī.—Absence on the ground of illness was overlooked for three turns of guard (chaunk), but after that period all pay was stopped, and a medical certificate (bimārī-nāmah) from a physician was demanded (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a, 58a). The rule is somewhat differently stated in B.M. 6599, fol. 163b.

(3) Rukhsat.—Men who went on leave for their own business received no pay while doing no duty (B.M. 1641, fol. 41b). In another place in the same work, fol. 64b, we find a different statement. We are there told that for one month a man received half-pay; if he overstayed his leave it was reduced to one-fifth or one-tenth; and after three months’ absence he was classed as an absconder. Leave on account of family rejoicings or mournings was allowed for one turn of duty; if the man were absent longer his pay was cut (B.M. 1641, fol. 39a). Again, on fol. 57b, a rule is stated, of which I am not able to understand the bearing. It
seems to be that not more than two months of arrears were to be paid to a man who took leave; but whether that means the arrears due to him when he left, or the pay accruing during his absence, I cannot say.

(4) Farārī.—If, among the Ahshām, an absconder who had been some time in the service, left after drawing his pay in full, the amount was shown on the margin (hasho) of the pay-bill (kabz) as recoverable, and one month’s pay was realized from the man’s surety. If a recruit absconded after drawing money on account, the whole advance was recovered, but a present of one month’s pay was allowed. If a matchlockman deserted the service of one leader to enter that of another, he was cut half a month’s pay (nim-māhah). But, if it were found that the mirdahāh or ʿadwāl, to whom he had gone, had induced him to desert, such officer had to pay the fine himself (B.M. 1641, fol. 64b). Pay of absconders was reckoned up to the date of the last verification, and three months’ time was allowed (idem, fol. 57b). By the last phrase I understand that they were allowed that time to reappear, if they chose. If they were again entertained, their rations only were passed, that is, I presume, for the interval of absence (idem, fol. 64b).

(5) Barṭārafī.—If the discharged mansabdār produced a clear verification roll, he received half of the pay of his ẓāt rank, and the full pay of his horsemen (tābinān). Matchlockmen received their pay in full up to the date of discharge (B.M. 1641, fol. 57b, 62a).

(6) Pension.—So far as I have ascertained, there was no pension list, under that express name. No retiring allowances could be claimed as of right. When a man retired from active service, we hear sometimes of his being granted a daily or yearly allowance. Such was the case, for instance, when Nizām-ul-Mulk in Bahādur Shāh’s reign threw up the whole of his offices and titles, and retired into private life. But the ordinary method of providing for an old servant was to leave him till his death in undisturbed possession of his rank and jāgīr.

(7) Fautī.—It seems that in the case of deaths a different
rule prevailed, according to whether the death was a natural one or the man lost his life on active service. In the one case half-pay and in the other full-pay was disbursed to the heirs on the production of a certificate of heirship (wāris-nāmah) attested by the kāzi.

IV. REWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS.

The promise of honorary distinctions has been in all ages and in all countries one of the most potent agencies employed to incite men to exertion. We have our medals, crosses, orders, and peerages. The Moghul sovereigns were even more ingenious in converting things mostly worthless in themselves into objects to be ardently striven for and dearly prized. Among these were: (1) Titles; (2) Robes of Honour; (3) Gifts of Money and other articles; (4) Kettle-drums; (5) Standards and Ensigns.

1. Titles.—The system of entitlature was most elaborate and based on strict rule. This subject belongs, however, to the general scheme of government, and need not be set forth at length here. Suffice it to say, that a man would begin by becoming a Khan or Lord (added to his own name). After that, he might receive some name supposed to be appropriate to his qualities, coupled with the word Khan, such as Ikhlas Khan, Lord Sincerity; an artillery officer might be dubbed Ra'd-andāz Khan, Lord Thunder-thrower, or a skilful horseman, Yakah-Tāz Khan, Lord Single Combat, and so on. Round such a title as a nucleus, accreted all the remaining titles with which a man might from time to time be invested. As the empire declined in strength, so did the titles increase in pomposity, and long before the end of the dynasty the discrepancy between a man's real qualities and his titles was so great as often to be ridiculous. Still, these titles were never given quite at random, nor were they self-adopted. Yet I read quite recently in a history of India, by a well-known and esteemed author, that one governor of Bengal was "a
Brahman convert calling himself Murshid Kuli Khan." Now Murshid Kuli Khan no more called himself by that name than has Baron Roberts of Candahar called himself by the title he bears. Both titles were derived from the accepted fountain of honour, the sovereigns of the states which those bearing them respectively served.

(2) Robes of Honour.—The khila't was not peculiar to the military department. These robes of honour were given to everyone presented at court. Distinction was, however, made according to the position of the receiver. There were five degrees of khila't, those of three, five, six, or seven pieces; or they might as a special mark of favour consist of clothes that the emperor had actually worn (mālās-i-khāş). A three-piece khila't, given from the general wardrobe (khila't-khānah), consisted of a turban (dastār), a long coat with very full skirts (jāmah), and a scarf for the waist (kambān). A five-piece robe came from the toshah-khānah (storehouse for presents), the extra pieces being a turban ornament called a sarpech and a band for tying across the turban (bālābānd). For the next grade a tight-fitting jacket with short sleeves, called a Half-sleeve (nīmah-asfīn), was added. A European writer, Tavernier (Ball, i, 163), thus details the seven-piece khila't: (1) a cap, (2) a long gown (ka'bah), (3) a close-fitting coat (arkalon), which I take to be akhātīk, a tight coat, (4) two pairs of trousers, (5) two shirts, (6) two girdles, (7) a scarf for the head or neck.

(3) Gifts, other than money.—These were naturally of considerable variety. I have drawn up the following list from Dānishmand Khan's history of the first two years of Bahādur Shāh's reign (1708-1710): Jewelled ornaments, weapons, principally swords and daggers with jewelled hilts, pālkis with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants. The order in which the above are given indicates roughly both the frequency with which these presents were granted and the relative value set upon them, beginning with those most frequently given and the least esteemed.
(4) Kettledrums.—As one of the attributes of sovereignty, kettledrums were beaten at the head of the army when the emperor was on the march; and in quarters they were beaten every three hours at the gate of his camp. The instruments in use, in addition to the drums, will be found in the Ājīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann, i, 51). As a mark of favour, kettledrums (nakkarāh) and the right to play them (naubat) might be granted to a subject. But he must be a man of the rank of 2000 succâr or upwards. As an invariable condition, moreover, it was stipulated that they should never be used where the emperor was present, nor within a certain distance from his residence. Marching through the middle of Dihli with drums beating was one of the signs by which Sayyad Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān, Amīr-ul-Umarā, notified defiance of constituted authority, when he returned from the Dakhin in 1719, preparatory to dethroning the Emperor Farrukhshīyar. The drums when granted were placed on the recipient’s back, and, thus accoutered, he did homage for them in the public audience hall. In Lord Lake’s case the investment was thus carried out: “Two small drums of silver, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot, the apertures covered with parchments, are hung round the neck of the person on whom the honour is conferred, then struck a few times, after which drums of the proper size are made.”—Thorn, “War,” 356.

(5) Flags and Ensigns.—The flags and ensigns displayed, along with a supply of spare weapons, at the door of the audience hall and at the entrance to the emperor’s encampment, or carried before him on elephants, were called collectively the Kūr (Pavet de Courteille, “Dict.,” 425, ceinture, arme, garde), and their charge was committed to a responsible officer called the Kūr-begī. An alternative general name sometimes employed was māhi-o-marâtīb (Fish and Dignities), or more rarely, the panjâh (literally, Open Hand). It is, no doubt, the Kūr which Gemelli Careri describes thus (French ed. iii, 182): “Outside the audience tent I saw nine men in red velvet coats embroidered with
gold, with wide sleeves and pointed collars hanging down behind, who carried the imperial ensigns displayed at the end of pikes. The man in the middle carried a sun, the two on each side of him had each a gilt hand, the next two carried horse-tails dyed red. The remaining four, having covers on their pikes, it could not be seen what it was they held."

In the ʿAjin, i, 50, we are told of eight ensigns of royalty, of which the first four were reserved exclusively for the sovereign. The use of the others might, we must assume, be granted to subjects. The eight ensigns are—(1) Aurang, the throne; (2) Chatr, the State umbrella; (3) Sāibān or Āftābhīr, a sunshade; (4) Kaukabah (plate ix, No. 2); (5) ʿAlam, or flag; (6) Chatr-tok, or yak-tails; (7) Tāman-tok, another shape of yak-tails; (8) Jhanda, or Indian flag. To these we must add (9) Māhī-ḵ-marātīb, or the fish and dignities.

The origin and meaning of the different ensigns displayed by the Moghul Emperors in India have been thus described, Mirāt-ul-Istilāḥ, fol. 5b:—

(1) Panjah, an open hand, is said to mean the hand of ʿAli. Taimūr ordered it to be carried before him for a charm and as a sacred relic. It was said that he captured it when he overcame the Siyāhpish tribe. In 1753 Gentil saw four different "pondjehs" (i.e. panjahs) carried on horseback in Salābat Jang's cavalcade; they were copper hands fixed on the end of a staff ("Mémoires," 61).

(2) ʿAlam, a flag or standard.—This was supposed to be the flag of Ḥusain, and obtained by Taimūr at Karbalah. To it he attributed his victory over Bāyāzīd, the Kaisar of Rūm.

(3) Mizān, a balance, was a reference to the equal scales of Justice, and was adopted as having been the emblem of Nūshirwān the Just. There is a figure on a plate in Gentil's "Mémoires," which is probably the Mizān.

(4) Āftab, or Sun, was obtained from the fire-worshippers when they were conquered; it was an article used in their worship.
Azhdaha-paikar, Dragon-face.—From the time of Sikandar of the Two Horns, the rajahs of Hind had worshipped this emblem in their temples, and when Taimūr made his irruption into India it was presented to him as an offering. It consisted of two pieces, one carried in front and the other behind the emperor.

Māhī, or Fish, was said to have been an offering from the islands of the ocean, where it was worshipped.

Kumkumah (Steingass, 989, a bowl, a jug, a round shade, a lantern).—This also was obtained from the Indian rajahs. The Ajn-i-Akbari, i, 50, has kaukabah for apparently the same thing (see figure No. 2 on plate ix). There is also what looks like the kaukabah in a plate in Gentil’s “Mémoires.” The definition of kaukabah in Steingass, 1063, corresponds with the figure in the Ajn, viz. “a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the king.” Careri, iii, 182, tells us that he saw a golden ball hanging by a chain between two gilt hands, and adds that “it was a royal ensign carried on an elephant when the army was on the march.”

All these emblems, we are told, were carried before the emperor as a sign of conquest over the Seven Climes, or, in other words, over the whole world.

Māhī-o-marātib.—Some words must be added with special reference to this dignity, which was borne on elephants or camels in a man’s retinue. It was one of the very highest honours, as it was not granted to nobles below the rank of 6000 zāt, 6000 suwār (Mirāt-ul-Istilāh, fol. 3). Māhī (literally, a fish), was made in the figure of a fish, four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear (Seir, i, 218, note 150, and 743, note 51). Steingass, 1,147, defines māhī-marātib as “certain honours denoted by the figure of a fish with other insignia (two balls).” But in careful writers I have always found it as māhī-o-marātib, “fish and dignities,” and, as I take it, the first word refers to the fish emblem and the second to the balls or other adjuncts which went with it. The marātib Thorn, “War,” 356, describes as a ball of copper gilt
encircled by a jhālar or fringe about two feet in length, placed on a long pole, and, like the māhī, carried on an elephant. Can this be Gemelli Careri’s “golden ball”? Perhaps it was identical with the kumkumah or kaukabah already described above. The translator of the Seir-Muta'kerin, i, 218, note 150, tells us that the fish was always accompanied by the figure of a man’s head in copper gilt. This must have been in addition to the gilt balls. The māhī, as conferred on Lord Lake on the 14th August, 1804 (Thorn, “War,” 356), is described as “representing a fish with a head of gilt copper and the body and tail formed of silk, fixed to a long staff and carried on an elephant.” James Skinner, who recovered Mahādaji-Sendhia’s māhī-o-maratib in a fight with the Rajputs, speaks of it as “a brass fish with two chourees (horse-hair tails) hanging to it like moustachios” (Fraser, “Memoir,” i, 152). Gentil, “Mémoires,” 62, calls the māhī simply “the head of a fish on the end of a pole.” As a sign of the rarity of this dignity, he adds that while in the Dakhin (1752–1761) he only saw four of them.

Sher-maratib, or lion dignity.—This is a name only found, so far as I know, in Gentil, “Mémoires,” 62; and he only saw it displayed by Şalābat Jang, nāẓim of the Dakhin. At the head of the dedication of the above work to the memory of Shujā’-ud-Daulah, are the figures of two elephants; one of which bears a standard that is most likely identical with this Sher-maratib. The flag bears a lion embroidered on it, and the head of the staff is adorned with the figure of a lion.

‘Alam.—The flags seem to have been triangular in shape, either scarlet or green in colour, having a figure embroidered in gold and a gold fringe. The staff was surmounted by a figure corresponding to the one embroidered on the flag. A plate in Gentil’s “Mémoires” shows four of these embroidered emblems—1st, a panjah, or open hand; 2nd, a man’s face with rays; 3rd, a lion (sher); and 4th, a fish. A flag, or ‘alam, could be granted to no man under the rank of 1000 suwar.
Aftābgīrī.—This sun screen (aftāb, sun; gīr, root of girīstan, to take), shaped like an open palm-leaf fan, was also called Sūraj-mukhī (Hindi, literally, sun-face). By the Moghul rules it could only be granted to royal princes (Mirāt-ul-Istilāh, fol. 3). In the eighteenth century, however, the Mahrattas adopted it as one of their commonest ensigns, and even the smallest group of their cavalry was in the habit of carrying one.

Tūman-togh.—This is one of the two togh mentioned in Akbar's list, Ājn i, 50, and figured on plate ix of that volume. Pavet de Courteille, "Dict.,” 236, has توش (togh), "étendard se composant d'une queue de قطاس (katās) ou bœuf de montagne (i.e. yak) fixée à une hampe, au dessus d'un pavillon triangulaire.” This yak's-tail standard was not unfrequently granted to high officers of rank, by whom it was esteemed a high honour. The togh consisted generally of three tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff.

Summary.—Thus, apart from titles or money rewards, or ordinary gifts, a man might be awarded any of the following honorary distinctions, of a more permanent character—(1) the right to carry a flag or simple standard, (2) the right to display a yak-tail standard, (3) the right to use kettle-drums and beat the naubat, (4) the right to display the fish and its accompanying emblems, (5) the right to use a litter adorned with gold fringes and strings of pearls. Of course, all these things were dependent on the caprice of the monarch; for in the Moghul, like in all Oriental states—Ba yak nuktah māhrām (محرم) mujrim ( مجرم) shavevd: By one spot "confidant," becomes "criminal."

V. Procedure on Entering the Service.

Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the
followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so on. At times men of high rank who desired to increase their forces would remit large sums of money to the country with which they were specially connected, and thereby induce recruits of a particular class to flock to their standard. For instance, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719–1748), Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, filled his ranks in this way with men from the Bangash country and with Afrīdī Pathāns. According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (manṣab) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a silahdār (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a bārgīr (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the Bakhshī-ul-Namālik or Mir Bakhshī, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (manṣab) which might be accorded.

The Bakhshī. — This officer's title is translated into English sometimes by Paymaster-General, at others by Adjutant-General or Commander-in-Chief. None of these titles gives an exact idea of his functions. He was not a Paymaster, except in the sense that he usually suggested the rank to which a man should be appointed or promoted, and perhaps countersigned the pay-bills. But the actual disbursement of pay belonged to other departments. Adjutant-General is somewhat nearer to correctness. Commander-in-Chief he was not. He might be sent on

1 Blochmann, Aijn, i, 261, has Paymaster and Adjutant-General.
a campaign in supreme command; and if neither emperor, vicegerent (wakil-i-muflak), nor chief minister (wazir) was present, the command fell to him. But the only true Commander-in-Chief was the emperor himself, replaced in his absence by the wakil or the wazir. The word Bakhshi means 'the giver,' from bakhshidan, P. 'to bestow,' that is, he was the giver of the gift of employment in camps and armies (Dast?r-ul-Insha, 232). In Persia the same official was styled 'The Petitioner' ('ariz). This name indicates that it was his special business to bring into the presence of the emperor anyone seeking for employment or promotion, and there to state the facts connected with that man's case. Probably the use of the words Mir 'Arz in two places in the ?jn-i-Akbari (Blochmann, i, 257, 259) are instances of the Persian name being applied to the officer afterwards called a Bakhshi. The First Bakhshi (for there were four) seems to have received, almost as of right, the title of Amir-ul-Umarah (Noble of Nobles); and from the reign of Alamgir onwards, I find no instance of this title being granted to more than one man at a time, though in Akbar's reign such appears to have been the case (?jn, i, 240, Blochmann's note).

Duties of the Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik.—These duties comprised the recruiting of the army; maintaining a list of mansabdars with their postings, showing (1) officers at Court, (2) officers in the provinces; keeping a roster of the guard-mounting at the palace; preparing the rules as to grants of pay (tankhucah); keeping up a list of officers paid in cash, and an abstract of the total pay-bills; the superintendence of the mustering for branding and verifying the troopers' horses and the orders subsidiary thereto; the preparation of the register of absentees, with or without leave, deaths, and dismissals, of cash advances, of demands due from officers (muflibah), of sureties produced by officers, and the issue of written orders (dastak) to officers sent on duty into the provinces.1

1 Dastur-ul-Insha, 232, Dastur-ul-'Amil, B.M. 6599, fol. 159a, and B.M. 1641, fols. 28, and 175 to 22a.
One special duty belonging to the Bakhshi was, in preparation for a great battle, to assign posts to the several commanders in the van, centre, wings, or rearguard. The Bakhshi was also expected on the morning of a battle to lay before the emperor a present state or muster roll, giving the exact number of men under each commander in each division of the fighting line.

The other Bakhshis.—Besides the First Bakhshi, ordinarily holding the title of Amir-ul-Umarā, and styled either Bakhshi-ul-Mamālik (B. of the Realms) or Mir Bakhshi (Lord B.), there were three other Bakhshis at headquarters. It is a little difficult to fix upon the points which distinguished their duties from those of the First Bakhshi. The Second Bakhshi, usually styled Bakhshi-ul-Mulk (B. of the Kingdom), was also called the Bakhshi-i-Tan.1 As tan (literally, body) was a contraction for tankhwāh, pay (literally tan, body, khwāh, desire, need), it might be supposed that his duties were connected with the records of jāgirs, or revenue assignments granted in lieu of pay, just as in the revenue department the accounts of these grants were under a special officer, the Dīwān-i-Tan. But on examining such details of the Second Bakhshi’s duties as are forthcoming, I find that this supposition does not hold good. On the whole, the duties of the First, Second, and Third Bakhshis seem to have covered much the same ground. The main distinction, perhaps, was that the Second Bakhshi dealt more with the recruiting and promotion of the smaller men, while only those above a certain rank were brought forward by the Mir Bakhshi. The Second Bakhshi was, it would appear, solely responsible for the bonds taken from officers, a practice common to all branches and ranks of the imperial service. His office would seem also to have been used to some extent as a checking office on that of the First Bakhshi, many documents

1 Dānišmand Kān, 18th Shawwāl 1119, Khāff Kān, ii, 601, Yahyā, Kān, fol. 114a.
requiring his seal in addition to that of the Mir Bakhshi, and copies of many others being filed with him. The same remarks apply generally to the Third Bakhshi, the greatest difference being perhaps that he took up only such recruiting work as was specially entrusted to him, and that whatever he did required to be counter-sealed by the First and Second Bakhshi. His duties were on altogether a smaller scale than those of the other two.

From the details in one work, Dastūr-ul-'Aml, B.M. 1641, fol. 28b, 29a, it might be inferred that the Second Bakhshi's duties were connected with the Aḥadīs, or gentlemen troopers serving singly in the emperor's own service. The difficulty, however, at once arises that the Fourth Bakhshi had as his alternative title that of Bakhshi of the Aḥadīs. The Third Bakhshi was also called occasionally Bakhshi of the Wālā Shāhis, that is of the household troops, men raised and paid by the emperor out of his privy purse.¹

**Provincial and other Bakhshīs.**—In addition to the Bakhshīs at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province. With the office of provincial Bakhshi was usually combined that of Wāḥi‘ah-nīgār, or Writer of the Official Diary. And in imitation of the imperial establishments, each great noble had his own Bakhshi, who performed for him the same functions as those executed for the emperor by the imperial Bakhshīs.

**First Appointment of an Officer.**—On one of the appointed days, the Bakhshi laid before His Majesty a written statement, prepared in the office beforehand and called a Ḥakīkat (statement, account, narration, explanation). The man's services having been accepted, the emperor's order was written across this paper directing the man to appear, and a few days afterwards the candidate presented himself in the audience-hall and made his obeisance. When his turn came the candidate was brought

¹ Kamīwar Khan, entry of 1st Jamādi I, 1119.
forward, and the final order was passed. The following is a specimen of a Ḥakīkāt, with the orders upon it:—

**Report**

is made that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, in hope of serving in the Imperial Court, has arrived at the place of prostration attached to the Blessed Stirrup (i.e. the Court). In respect of him what are the orders?

[First Order.] The noble, pure, and exalted order issued that the above-named be brought before the luminous eye (i.e. of His Majesty), and he will be exalted according to his circumstances.

[Second Order in two or three days’ time.] To day the aforesaid passed before the noble sight; he was selected for the rank (mansab) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (sunwār).

The next step was the issue of a Taṣdīk, or Certificate, from the Bakhshī’s office, on which the Bakhshī wrote his order. It was in the following form:—

**Certifies**

as follows, that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, on such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a year, in the hope of serving in this homage-receiving Court, arrived at the Blessed Stirrup and passed before the luminous sight. The order, to which the world is obsequious and the universe submissive, was issued that he be raised to the rank (mansab) of One Thousand, Two Hundred Horse (sunwār).

One Thousand, zāt.
Two Hundred, sunwār.

[Order thereon of the Bakhshī.] Let it be incorporated in the Record of Events (Wākī’ah).

On the arrival of the Certificate (Taṣdīk) in the office of the Wākī’ahnīgār, or Diary Writer, he made an appropriate entry in his record and furnished an extract therefrom,
which bore the name of a *Yād-dāsht*, or Memorandum. In form it was as follows:—

Memorandum (*Yād-dāsht*).

On such-and-such a date, such-and-such a day of the week, such-and-such a month, such-and-such a year, in the department (*risālah*) of One endowed with Valour, a Shelter of the Courageous, the Object of various Imperial Condescensions, Submissive to the Equity of the world-governing favours, the *Bakhshī* of the Realms So-and-so, and during the term of duty as Event Writer of this lowliest of the slaves So-and-so, it was reduced to writing that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, having come to the place of prostration in the hope of service at the Imperial Court, on such-and-such a date passed before the pure and noble sight. The world-compelling, universe-constraining order obtained the honour of issue, that he be raised to and selected for the rank (*manṣab*) of One Thousand Personal (*zāt*) and Two Hundred Horsemen (*sucār*) in the chain (*silk*) of rank-holders (*manṣabdarān*). — On such-and-such a date, in accordance with the Certificate (*Taṣdīk*), this Memorandum (*Yād-dāsht*) was penned.

One Thousand, *zāt*.
Two Hundred, *sucār*.

I. [Order of the Wazīr.]

After comparing it with the Diary (*Wākiʾah*), let it be sent to the Office of Revision (*ʿArz-i-mukarrar*).

II. [Report of the Event Writer.]

Agrees with the diary (*Wākiʾah*).

III. [Order of the Superintendent of Revision, literally Renewed Petition (*ʿArz-i-mukarrar*).]

On such-and-such a date, of such-and-such a month, of such-and-such a year, it was brought up for the second time.
In the later notices of the system we find few mentions of the paper called in the Ājn (Blochmann, i, 258) the ta'likah, which was, it seems, an abridgment of the Yūd-dāshī. This paper the ta'likah, formed at that time the executive order issued to the officer concerned (Ājn, i, 255). I have found ta'likah used once in this sense as late as 1127 h. (1716), by Sayyad 'Abd-ul-Jalīl, Bilgrāmī, in his letters sent from Dihli to his son ("Oriental Miscellany," Calcutta, 1798, p. 247).

The Ahadis.—Midway between the nobles or leaders (mansābdārs) with the horsemen under them (tābinān) on the one hand, and the Ahshām, or infantry, artillery, and artificers on the other, stood the Ahadi, or gentleman trooper. The word is literally 'single' or 'alone' (A. aḥad, one). It is easy to see why this name was applied to them; they offered their services singly, they did not attach themselves to any chief, thus forming a class apart from the tābinān; but as they were horsemen, they stood equally apart from the specialized services included under the remaining head of Ahshām. The title of Ahadi was given, we are told (Seir, i, 262, note 201), to the men serving singly "because they have the emperor for their immediate colonel." We sometimes come across the name Yakkah-tāz (riding alone), which seems, when employed as the name of a class of troops, to mean the same body of men as the Ahadis. Horn, 20, 56, looks on the Ahadis as a sort of body-guard or corps d'élite; and in some ways that view may be taken as true, though there was not, as I think, any formal recognition of them as such. The basis of their organization under Akbar is set out in Ājn 4 of Book ii (Blochmann, i, 249), and they are referred to in several other places (i, 20, 161, 231, 246, 536). In the strictest sense, the body-guard, or defenders of the imperial person, seem to have been the men known as the Wala Shāhī (literally, of or belonging to the Exalted King), and, no doubt, these are the four thousand men referred to by Manucci ("Catrou," English ed. of 1826, p. 297) as 'the
emperor's slaves.1 Whether slaves or not, the Wālā Shāhī were the most trusted troops of the reigning sovereign. From various passages I find that they were chiefly, if not entirely, men who had been attached to his person from his youth and had served under him while he was still only a royal prince, and were thus marked out in a special manner as his personal adherents and household troops. The Yasāvāls or armed palace guards were something like the Wālā Shāhī so far as they were charged with the safety of the sovereign; but they differed from the latter in not having the same personal connection with him. The Āhadīs received somewhat higher pay than common troopers. In one instance we are told expressly what those rates were in later times. On the 2nd Šafar of his second year (1120 h. = 22nd April, 1708), Bahādur Shāh, as Dānishmand Khān tells us, ordered the enlistment of 4,700 extra Āhadīs at Rs. 40 a month, the money to be paid from the Exchequer.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the household troops, we are told, Seir, i, 94, note 90, amounted to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the Āhadīs, such as the Surkh-posh (wearers of red), the Sultānī (Royal), the Wālā Shāhī (High Imperial), the Kamal-posh (Blanket Weavers). Haji Mustapha is not, however, quite consistent with himself, for elsewhere (Seir, i, 262, note 201), when naming still another corps, the Ālā Shāhī (Exalted Imperial), he asserts that the Surkh-posh were all infantry, eight thousand in number. The curious title used above, Kamal-posh, comes from the Hindi word kammal, a coarse blanket, having also the secondary meaning of a kind of cuirass (Seir, i, 143, note 105). The latter is no doubt the signification here.

1 The word meant may be Bandahāde, or, perhaps preferably, the Kāl, the Chaghātāi for 'slave.'—P. de Courteille, 433.
VI. Branding and Verification.

False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers. Great efforts were made to cope with this evil, and in the earlier times with some success. In the later reigns, notably from the middle of Muḥammad Shāh’s reign (1719–1748), all such precautions fell into abeyance, amid the general confusion and ever-deepening corruption.

Mustapha, the translator of the Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, gives us an instance of the length to which this cheating was carried (Seir, i, 609, note). In Bengal, in the year 1163 H. (1750), when ‘Alī Wirdī Khān, Mahābat Jang, was nāzīm, an officer receiving pay for 1700 men could not muster more than seventy or eighty. Mustapha, who wrote in 1787–8, adds from his own experience—“Such are, without exception, all the armies and all the troops of India; and were we to rate by this rule those armies of 50,000 and 100,000 that fought or were slaughtered at the decisive battles of Palāsī [Plassy] and Baksar [Buxar] (and by some such rule they must be rated), we would have incredible deductions to make. Such a rule, however, would not answer for Mīr Kāsim’s troops (1760–1764), where there was not one single false muster, nor would it answer for Haidar ‘Alī’s armies.”

It was to put down these evil practices that the emperor Akbar revived and enforced more strictly than before a system of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded with a hot iron before they were passed for service. This branding, with the consequent periodical musters for the purpose of comparison and verification, formed a separate department under the Bakhshī with its
own superintendent (dāroghāh), and this was known as the dāgh-o-taṣhīhāh, from dāgh, a brand, a mark, and taṣhīhāh, verification. The usual phrase for enlisting was asp ba dāgh rasānīdan, “bringing a horse to be branded.” Branding was first introduced by ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī in 712 H. = May, 1312 – April, 1313, but on his death it was dropped (Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 233). The emperor Sher Shāh, Afghān, started it again in 948 H. = April, 1541 – April, 1542. Akbar (Ā’in, i, 233) re-established the practice in the eighteenth year of his reign (about 981 H., 1573–4), and it was continued until the time when the whole system of government finally broke down in the middle of the eighteenth century. At first many difficulties were made (Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 234), and evasions were attempted, but at length the system was made effective. The great nobles, holding the rank of 5000 and upwards, were exempt from the operation of these rules; but when ordered, they were expected to parade their horsemen for inspection (Dastūr-ul-‘Aml, B.M., No. 6599, fol. 144b). The technical name for these parades was jā‘ mahallāh (Steingass, 1190), a word evidently connected with that used in Akbar’s time for branding, viz. dāgh-o-mahallū (Ā’in, i, 242; Budāoni, ii, 190).

As said before, the recruit was supposed, at any rate so far as the State was concerned, to furnish his own horse. Orme states the case thus:—“Every man brings his own horse and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse is carefully examined: and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring thirty or forty rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop. A horse in Indostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed the man is ruined, a regulation that makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible.”—“Historical Fragments,” 4to edition, 418. Along with his horse the man
brought his own arms and armour, the production of certain items of which was obligatory. In actual practice, however, the leaders often provided the recruits with their horses and equipment. When this was the case the leader drew the pay and paid the man whatever he thought fit. Such a man, who rode another’s horse, was called a bāryār (load-taker); while a man riding his own horse was in modern times called a silahdār (weapon-holder). The latter word is the origin of the Anglo-Indian phrase of “Sillidar cavalry,” applied to men who are paid a lump sum monthly for themselves, horse, uniform, and equipment.

Descriptive Rolls.—When an officer entered the service (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160a) a Chihrāh or descriptive roll ¹ of the new mansābdār was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father’s name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance. His complexion might be “wheat-colour” (gandum-rang), “milky,” i.e. white (shir-fām), “red” (surkh-post), or “auburn” (maigun-rang). His forehead was always “open” (farāgh); his eyebrows either full (kushādah) or in whole or in part moshah (?); his eyes were sheep-like (mist), deer-like (āhā), ginger-coloured (adrak), or cat’s eyes (gurbah). His nose might be “prominent” (buland) or “flat” (past). He might be “beardless” (amrad) or “slightly bearded” (risḥ o barwat āghāz); his beard might be black (risḥ o barwat siyāh), or “slightly red” (siyāh i maigun-numā), “thin” (khall ?), maraw (?), goat-shaped (kosah-i-khurd), or “twisted up” (shākikah). So with any moles he might have; the shape of his ears, whether projecting or not,

¹ Literally ‘face,’ ‘countenance.’ It must not be confounded with chihrāh, which means (1) a kind of turban, (2) a pay-roll, on which the recipients signed, (3) the pay itself. Chihrāh is used in the second sense in Ahwāl-ul-Khawākin, fol. 230b; and also by Ghulām Hasan, Šamin, when telling us of the taut addressed in 1170 H. (1767) by Ahmad Khan, Bangash, to Najib Khan, Najib-ud-danlah, of having been once a private trooper in Farrukhābād, where his pay-rolls (chihrāh-hāz) were still in existence.
whether the lobes were pierced or not, and whether he was pock-marked or not—all these things were noted.

Roll for Troopers.—The troopers (tābinān) were also described, but not quite so elaborately. A specimen is as follows (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a):

Troopers' Roll (Chihrah-i-Tābinān).

Kamr 'Ali, son of Mir 'Ali, son of Kabir 'Ali, wheat complexion, broad forehead, separated eyebrows, sheep's eyes, prominent nose, beard and moustache black, right ear lost from a sword-cut. Total height, about 40 shānah.

Horse.—Colour kabūd (iron-grey?). Mark on left of breast. Mark on thigh on mounting side. Laskar (?) on thigh on whip side. Brand of four-pointed stamp +

Descriptive Roll of Horses (Chihrah-i-aspān).

The next thing done was to make out an elaborate description of the horse or horses (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 160b). There were twenty principal divisions according to colour, and eight of these were again subdivided, so that there were altogether fifty-eight divisions. Then there were fifty-two headings for the marks (khāl-o-khāt) which might occur on the horse's body.

The Imperial Brand.

The hot iron was applied on the horse's thigh (Seir, i, 481, note 27). The signs used in Akbar's reign are given in the Ā.īn, i, 139, 255, 256; but in the end he adopted a system of numerals. In 'Alamgir's reign and about that time there were twenty different brands (tamghah), of which the shapes of fifteen have been preserved and are reproduced below (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 161a). I am not certain of the spelling, and in most instances I am utterly unable to suggest a meaning for the names.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form of Brand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chaḥār parhā (four feather?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chaḥār parhā jomar-khaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chaḥār parhā dār khaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chaḥār parhā sihsar khaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chakūsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Istād (upright)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Uftādah (recumbent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Istādah o uftādah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Yak ba do (one with two)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Asaran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Togh (horse-tail standard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Panjah-i-murgh (hen’s foot)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mizān (balance)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Do dārah taur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Chaḥār bārah makar khaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Noble’s Brand.

It is obvious that in addition to the imperial brand, a second mark was required by each noble for the recognition of the horses ridden by his own men. Accordingly we find direct evidence of this second marking in Bernier, 216, and again 243, when he speaks of the horses "which bear the omrah’s mark on the thigh." Towards the end of the period the great nobles often had the first or last letter of their name as their special brand (Seir, i, 481, note 27), as, for instance, the
\( \text{\textit{sin-dagh}} \) (س) of Sa'dat 'Ali Khan, nazim of Audh. Ghulam 'Ali Khan (B.M., Add. 24,028, fol. 63b) tells us that about 1153 H. (1740-41) Muhammad Ishak Khan used the last letter of his name, a \( \text{kaf} \) (ك), as his brand.

Classification of Horses.

According to the \( \text{\textit{Ain}}, i, 233, \) there were seven classes of horses founded on their breed—(1) 'Arabí, (2) Persian, (3) Mujannas, resembling Persian, and mostly Turkí or Persian geldings, (4) Turkí, (5) Yabú, (6) Tázi, (7) Jangli.

In 'Alamgir's reign we find (B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a) the following classification: (1) 'Iraki, (2) Mujannas, (3) Turkí, (4) Yabú, (5) Tázi, (6) Jangli. This is practically the same as Akbar's, except that Arab horses are not mentioned. This must be an oversight, since we learn from many passages in the contemporary historians that Arab horses were still in use. The Tázi and Jangli were Indian horses, what we now call country-breds, the former being held of superior quality to the latter. The Yabú was, I suppose, what we call now the Kábulí; stout-built, slow, and of somewhat sluggish temperament. The Turkí was an animal from Bukhará or the Oxus country; the 'Irakí came from Mesopotamia.

In 'Alamgir's reign the proportion in which officers of the different ranks were called on to present horses of these different breeds at the time of branding was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Officer</th>
<th>Class of Horse</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-350</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-90</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures differ from those in the Āin, i, 248-9, where the number of horses is given for all manṣabs, up to the very highest.

According as the standard was exceeded or not come up to, the branding officer made an allowance or deduction by a fixed table. This calculation was styled tafāwut-i-aspān (discrepancy of horses)—B.M. No. 6599, fol. 163a. The extra allowances were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horse Required by Regulation</th>
<th>Horse Produced</th>
<th>Additional Allowance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkī</td>
<td>'Irākī</td>
<td>Rs. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkī</td>
<td>Mughānas</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūzī</td>
<td>Turkī</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yābū</td>
<td>Turkī</td>
<td>Rs. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When an inferior horse was produced the following deduction was made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horse Required by Regulation</th>
<th>Horse Produced</th>
<th>Deduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkī</td>
<td>Jangli</td>
<td>Rs. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yābū</td>
<td>Jangli</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūzī</td>
<td>Jangli</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subordinate Establishment.

An establishment of farriers, blacksmiths’ forges, and surgeons had to be maintained by each manṣabdār, according to the following scale (B.M. No. 1641, fol. 386):
### Numbers of Establishment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Officer</th>
<th>Farrūqīs (Naulībād)</th>
<th>Blacksmiths' Shops (Āhangar)</th>
<th>Leeches or Surgeons (Jarrāh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3500</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Or, according to a more recent scale:—

| 1500-4000 | 6 | 3 | 0 |

**Verification (Taṣḥīḥah).**

Something on this subject will be found in the Ājn, i, 250, where the reference is confined to the ahādīs; Dr. Horn, so far as he goes into the matter at all, deals with it on p. 49 of his work. In later times, at all events, the rule of mustering and verification seems to have been of almost universal application. For example, in a work called the Guldastah-i-Bahār, a collection of letters from Chhabilah Rām, Nāgar, compiled in 1139 H. (1726–7), of which I possess a fragment, I find on fol. 18α an instance of the verification rules being enforced against a mansābdār in the end of Bahādur Shāh’s reign (1118–24 H.). Chhabilah Rām, who was then faujdār of Karrah Mānīkpur (sūbah Allahābād), complains to his patron that the clerks had caused his jāgīr, in parganah Jājmū, bringing in ten lakhs of dāms, to be taken away from him, because he had not produced vouchers of dāgh-o-taṣḥīḥah. He sends the papers by a special messenger, and prays his correspondent, some influential man at Court, to obtain the restoration of the jāgīr in question.
The intervals after which verification was imperative differed according to the nature of the man’s pay. If he were paid in jāgīr, he had to muster his men for verification once a year, and, in addition, a period of six months’ grace was allowed. If the officer were paid in nakīd (cash), the time allowed depended upon whether he was—(1) present at Court (hāzir-i-riḵāb), or (2) on duty elsewhere (ta’īnāt). In the first case he had to procure his certificate at six-month intervals, or within eight months at the outside. In the second case he was allowed fifteen days after he had reported himself at Court. An ahādi seems to have been allowed, in a similar case, no more than seven days. Where an officer drew his pay partly in jāgīr (assignment) and partly in nakīd (cash), if the former made more than half the total pay, the rule for jāgīrdārs was followed; if the jāgīr were less than half, the nakīd rule was followed. (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b.)

When the interval and the period of grace had elapsed, the man was reported for tawakkuf-i-tašhidah (delay in verification). A maṇṣabdār lost the whole of his pay for the period since the last verification; or, if he were important enough to have been presented to the emperor (rū-shīnās, known by sight), he might succeed in obtaining his personal pay. An ahādi lost half his pay, and it was only by an order on a special report that he could be excused the penalty. The proportion of horsemen (tābīnān) that a maṇṣabdār must produce differed when he was at Court and when he was on duty in the provinces. In the first case he was bound to muster one-fourth, and in the second one-third, of his total number. There were three seasons appointed for verification, from the 26th Shawwāl to the 15th Zūl Ka’dh (twenty days), the 19th Ṣafar to the 15th Rabi’ I (twenty-five days), and the 16th Jamāḏī II to the 15th Rajab (twenty-nine days). (B.M. 1641, fols. 31a, 39b, 58b; B.M. 6599, fol. 148a.)
VII. The Different Branches of the Service.

Although in writing this paper I think it better to retain the divisions of the original authorities, who distribute the army into mansâbdârs with their tâbînân, aḥadîs, and aḥâshâm, it is quite true that, as Dr. Horn says, p. 11, the Moghul army consisted of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. But the second and third branches held a very subordinate position towards the first. The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly says ("Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418), the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.

There was no division into regiments. Single troopers, as we have already said, enlisted under the banner of some man a little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus, by successive aggregations of groups, a great noble's division was gathered together. But from the highest to the lowest rank, the officer or soldier looked first to his immediate leader and followed his fortunes, studying his interests rather than those of the army as a whole.¹ It was not till quite the end of the period that, under the influence of European example, and also partly in imitation of the Persian invaders, it became usual for the great nobles to raise and equip at their own expense whole regiments without the intervention

¹ For remarks to the same general effect, see W. Erskine, "History," ii, 540.
of petty chiefs. In Audh, Šafdar Jang and Shujā'-ud-Daulah had such regiments, as, for instance, the Kizziibāsh, the Sher-bachah, and others, which were all clad alike, and apparently were mounted and equipped by the Nawāb himself.

When Akbar introduced the manşab system, which ranked his officers according to the number of men supposed to be under the command of each, these figures had possibly some connection with the number of men present under those officers' orders, and actually serving in the army (Horn, 39). But it is tolerably certain that this connection between the two things did not endure very long: it was, I should say, quite at an end by the reign of Shāhjahān (1627–58). Indeed, if the totals of all the personal (zāt) manşabs in existence at one time were added together, we should arrive at so huge an army that it would have been impossible for the country, however heavily taxed, to meet such an expense. If paid in cash, the army would have absorbed all the revenue; if paid by assignments, all the land revenue would have gone direct into the hands of the soldiery, leaving next to nothing to maintain the Court or meet the expenses of the other branches of the government. The inference I wish to draw is, that from the grant of rank it does not follow that the soldiers implied by such rank were really added to the army. The system required that a man's rank should be stated in terms of so many soldiers; but there is abundant testimony in the later historians that manşab and the number of men in the ranks of the army had ceased to have any close correspondence.

Thus it seems to me a hopeless task to attempt, as Dr. Horn does, p. 39, following Blochmann (Ajin, i, 244–7), to build up the total strength of the army from the figures giving the personal (zāt) rank of the officers (manşabdārs). The difficulty would still exist, even if we had sufficiently reliable accounts of the number of such officers on the list at any one time. For we must remember that the number of men kept up by any officer was incessantly varying. On a campaign, or on
active employment in one of the provinces, either as its governor or in a subordinate position, an officer kept up a large force, generally as many as, if not more than, he could find pay for. On the other hand, while attached to the Court at Dihli, his chief or only duty might be to attend the emperor's public audience twice a day (a duty which was very sharply enforced), and take his turn in mounting guard at the palace. For duties of this sort a much smaller number of men would suffice. If we reckoned the number of men in the sukar rank, for whom allowances at so much per man were given by the State to the mansabdār, we might obtain a safer estimate of the probable strength of the army. But for this also materials fail, and in spite of musterings and brandings, we may safely assume that very few mansabdārs kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemens (tabīnān) for which they received separate pay. In these matters the difference between one noble and another was very great. While one man maintained his troops at their full number, all efficiently mounted and equipped, another would evade the duty altogether. As, for instance, one writer, Khūshāl Chand, in his Nādir-uz-zamānī (B.M. Or. 1844, fol. 140a) says: Luṭfollah Khān Südīk, although he held the rank of 7,000, "never entertained even seven asses, much less horses or riders on horses." In Muḥammad Shāh's reign he lived quietly at home at Pānīpat, 30 or 40 miles from Dihli, his attention engrossed by his efforts to get hold of all the land for many miles round that town, and passing his days, in spite of his great nominal rank, like a mere villager.

It seems to me equally hopeless to attempt a reconstruction of the force actually present at any particular battle by adding together the numerical rank held by the commanders who were at that battle. This Dr. Horn has tried to do on p. 67, without feeling satisfied with the results. But, as far as I can see, there was little, if any, connection between the two matters. The truth is that, like all things in Oriental countries, there existed no rules which were
not broken in practice. A man of high rank would, no doubt, be selected for the command of a division. But it was quite an accident whether that division had more or fewer men in it than the number in his nominal rank. The strength of a division depended upon the total number of men available, and the extent of the contingents brought into the field by such subordinate leaders as might be put under the orders of its commander. It was altogether a matter of accident whether the number of men present corresponded or not to the rank of the commanders.

Bernier, 43, has an excellent remark on the vague way that numbers were dealt with by historians: "Camp-followers and bazar-dealers . . . I suspect, are often included in the number of combatants." Again, on p. 380, he seems to come to the conclusion that it would be a fair estimate to take the fighting men at about one-third of the total numbers in a Moghul camp. I have seen somewhere (I have lost the reference, but I think it was in Khāfi Khān) an admission that the gross number of a so-called "fauj" (army) was always reckoned as including no more than one-third or one-fourth that number of fighting men. I give below, for what they are worth, a tabular summary of Dr. Horn's figures (pp. 39-45)—

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MOGHUL ARMY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Cavalry.</th>
<th>Matchlockmen and Infantry.</th>
<th>Artillerymen.</th>
<th>Authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akbar Do.</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Blochmann, i, 246:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>384,758</td>
<td>3,877,557</td>
<td></td>
<td>A[in-i-Akbari.¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhjahān</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Badshāhnmāh, ii,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>716; A[in, i, 244.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurangzeb Do.</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bernier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Catrou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mḥd. Shāh</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tūrīkh-i-Hindi of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rustam 'Ali.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ These include all the militia levies and zamindār's retainers throughout the provinces, besides the army proper.

### NUMBERS PRESENT ON PARTICULAR OCCASIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Battle or Commander</th>
<th>Number of Imperialists</th>
<th>Number of Enemy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulkhej</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Khan</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Azim</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Khan</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandahâr</td>
<td>(1061 n.)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahânger</td>
<td>(1016 n.)</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Abdâli</td>
<td>(1174 n.)</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VIII. Equipment—(A) Defensive Armour.

The generic name for arms and armour was *silâh*, plural *astiâh* (Steingass, 693). Weapons and armour of all kinds were much prized in India, much taste and ingenuity being expended on their adornment. Every great man possessed a choice collection. The following extract describes that of the Nawâb Wazîr at Lakhnau, in 1785:—“But beyond everything curious and excellent in the Nawâb’s possession are his arms and armour. The former consist of matchlocks, fuzees, rifles, fowling-pieces, sabres, pistols, scymitars, spears, syefs (long straight swords), daggers, poniards, battle-axes, and clubs, most of them fabricated in Indostan, of the purest steel, damasked or highly polished, and ornamented in relief or intaglio with a variety of figures or foliage of the most delicate pattern. Many of the figures are wrought in gold and silver, or in marquetry, with small gems. The hilts of the swords, etc., are agate, chrysolite, lapus-lazuli, chalcedony, blood-stone, and enamel, or steel inlaid with gold,
called tynashee or koft work. The armour is of two kinds, either of helmets and plates of steel to secure the head, back, breast, and arms, or of steel network, put on like a shirt, to which is attached a netted hood of the same metal to protect the head, neck, and face. Under the network are worn linen garments quilted thick enough to resist a sword. On the crown of the helmet are stars or other small device, with a sheath to receive a plume of feathers. The steel plates are handsomely decorated with gold wreaths and borders, and the network fancifully braided.” ("Asiatic Miscellany," i, 393. Calcutta, 1795. 4to.)

The fines for not producing at inspection a man’s own armour and that of his elephant (pākhar) were as follows (B.M. 6,599, fol. 162a):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of Officer</th>
<th>Amount of Fine for Non-Production of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>Rs. a. p. 2 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Rs. a. p. 2 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Rs. a. p. 1 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Rs. a. p. 1 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Rs. a. p. 1 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Armour was worn by all horsemen who could afford it; nay, officers of a certain rank were required to produce it at the time of inspection, subject to a fine if it were not forthcoming. Its use was never discontinued; it was even worn by men of European descent when they entered the native service. For instance, James Skinner, writing of the year 1797, says, "as I was exercising my horse in full armour" (Fraser, "Memoirs," i, 125); and again, “I was only saved by my armour” (id. 127). George Thomas, the

1 Read sari-aspi in B.M. 1641, fol. 37a, but to neither reading can I assign a meaning.
Irish adventurer, also wore armour (id. 229). Nor is the use of armour entirely discontinued even to this day, as those can testify who saw the troops of the Bundelkhand States paraded before the Prince of Wales at Agra in January, 1876.

The armour was worn as follows (W. Egerton, 112, note to No. 440):—Depending from the cuirass was generally a skirt, which was at times of velvet embroidered with gold. Underneath the body armour was worn a kabchah, or jacket quilted and slightly ornamented. Silken trousers and a pair of kashmir shawls round the waist completed the costume of a nobleman of high rank. As to these quilted coats, we are told elsewhere (Seir, i, 624, note) that “common soldiers wore an ample upper garment, quilted thick with cotton, coming down as far as the knee. These coats would deaden the stroke of a sabre, stop the point of an arrow, and above all kept the body cool by intercepting the rays of the sun.” Or as a still later writer tells us (Fitzclarence, “Journal,” 143):—“The irregular cavalry throughout India are mostly dressed in quilted cotton jackets; though the best of these habiliments are not, as I supposed, stuffed with cotton, but are a number of cotton cloths quilted together. This serves as a defensive armour, and when their heads are swathed round, and under the chin, with linen to the thickness of several folds, it is almost hopeless with the sword to make an impression upon them. They also at times stuff their jackets with the refuse silk of the cocoons, which they say will even turn a ball.” This habit of swathing the body in protective armour till little beyond a man’s eyes could be seen, gives the point to the scoffing remark of Dāūd Khān, Pannī, at

1 Apparently the diminutive of kabā, a close long gown or shirt (Steinrass, 950).
2 Lieut.-Col. Fitzclarence was, I believe, created Earl of Munster in 1831, and if so, he is the Lord Munster referred to by Dr. Horn on p. 8 as the author of a series of questions on Mahomedan military usages. His “Journal,” the work of a close observer and graphic writer, proves that he was quite competent to write for himself, and not merely “schreiben zu lassen,” the history that he had planned.
the battle against Husain 'Ali Khan, fought on the 8th Sha'ban, 1127 H. (6th Sept., 1715), that his assailant, one Mir Mushrif, "came out to meet him like a bride or a woman, with his face hidden" (Ghulam 'Ali Khan, Mukaddamah-i-Shah 'Alam-nama, fol. 22b).

I now proceed to describe each part of the armour, seriatim, beginning with the helmet.

Khud, Dabalghah, or Top.—This was a steel headpiece with a vizor or nose-guard. There are several specimens in the Indian Museum; and in W. Egerton, "Handbook," several of these are figured, Nos. 703 and 704 on plate xiii, No. 703 on p. 134, and another, No. 591, on p. 125. Khud is the more usual name, but dabalghah is the word used in the Ain (Blochmann, I, iii, No. 52, and plate xiii, No. 43). The latter is Chaghatai for a helmet; and Pavet de Courteille gives four forms, دیولغه, دابلغا, داوولغا, دولغه (p. 317), and دولغه (p. 322). I have only met with it once in an eighteenth-century writer (Ahwāl-ul-Khwākin, c. 1147 H., fol. 161b), and then under the form of دولغه, dabalghah. Top, for a helmet, appears several times in Egerton; for instance, on p. 119 and p. 125. This is apparently an Indian word (Shakes., 73), توب, which must be distinguished from the word top, توب, a cannon, to which a Turkish origin is assigned. A helmet seems to have been called a top by the Mahrattas and in Maisur; but the word is not used by writers in Northern India. If we disregard the difference between ت and ت, then we can derive top, 'a helmet,' and topi, 'a hat,' as does the compiler of the "Madras Manual of Administration," iii, 915, from the ordinary Hindi word topā, 'to cover up.' But I hardly think this is legitimate.

Khoghi.—The next name to the dabalghah on the Ain list, the khoghi, No. 53, must be something worn on the head; but there is no figure of it, and I fail to identify the word in that form. From the spelling it is evidently of Hindi origin; and a note in the Persian text has ghokhi as an alternative reading. Has it anything to do with ghoghi, a pocket, a pouch, a wallet (Shakespear, 1756), or
ghünkhi, cloths folded and put on the head as a defence against the rain (Shakes., 1758)? The latter may point to a solution: the khoghī, or, better, the ghŭghī, may have been folds of cloth adjusted on the head to protect it from a sword blow.

*Mighfar* is defined (Steingass, 1281) as mail, or a network of steel worn under the cap or hat, or worn in battle as a protection for the face, also a helmet. It is evidently the long piece of mail hanging down from the helmet over the neck and back, as shown in No. 45, plate xii, of the Ājn, vol. i, and called there and on p. 111, No. 54, the ziřihkūlah (cap of mail). It was through the mighfar that, according to Ghulām ʿAlī Khān’s history, the arrow passed which wounded ʿAbdullah Khān, Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, just before he was taken a prisoner at the battle of Hasanpur (13th Nov., 1720), and the following verse brings in the word, as also the joshan:—

*Chah yeāre kunad mighfar o joshan-am,  
Chūn Bārī na kard akhtar roshan-am.*

"What aid to me is visor and coat of mail,  
"When God has not made my star to shine." 1

*Baktar* or *Bagtar.*—This is the name for body armour in general, whether it were of the cuirass (*chahār-ā'inah*) or chain-mail (*ziřih*) description. Steingass, 195, defines it as a cuirass, a coat of mail. See also the Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 228. The bagtar is No. 58 in the Ājn list (i, 112), and is shown as No. 47 on plate xii. From the figure it may be inferred that, in a more specific sense, baktar was the name for fish-scale armour. Bargustuwān, as Mr. H. Beveridge has pointed out to me, is a general name for armour used in the *Tabaḵāt-i-Nāširī*, text 119

1 *Mukaddamah-i-Shāh *ʿAlam-nāmah by Ghulām ʿAlī Khān, B.M. Add. 24,028, fol. 40a. The last line probably contains an allusion to Rehān Akhtar, the original name of Muḥammad Shāh, to whom ʿAbdullah Khān succumbed.
(Raverty, 466 and note); but that work belongs to a period long before the accession of the Moghuls. Steingass, 178, restricts bargustuwân to horse armour worn in battle: the Ahwâl-i-Khâwâdzîn, fol. 218b, applies it to the armour worn by elephants, and I have found it in no other late writer.

Chahâr-âţinah.—This is literally 'four mirrors': it consisted of four pieces, a breast plate and a back plate, with two smaller pieces for the sides. All four were connected together with leather straps. Steingass, 403, has 'a kind of armour.' It is No. 50 in the Ájm, i, 112, and figure No. 49 on plate xiii. It is also shown in Egerton, plate ix, and again on p. 144. The specimens in the Indian Museum are No. 364 (p. 103), 450, 452 (p. 112), 569, 570 (p. 119), 587 (p. 124), 707 (p. 135), 764 (p. 144).

Zirih.—This was a coat of mail with mail sleeves, composed of steel links (Dastâr-ul-Inshâ, 228). The coat reached to the knees (W. Egerton, 125, note to No. 591). It is No. 57 in the Ájm, i, 112, and No. 46 on plate xiii of that volume. There are six examples in the Indian Museum—W.E. 361, 362 (p. 103), 453 (p. 112), 591, 591T (p. 125), 706 (p. 135). Apparently, judging from the plate in the Ájm, the baktar (fish scales) or the chahâr âţinah (cuirass) was worn over the zirih. W. H. Tone, "Maratta People," 61, note, gives a word beuta as the Mahatta name for the chain-mail shirt that they wore. I cannot identify or trace this word.

Jaibah.—Blochmann, Ájm, i, 111, No. 56, and his note 4, says it was a general name for armour. He gives no figure of it. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has jaba. Steingass, 356, says it is from the Arabic jubhat, and spells it jubah, a coat of mail, a cuirass, any kind of iron armour. The word is used in the 'Alamgirnâmah, 245, 1. 7: "tan ba zeb-i-jabah o joshan pairâstah"—"body adorned with the decoration of jabah and joshan." It is also used in Ahwâl-ul-Khâwâdzîn (c. 1147 h.), fol. 164a, in the form jaibah.
Other items of body armour (Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 228) were the joshan, the jihlam, the angarkhah, the daghlah. In other authorities we also meet with the sādīqhī, the kothi, the bhanjū, and the salhkaba. Of the last, the salhkaba, Ājn, No. 66, we have no figure, and I am unable to identify it, as I have never seen the word elsewhere. Other words which have defied identification are harhai, as I read it (B.M. 6599, fol. 162a; B.M. 1641, fol. 37a), and three articles in the Dastūr-ul-Inshā, p. 228, which I read sūbī, malk, and masuri. We have also the kamal, the ghughawah, the kanthā-sobhā. Finally, there were the dastwānah or arm-pieces, the rānak or greaves, and the mozah-i-āhanī, a smaller pattern of leg-piece.

Joshan.—This is No. 59 of the Ājn list, p. 112, and is figured as No. 48 on plate xiii. It appears to be a steel breastplate extending to the region of the stomach and bowels. Blochmann, p. xi, calls it an armour for chest and body; Steingass translates more vaguely ‘a coat of mail’.

Jihlam.—According to the dictionary (Shakes., 825), this is the Hindī for armour, coat of mail, vizor of helmet; but I do not know what was its special nature or form. Steingass, 405, has chahlam, a sort of armour; also chihal-tah, a coat of mail. Kām Rāj, 58b, has a passage—“Mir Mushrif came quickly and lifted his jihlam from his face.” This makes the word equivalent to vizor. It is not in the Ājn.

Angarkhah.—Hindī for a coat, possibly identical with that sometimes called an alkhālīk (a tight-fitting coat). Probably this coat was wadded so as to turn a sword-cut. It is No. 63 of the Ājn, i, 112, and figure No. 52 of plate xiv, where we see it a long, loose, wide coat worn over the armour.

Daghlah or Daglā.—The second of these is the Hindī form of the word. It was a coat of quilted cloth.

Chihilkad.—This is No. 67 of the Ājn, 112, and is shown as figure No. 54 on plate xiv. Muḥammad Kāsim, Ahvāl-
ul-Khawākin, 161b, spells it جلقةة، chalqat. It was a doublet worn over the armour, and possibly identical with the chilṭā, literally forty-folds (Shakespear, 884; Steingass, 398).

Śādikī.—Ājin, 112, No. 62, and No. 51 on plate xiv, a coat of mail something like the joshān in shape, but with epaulettes.

Kōṭhā.—We have this in the Ājin, 112, No. 61, and it appears on plate xiv, No. 50, as a long coat of mail worn under the breastplate and opening down the front.

Bhanjū.—This is No. 64 of the Ājin list, i, 112, but I have never seen the word anywhere else; it must be a Hindi word, but it is not in Shakespear's Dictionary. The only figure is the one reproduced from Langlès by Egerton, No. 9 on plate i, opposite p. 23. This might be almost anything; the nearest resemblance I can suggest is that of a sleeveless jacket.

Kamal.—This word is literally 'a blanket,' and from it the corps known as the kamal-posh (blanket-wearers) derived its name. The word seems to have had the secondary meaning of a cuirass or wadded coat, possibly made of blanketing on the outside. There were wadded coats of quilted cotton, as well as of wool, which would stand the stroke of a sabre. Some stuffed with silk refuse were considered capable of withstanding a bullet (Seir, i, 143, note 105). This sort of protection was very common. "Almost every soldier in the service of a native power has his head secured by many folds of cotton cloth, which not only pass round but likewise over it and under the chin; and a protection for the back of the neck is provided of similar materials. The jacket is composed of cotton thickly quilted between cloths, and so substantial as almost to retain the shape of the body like stiff armour. To penetrate this covering with the edge of the sword was to be done only by the practice of cutting." (Valentine Blacker, "War," 302.)

Ghāqheah.—This must, from its position in the Ājin list, No. 55, be some kind of armour, but I cannot identify the word, which is of Hindi form. In plate xiii, No. 44,
the thing is shown as a long coat and cowl of mail, all in one piece. In Egerton’s plate (No. 1, figure 4) it is something quite different, of a shape which it is difficult to describe, and for which it is still more difficult to suggest a use. The word seems to have some affinity to khoghip or ghūghā (see ante). It represents the Eastern Hindi form of ghogha, following the usual rule of vowel modification, thus: H. H., ghorá; E. H., ghurwā ‘a horse.’ There being also a slight indication of the diminutive in this form, ghughwā would be a small ghogha. There is a chain epaulette shown in one of the plates in Röckstuhl and Gille, which suggests the shape of the ghughwā figured by Egerton, and possibly that was its purpose.

Kanthā-sobhā.—This is No. 70 in the list in the Ājin, 112, and, as we can see from figure 7 on plate i of W. Egerton’s catalogue, it was a neck-piece or gorget. No. 69 (rānak) and No. 71 (mozah-i-āhanī) are both worn by the man and not the horse; then why does Blochmann, in his note, suggest that No. 70 (kanthā-sobhā) was attached to the horse’s neck? The derivation is from kanthā (Shakes., 1616) a necklace, and sobhā, id. 1338, ornament, dress, decoration.

Dastwānah.—This was a gauntlet, or mailed glove, with steel arm-piece. It is No. 68 of the Ājin, 112, and is shown as No. 55 on plate xiv. The specimens in the Indian Museum are Nos. 452, 453, 454, 455 (Egerton, p. 112), 568, 570 (id. 119), 587, 590 (id. 124), 745 (id. 139). Three of these are shown, two on plate xii, opposite p. 122, and one on plate xiv, opposite p. 136.

Rānak.—In the Ājin list, 112, No. 69, appears the word rāk or rāg, which is quite unmeaning. When we turn to No. 56 on Blochmann’s plate xiv, we see that the thing itself is an iron leg-piece or greave. Now, wherever there are lists of armour in the MS. Dastūr-ul-‘Aml, I find a word راک, which is invariably shown with a fourth letter of some sort; it might be read rālak, rālak, rānak, but never rāk. As rān means in Persian the ‘thigh,’ I propose to substitute for Blochmann’s rāk the reading rānak,
the diminutive ending being used to denote relation or connection, a formation like dastak (little hand), a short written order, fit to be (as it were) carried in the hand. The word rânak is not in Steingass.

Mozah-i-âhâni.—This "iron-stocking" is No. 71 on page 112 of the Jîn, and No. 56 on plate xiv. It is a smaller form of the rânak.

Patkah.—I find in Ghulâm Ali Khan, Mukaddamah, fol. 38b, an epithet پتک پوشان, pathk-poshân, applied to both Sayyads and horse-breakers (châbuk-suwarân). It appears to refer to some part of military equipment, but what it is I do not know. It is evidently used in a depreciatory sense.

Having enumerated the man’s defensive armour, we go on to that of the horse. The elephant armour I will leave till we come to the special heading devoted to those animals.

Kajîm.—This is in Jîn, 112, No. 72 (kajem), and is shown as figure No. 57 on plate xiv. Erskine, "History," ii, 187, has the form kichîm. It was a piece of armour for the hind-quarters of a horse, and was put on over a quilted cloth called artak-i-kajim (Jîn, 112, No. 73).

The other pieces of armour for the horse were the frontlet (kashkah: Jîn, 112, No. 74, and plate xiv, No. 60) and the neck-piece (gardani: Jîn, 112, No. 75). Blochmann’s description of the latter (p. 112, note 3) does not seem very appropriate, as he makes it a thing which hangs down in front of the horse’s chest. Gardani, however, is the name still applied to the head and neck-piece, the hood, of a set of horse-clothing. It is the neck-shaped piece in figure No. 58 of Blochmann’s plate xiv, and is separately shown in Egerton’s plate i, figure No. 3. Kâshkah is the word used in Persian for the Hindu sect-mark or tilak, applied on the centre of the forehead. R. B. Shaw, J.A.S. Bengal for 1878, p. 144, gives it as the Eastern Turki for an animal’s forehead.

Horse trappings were often most richly adorned with silver or gold, embroidery or jewels. When so enriched they were styled sâz-i-tîlāe, or sâz-i-marâṣṣa'. The names
of the various articles are as follows (W. Egerton, 125): paîtaḥ (headstall) and 'inān (reins), zerband (martingale), dumchi (crupper), khogir (saddle), āstak (shabracque), bālātang (sarcingle), rikūb (stirrups), shikārband (ornamental tassels at corners of saddle). The list of stable requisites can be seen in Ājn, i, 136.
CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Tāj or Red Cap of the Shī'ahs.

Dresden,
April 21, 1896.

Dear Sir,—Two days ago, while translating a Persian MS. entitled "Basātīn-us-Salāṭīn"—a history of the Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur—I met the following passage, which occurs in the account of the reign of Isma'īl Ādil Shāh, the second king of the dynasty:—

"He ordered all the soldiers in his army to wear on their heads the red tāj [cap] of twelve notches [tarak]; and whoever did not wear the tāj was not allowed to come to the salām [levée]. Moreover, in that reign it was impossible for anyone to go to and fro in the city without the tāj. If anyone chanced to be seen without a tāj he was punished by the King. This custom continued to the end of the reign of Isma'īl Shāh."

It was a curious coincidence that the very day after translating this passage I received my copy of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, and in Dr. Denison Ross' paper on "The Early Years of Shāh Isma'īl," I read on pp. 254-5 what appears to be the traditionary account of the origin of the red caps mentioned above.

I have in my possession a small history of the Ādil Shāhī dynasty, entitled "Guldastah-i-Bijāpur," which gives a likeness of each of the kings, and Isma'īl Ādil Shāh is represented wearing a head-dress corresponding to the description of the tāj.
Isma'il—like his father, Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh—was a Shī'ah; but his father was a tolerant one, and Isma'il extremely bigoted. The prime minister, Kamāl Khān, was a Sunnī, and whilst he held the reins of government during the minority of Isma'il, he restored the Sunni faith; but when Isma'il, after the assassination of Kamāl Khān, assumed the government himself, one of his first acts was to re-introduce the Shi'ah religion; and it was in connection with this that he ordered the wearing of the red ṭāj of twelve points, doubtless symbolical of the twelve Imāms. Shāh Isma'il Ṣafavī and Isma'il 'Ādil Shāh were contemporaries, and the former sent an embassy to the Court of the latter.—Yours faithfully,

J. S. King (Major).

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. Parsee Punchayet.

131, Hornby Road, Bombay,
March 6, 1896.

To the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Sir,—I am directed by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet to request you to be good enough to bring the following matter to the notice of your Oriental scholars travelling through and taking interest in Central Asia.

You know that the regions of Central Asia were once either inhabited by the ancient Zoroastrians, or were under their direct or indirect influence. So the Parsees, or the modern Zoroastrians, being the descendants of those ancient Zoroastrians, take an interest in these regions. They would welcome any information obtained in these regions that would throw some light on their ancient literature and on the manners, customs, and history of their ancient fatherland of Iran. If your scholars and travellers will put themselves in literary communication in English with us, their contribution on these subjects will be very gratefully received. The Trustees will be glad to patronize any publication in English treating of the researches in these
regions from an Iranian point of view.—I have the honour
to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
Secretary, Parsee Panchayet.

3. KURANDA.

102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,
London, S.W.

Sir,—Your correspondent Mr. St. Andrew St. John
may be interested in knowing that Barleria prionitis is
still, in Maratha, "Kanta-koranta" and "Pivala-
(yellow) koranta." It is of a rich cream-colour. Mr. Nairne, the
latest writer on the subject, says "buff." There are
many others of the genus, blue, lilac, pink, and white.
None are at all like the English "blue-bell" (wild
hyacinth), or the "Blue Bells of Scotland" (Anglicé "hare-
bells"). These belong to other orders, and are not familiar
to natives of the plains of India. It is, therefore, perhaps
to be regretted that the word "blue-bell" should be used
in translation of the Indian name of a tropical plant, even
if its flower were blue.—I remain, yours truly,

W. F. SINCLAIR.

Rugby,
April 18, 1896.

Sir,—In the passage quoted by Mr. St. John from my
translation of the Jātaka, vol. ii, p. 46, in the number of the
Journal for April, 1896, p. 364, "yellow robe" stands in
inverted commas. If the robe were yellow in truth, the
point is lost. The man in question violated all the rules
of taste by wearing a white outer robe, a blue under robe,
holding a carved fan, etc., etc.; and the sentence was in-
tended to mean—"he wore a blue robe instead of the proper
yellow robe." Would not an Englishman be understood
if he were to say of some clergyman, "his 'white tie' on
this occasion was bright blue"?—Yours truly,

W. H. D. ROUSE.
4. CHŪHĀ SHAḤ Daula.

In the Panjāb certain dwarfs are seen called "Chūhā Shāh Daula," Rats of the shrine of Shāh Daula, a Muhammadan Saint.

In 1851 I saw two of these dwarfs exhibited at Paris, riding on ostriches, and described as a peculiar race of pigmies. I asked our new member, Muhammad Latif, to send an account of them for our Journal, with the following result.

ROBERT N. CUST,
Hon. Sec. of R.A.S.

63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
May 20, 1896.

Jallandhar City, Panjāb,
April 27, 1896.

Sir,—I have made inquiries regarding the people known in the Panjāb as "Chūhā Shāh Daula" found in Gujrat District and elsewhere in the Panjāb. The hereditary custodians of the shrine of Shāh Daula, in the city of Gujrat, maintain, that parents not endowed with a child make a vow at the Chawngāl, or mausoleum of the Saint, that, should they be gifted with a child, male or female, they would make an offer of him or her at the shrine of the Saint. Through the blessings of the Saint a child is born to the parents, and in fulfilment of the vow they offer the child at the shrine. The child's head is invariably small, and so the epithet Chūhā or "Mouse" is given to it. The story, however, is wrong. In the first place, why should parents ask the gift of a child whose head is so small that the child, when grown up to manhood, becomes an idiot and is devoid of all senses? A child so born is quite useless to the parents and to the world at large. Secondly, the story as to the blessings of the Saint is absurd, since the gift of a child in such condition is rather a curse to the parents than a blessing.

The truth of the matter is, that Chūhā—males or females—born with small heads, are extraordinary creatures, and
the fashion has grown in the Panjāb of making an offer of a child so born at the shrine of Shāh Daula in Gujrat, and the child is called "Chahā Shāh Daula." I made inquiries about the matter from old and well-informed people, and they all agree, that there is nothing supernatural in the birth and constitution of the sect in question, and that they are merely extraordinary creatures.

At a time, it was gravely suspected by the authorities, that the hereditary custodians of the shrine of Shāh Daula in Gujrat, who keep a number of these extraordinary creatures at the shrine (who prove to them a source of gain), employ artificial means of making the heads of newborn children small, and prevent the natural growth of the head by squeezing it in an iron vessel, and keeping it in such condition for a length of time until its further growth has ceased. But at length careful inquiries into the causes of the smallness of the head showed, that it was due neither to supernatural powers, nor to artificial agencies, but that the people were merely extraordinary creatures.

The saint Shāh Daula was born in 975 A.H. (1567 A.D.), and died at the age of 150 in 1125 (1713 A.D.), or in the time of the Emperor Jahandīr Shāh. He was a descendant of the Behlol kings, and on the mother's side was related to Sultan Sārang Khan, Ghakkar chief. He was an eye-witness of the events of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shāhjahan, and Aurangzeb, the four celebrated Moghul emperors.—Yours obediently,

MAHOMED LATIF.

5. ROSARIES IN CEYLONSE BUDDHISM.

I have found no references in European literature to the rosaries of the Buddhists of Ceylon; and several writers on the Buddhism of that island, whom I addressed on this subject, gave it as their opinion that rosaries are unknown to Ceylonese Buddhists.

Having devoted some attention to Buddhist ritual, and
described in detail the rosaries of the Tibetan and Burmese Buddhists, I took advantage of a recent flying visit to Ceylon to inquire locally into this question, and I found that rosaries are used by all the Ceylonese Buddhist monks, as well as by the laity.

They call the rosary Mālā, the Sinhalese form of the Sanskrit Mālā 'a garland.' It is also called Nauca guna mālā or 'the nine-virtues' garland,' for the reason, it is said, that one of the chief uses to which it is put is to tell over the beads the nine virtues or attributes (guna) of the Buddha. As, however, the word guna also means 'a string,' it is possible that this epithet may have had a more general meaning.

The beads number 108, as in the Tibetan, Burmese, and some of the Japanese rosaries; and they are manipulated in the same manner. The material of which the beads are composed varies with the wealth and caprice of the owner. The commonest rosaries have their beads of cocoanut shell, or of a seed, the name of which I have mislaid; while many are made of a yellowish wood like that of the so-called Bodhi-tree of the Burmese and Japanese, though the wood is not that of the Pipal-tree (Ficus religiosa). Some rosaries are of Sandal-wood, and a few are of precious stones. But no importance seems to be placed upon the particular material of the beads, as is done in Tibet, where the rosary has attained its highest development.

As to the time and manner in which the rosary was introduced into Ceylonese Buddhism, the monks whom I interrogated at Colombo could not tell, but they told me that it has certainly been used at least since the time of Buddhaghosa, who mentions the use of the rosary in the Silaniddesa.

The rosary is daily used by the Ceylonese Buddhists in reciting the formulas which are employed in the exercise of the mystic meditation called Kammathānām. This latter

term, says Childers,\(^1\) is applied to "certain religious exercises or meditations by means of which Samādhi, Jhāna, and the four Paths are attained. Each of these is based on a certain formula or rite." Forty modes of Kammaṭṭhānaṁ are mentioned in the Visuddhi Magga. A particular one of these is selected, and its formula is repeated by the monk or lay devotee many times on the rosary, in order to concentrate the mind upon it. These formulas sometimes seem to be categorical lists of elements, etc., but they probably seldom, if ever, consist of unmeaning mummerly and jargon such as with the Tibetan Buddhists. Nor are the formulas repeated to such inordinate lengths as with the Lāmas.

Of the Gāthās which are daily told by monks on the rosaries, the most common are the three on the greatness of the Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly, commencing—Buddhānussati Iti pi so Bhagavā araham Sammā, etc., which are said to be extracted from the Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta.

Perhaps some resident of Ceylon will give us more details about these rosaries and their formulas. And we still require definite information on these points in regard to Siam.

L. A. Waddell.

Medical College, Calcutta,
April 21, 1896.

6. The Bakhtiāri Dialect.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—It is rather late to allude to an article in the October, 1895, number, but I had not time to read it till lately. I refer to the poem in the Bakhtiāri dialect, mentioned in Mr. Browne's article on "Poetry of the Persian Dialects," on page 816 of that number.

In the last line محمدیل should be two words = "Mohammad the hero." In the same line رحیس I was

\(^1\) Childers' Pāli Dict., p. 179.
told by a Lur, = "let him go"; which would be equivalent to the gloss Mr. Browne quotes, خلاص شر, but not as he takes it.—I remain, yours very truly,

W. McDouall.

7. Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathurā.

[From the Academy of May 2nd.]

Vienna,
April 20, 1896.

A letter from Dr. Führer, accompanied by a batch of impressions of inscriptions, informs me that a grant of 300 rupees from the Government of the North-western Provinces enabled him to resume his explorations at Mathurā during February last. Dr. Führer spent this (for excavations) rather insignificant sum partly on "prospecting operations" in the large Katra Mound, which is said to conceal the ruins of Kesava's ancient temple, destroyed by Aurungzebe, and partly on diggings in some unexplored portions of the Kankāli Tilā, which some years ago yielded the splendid collection of important Jaina inscriptions.

The Katra Mound furnished none of the hoped-for Brahmanical sculptures and inscriptions, but only, as in former times, fragments belonging to a Buddhist Stūpa of the Kushana period. But the results of Dr. Führer's work in the Kankāli Tilā were as valuable as those of 1889-93. Besides a number of smaller fragments of inscriptions, giving the names of various Jaina schools and teachers, he found a longer one, which, in spite of the omission of the reigning king's name, possesses a considerable interest, and perhaps indicates that the dates of the Kushana kings, Kanishka, Huviska, and Vasudeva or Vasushka, must be interpreted otherwise than is usually done.

The curiously misspelt text of the mutilated document runs thus:—

1. Namacarecoidhanā Ārahāutanā | Mahārājasya rājatir-
ājasya sevecaccharamvate d[ū]  . . . . . .


2. 200 90 9 (?) hemamūtamāse 2 divasā 1 ārāhāto Mahāvirasya prātim[ā]°

3. . . sya Okhārikāye vitu Ujhatikāye ca Okhāye svāvikā-
bhagīni[e]°

4. . . . śrīkasya Śivadināsyā ca eteh ārāhātāyatāne
sthāpit[ā]

5. . . . . . . . devakulaṃ ca |

With the obvious corrections names-sarve° for namesavare°,
samevačcharasesa° for svarvaccharamsaete, dhitu for vitu, sravikā°
for svāvikā°, and etaih for eteh, as well as with the highly
probable restoration dū[tiye nava (?)]-naeatyadhike at the end
of 1. 1, the following translation may be given:

"Adoration to all Siddhas, to the Arhats! In the second
century [exceeded by ninety-nine (?)], 299 (?) of the Mahārāja
and Rājātirāja, in the second month of winter, on the first
day—an image of the Arhat Mahāvīra was set up in the
Arhat-temple by the following [persons], by . . . . and by
Ujhatikā, daughter of . . . . [and] of Okhārikā, by Okhā,
the lay-sister . . . . or . . śrīka and Śivadinna . . . .
and a temple."

As the first two numeral signs are very distinct, and only
the third is somewhat blurred and of unusual form, it is
evident that the document was incised at all events after
the year 290 (possibly in the year 299) of an unnamed
era, and during the reign of an unnamed king who bore
the titles mahārāja and rājātirāja. The last-mentioned
circumstance permits us to determine, at least, to which
dynasty the king belonged. For though the two combined
titles occur before the names of Azes, Azilises, Gondopherres,
Pakores, Kadphises I and II, Kanishka, Huvishka, and
Vāsudeva, only one of the last three kings can be here
intended, because, as far as is known at present, none of
the first six ruled over Mathurā. And to this conclusion
points also the type of the characters of the inscription.
It fully agrees with that of the numerous votive inscriptions
of the time of the Kushana rule over Mathurā; and it
preserves in the broad-backed śa with the slanting central stroke, and in the tripartite subscript ya, two archaic forms which during this period occur only occasionally for the later śa with the horizontal cross-bār and the bipartite ya. These characteristics, as well as the general appearance of the letters, preclude also the (otherwise possible) assumption that the inscription might belong to the time of a later Kushana king, who ruled after Vāsudeva and before the conquest of Mathurā by the Guptas about 400 A.D.

Under these circumstances, the date of Dr. Führer's inscription, which differs from those found in the other inscriptions of the Kushanas of Mathurā, gains a considerable importance. Hitherto we possessed only documents with the years 5-28 for Kanishka, 29-60 for Huvishka, and 74 (misread 44)-98 for Vāsudeva; and these dates have been taken by most Sanskritists to be years of the Śaka era of 78 A.D., supposed to have been established by Kanishka, but by Sir A. Cunningham as years of the fifth century of the Seleucid era, or equivalent to [40]5-[4]98, i.e. 93-191 A.D. If we now have reason to believe that the new date Sām 299 fell in the reign of one of these three kings, that may be explained in two ways. Either it may be assumed that the Kushanas of Mathurā used two eras—one established by Kanishka, and a second which began much earlier; or it may be conjectured that their dates with the figures 5-98 are abbreviated by the omission of the hundreds, and that, being in reality equivalent to 205-298, they have to be referred to the era which occurs so frequently in the lately discovered Kharosthi inscriptions from the Panjab, as well as in some older finds.

It seems very tempting to consider the Mathurā date of Śodāsa, Sām 72, the Taxila date of his contemporary Patika, Sām 78, the date Sām 102 of M. Senart's No. 35 (Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, v), the Takht-i-Bahi date of Gondopherres, Sām 103, the date, Sām 113, of Dr. Waddell's Kaldavra inscription (Vienna Or. Jour., vol. x, No. 1), the Panjtar date of a Gushana king (name lost), Sām 123, the date, Sām 200, of M. Senart's No. 34, the
date, Sāṁ 276 or 286, of the Hashtnagar image, and Dr. Führer's new Mathurā date, Sāṁ 299 (?), as links of one and the same chain, to which also the abbreviated dates of Kanishka and his successors, Sāṁ [20]5—[2]98, belong. If all these dates are really connected in the manner suggested, the beginning of this Northern era must fall in the first half of the first century B.C. For the time of Gondopherres, who ruled in its 103rd year, is undoubtedly the first half of the first century A.D.

For the present, and until more dated inscriptions of this period with royal names are found, this suggestion, which coincides in the main with M. Senart's views expressed at the end of his article quoted above, is nothing more than a bare possibility. Perhaps further explorations in the Kankālī Tilā, which Dr. Führer intends to undertake, will prove its correctness.

G. Bühler.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.
(April, May, June, 1896.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

April 14, 1896.—Sir William Wilson Hunter in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. W. J. Prendergast, of the Nizam's College, Haidarabad,
Mr. W. R. H. Merk, C.S.I.,
Major Leigh, I.S.C.,
Major Deane, I.S.C.,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. Beveridge read a paper on "Anquetil Du Perron." It dealt chiefly with his personal history, and was mainly an abstract of the "Discours Préliminaire" of the "Zendavesta." His voyage to India was described, as also his interviews with Siraj-ud-Daula and Mir Madan (the hero of Plassey), and his wonderful journey of 1200 miles from Colgong to Pondicherry. The only novelty in the paper was some extracts from the proceedings of the Councils of Bombay and Surat of September and October, 1759, which gave details about Du Perron's encounter with another Frenchman in the streets of Surat. It appeared from these that Du Perron's antagonist was a M. Biquant.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, Mr. Desai, Sir Henry Norman, Mrs. Rhys Davids, and the Secretary took part.
May 12, 1896, Anniversary Meeting.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.
It was announced that—

The Rev. G. Margoliouth and
Mr. H. North Bushby

had been elected members of the Society.

The Right Hon. the Lord Loch, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., P.C.:

Gentlemen,—It is a very pleasing duty that has devolved on me, and that is to propose the re-election of Lord Reay for another term of three years. I feel sure you realize how much good he has done to the Society during the past three years. Since he has presided over us, he has been able to use his great influence with a view to save the Archæological Commission in India from destruction; and I am sure if that were the only service that he had performed to the Society, he would be deserving of our most sincere thanks. But besides that, he attended at the Congress at Geneva, and he moved our motion that the Congress should formulate a scheme for the transliteration of Oriental alphabets. The carrying of that motion, and the subsequent publication of the Congress scheme, will go far to settle a question which has divided Orientalists for many years, and the settlement of which is of practical importance. These are only two of the services which Lord Reay has performed for the Society, and I am sure that they are quite enough to lead you to join with me in voting his re-election for another term of three years. I believe the financial position of the Society is very satisfactory, and I believe also that there is an increased number of members joining us. I only wish that we could enlist still greater interest in the work of the Society, so that we might really get a very large increase of our members, and put all anxiety as regards our funds out of the question. For although our financial position is good, and I believe improving, still at the same time we should like very much indeed—and I believe Professor Rhys Davids will confirm me in this—we should like to have several hundreds a year
more than we at present have for the purpose of carrying on more efficiently the great work of interpreting the East to the West which the Society was founded to do. I have much pleasure now in moving that Lord Reay be elected for another term of three years.

Mr. R. N. Cust, LL.D. (Hon. Secretary) : I rise to second the proposition made by Lord Loch. Lord Loch spoke in the name of the Members of the Society; I speak in the name of the Council. We heartily desire the re-election of Lord Reay. I have known the Society now for many many years, and am one of the oldest members of the Council. We have been fortunate in having so many distinguished noblemen and gentlemen as our Presidents—Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Lord Northbrook, Sir Henry Yule, Sir Thomas Wade, and now Lord Reay; and we heartily desire, and hope it will be agreeable to all of you, that Lord Reay be asked for another term of three years to remain in the office. There are special reasons also why we desire it, because the International Congress is to take place at Paris next year, in which Lord Reay will represent the Society in a way which no one else could do so well.

[Lord Loch then put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried with enthusiasm.]

The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D. : Lord Loch and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that I highly appreciate the compliment which you have paid me, and the very flattering remarks which both Lord Loch and Dr. Cust have made on this occasion. I consider it a great privilege to preside over a Council and over a Society in which there are so large a number of most distinguished Orientalists; and I need not say that it is only because I know that I have the support of these distinguished Orientalists that I, who have no claim whatever to call myself an Orientalist, venture to preside over this Society, in which I have become more and more interested in the past three years; and also because the distinguished Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, places his knowledge
and experience always in the most kind and generous way at my disposal. I ought to add that, if there be a special reason which makes me desirous to remain a little longer in your midst, it is the expectation that, during the next three years, London will at last obtain an Oriental School worthy of the Metropolis, placed on the same footing as the great schools which cast lustre on foreign capitals. I do not hesitate to say that I consider every year of delay in the establishment of such a school as a national disgrace. (Hear, hear.) I trust that at last we shall carry a Bill creating a Statutory Commission to reorganize the London University on the lines of the Report of the Royal Commission. As you are aware, the Royal Commission reported in favour of a large recognition of Oriental studies in London. That is a debt England owes to India—to itself as a great Asiatic Power. This Asiatic Society forms one of the most precious links between Occidental and Oriental learning. The interest I take in Indian affairs has certainly increased, not decreased, since I have come to realize the aims of this Society; and I wish to see it become more and more the headquarters of the eminent men who, I am happy to say, in growing numbers, desire to give not only their time but their money to this Society. If I can be of some use, and not disappoint those who have so kindly proposed and elected me as their President for the ensuing term, it will be a source of every satisfaction to me.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1895 was then read by the Secretary:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1895.

The Council regrets to have to report the loss by death, or retirement, of the following thirteen members:

There have died—
1. Mr. Hyde Clarke,
2. Sir Cyril Graham,
3. Captain Sir F. Hughes,
4. Sir W. Mackinnon,
5. Major-Gen. Sir Peter Melvill,
6. Major-Gen. Sir H. Rawlinson,
7. Sir Thomas Wade,
8. Dr. Trailokyā Nath Mitra.

There have retired—

1. Rev. C. J. Ball,
2. Mr. R. Batson Joyner,
3. Mr. H. Stuart,
4. Viscount Cranbrook,
5. Professor Stumme.

On the other hand there have been elected the following thirty-eight members:—

1. H.H. The Mahārāja of Travancore,
2. Mr. Perceval Lowell,
3. Mr. Kunwar K. Pal Sinha,
4. Mons. E. Blochet,
5. The Rev. J. J. Bambridge,
6. Miss Kennedy,
7. Mr. Tahl Ram,
8. Mr. Gazafar Ali Khan,
9. Mr. C. M. Fernando,
10. Syed Mohammed Latif,
11. Mr. St. George Lane Fox Pitt.
12. Mrs. Bode,
13. Mr. G. Phillips,
14. Mr. Rājesvar Mitra,
15. The Rev. W. G. Shellabear,
16. Mr. Horace Peatling,
17. Mr. Walter Lupton,
18. Captain Bower,
19. Mr. Virchand R. Gandhī,
20. Mr. Percy Sykes,
21. Dr. E. B. Landis,
22. Captain G. E. Gerini,
23. Professor E. Hardy,
24. Professor M. T. Quinn,
25. Babu Nagendranath Mukerji,
26. Mr. T. Callan Hodson,
27. Mr. Abdullah ibn Yusuf Ali,
28. Major W. R. Livermore,
29. The Hon. Maulvi Khuda Baksh,
30. Mr. Salah-ud-din Khuda Baksh,
31. Mr. Hugh Raynbird, jun.,
32. Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
33. Mr. Diwan Tek Chand,
34. Mr. R. A. Nicholson,
35. The Râni Brooke of Sarawak,
36. Prof. P. S. Pillai.
37. The Rev. F. B. Shawe,
38. Prof. E. Hess-Müller.

The names of the following members have, under Rule 46, to be struck off as defaulters:

1. Mohun Lal Jag,
2. Râja Lachman Singh,
3. Lakshmi Narayan,
4. Rang Lal.

To the list of subscribing libraries, which pay the same annual subscription as our non-resident members, the Council reports the addition of the following names:

1. The British and Foreign Bible Society,
2. The Naples University Library,
3. The Sydney Free Library,
4. The Lucknow Museum Library,
5. The Montefiore College, Ramsgate,
6. The Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.
7. The Melbourne Public Library,
8. The San Francisco Free Library.

The general result is that against a loss of 17 supporters there is to be set a gain of 46, which leaves a nett gain
of 29, bringing the total up to 521—the largest number yet reached by the Society. The totals in previous years have been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Subscriptions</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Total Receipts</th>
<th>Total Expenditure</th>
<th>Gain</th>
<th>Loss</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1107</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1335</td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2120</td>
<td>2459</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>-216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1151</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>-218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>-766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>-848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1333*</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>-563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1491*</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>1105</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>-192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>-396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Special Government grant of £500 for the publication of Cuneiform inscriptions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Subscriptions</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Total Receipts</th>
<th>Total Expenditure</th>
<th>Gain</th>
<th>Loss</th>
<th>Result since Beginning of the Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>-266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>1229</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>1007</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>470</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1201</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1243</td>
<td>1271</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1193</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>1125</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>1087</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1223</td>
<td>1390</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1255</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From this table it appears that the receipts from the sale of the Journal, which had become practically nothing for many years, have now, since 1884, gone on pretty steadily increasing, until, in the year under review, they amounted to £217, a very substantial addition to the slender income of the Society, and the largest so far received under that head.

The Council regrets that there is no entry this year under the head of donations to the Society. In former years there were considerable donations made from time to time in aid of the researches carried on by the Society. It would have been impossible for the Society without such help to have set on foot and successfully carried out the long series of translations which it was able to publish under the old Oriental Translation Fund. The necessities of the cause have grown with the growth of knowledge. And whereas other learned societies, especially those dealing with natural science, are either housed rent free by the Government, or receive an allowance in lieu of rent, this Society has no such grant, and has lately been compelled to submit to an increase in the high charge it has to pay for rent. The consequence is that our shelves are crowded with MSS. which ought to be translated, and which the Society cannot hope, even with the present improvement in its financial position, to translate. The Oriental Translation Fund has now been started afresh, and by the great generosity, at first of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, since supplemented by the Earl of Northbrook and Mr. Sturdy, it has done and is doing good and important work. But it very urgently needs further support, and the Council, therefore, publishes the following list of donations given to the Society in the past in the hope that friends of Oriental research may be stimulated to like efforts in the future:

LIST OF PRIVATE DONATIONS TO THE FUNDS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name and Title</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.</td>
<td>£20 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Major-General Sir Henry Worsley, K.C.B.</td>
<td>£100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Mr. Sergeant Rough</td>
<td>£10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>James Alexander, Esq.</td>
<td>£100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>£100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td></td>
<td>£100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td></td>
<td>£100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>B. Botfield, Esq., F.R.S.</td>
<td>£31 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wm. Spottiswoode, Esq.</td>
<td>£10 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. H. Hodgson, Esq.</td>
<td>£10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W. Platt, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O. de B. Priaulx, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Major-General Sir C. Hopkinson, K.C.B.</td>
<td>£2 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. W. Bosanquet, Esq.</td>
<td>£10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>B. Botfield, Esq., F.R.S. (legacy)</td>
<td>£31 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Muir, Esq., D.C.L.</td>
<td>£3 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson, Bart., K.C.B.</td>
<td>£25 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Muir, Esq., D.C.L.</td>
<td>£3 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Merchant Taylors Company</td>
<td>£10 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Gordon Clarke, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sir Thomas Wade, G.C.M.G.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H. C. Kay, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>E. Delmar Morgan, Esq.</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£1704 7 0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the expenditure side the Council would point out that while the fixed charges for rent, staff, and printing the Journal remain at about the same figures as before, the expenditure on the library now again takes a place beside them in our little budget. The Council hopes that the slight but regular growth in the receipts will render it possible to make this a permanent feature in the accounts.

As already stated in last year’s Report, the Council has invested £300 during the year under review to
replace the amount taken to pay for the repair of the roof, etc., from the Society's capital fund. The fund now (12th May, 1896) stands thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£177 Midland 3 per cent. Debentures</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In P.O. Savings Bank</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£1301</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar table showing the value of the various investments on the 31st December, 1895, is appended to the statement of account. The capital account has varied as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>1,806</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The various deductions, amounting to no less a sum than close on £1,800, have been for the most part on previous occasions, as in the last instance, due to expenditure in the nature of rent, and will be found to coincide in time with the various leases taken by the Society. This makes it all the harder that this Society, one of the oldest of the learned Societies, should have been omitted from the list of those who have house-room provided for them by the national Government.

1 This increase is due to the special Government grant referred to in the note on the first table.
2 These increases were due to the improved state of the ordinary revenue of the Society.
# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1895.

## RECEIPTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance at Bank, January 1st, 1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 6 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 Resident Members at £3 3s.</td>
<td>283 10 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.</td>
<td>232 9 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ** in advance (1 being 5 years' subscription)</td>
<td>12 15 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ** arrears paid in 1895</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
<td>617 19 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 ** at £1 1s.</td>
<td>33 12 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ** paid by mistake</td>
<td>2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Compounders' extra subscription at £1 13s.</td>
<td>3 6 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Compounders at £15 13s.</td>
<td>47 5 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation from the India Office</td>
<td></td>
<td>210 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends on N.S.W. 4 per cent. Stock on Midland Railway Stock, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on Deposit</td>
<td></td>
<td>34 17 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions to Journal</td>
<td>150 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale</td>
<td>62 12 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Index</td>
<td>18 6</td>
<td>230 11 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Pamphlets</td>
<td>2 5 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>14 15 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue Sale</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
<td>2 0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rents—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numismatic Society</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellenic Society</td>
<td>80 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Translation Fund</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristotelian Society</td>
<td>15 15 0</td>
<td>175 14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Lore Society</td>
<td>8 8 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematical</td>
<td>19 9 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawn from Deposit Account</td>
<td></td>
<td>200 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## EXPENDITURE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House—Rent</td>
<td>345 5 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>9 10 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>4 18 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas</td>
<td>11 7 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Tax</td>
<td>1 6 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairs</td>
<td>8 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door Plate</td>
<td>1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary</td>
<td>237 10 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal—Printing</td>
<td>309 6 0</td>
<td>319 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations</td>
<td>10 0 * 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library—New Books</td>
<td>42 14 5</td>
<td>65 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>22 14 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.</td>
<td>60 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery, etc.</td>
<td>10 1 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Charges</td>
<td>1 16 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned subscriptions</td>
<td>18 6 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty Cash—cheques drawn</td>
<td>75 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed on Deposit in Post Office Savings Bank</td>
<td>1172 18 5</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of £177 Midland Railway 3 per cent. Debenture Stock</td>
<td>199 19 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1895</td>
<td>17 17 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## INVESTMENT AT VALUE ON DEC. 31, 1895.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>802 13 10 New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock</td>
<td>851 1 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177 0 0 Midland Ry. 3 per cent. Debentures</td>
<td>205 6 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 0 0 In Post Office Savings Bank</td>
<td>101 11 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£1157 19 2

£1490 15 4

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, February 6th, 1896. [H. C. Kay.
H. Thomson Lyon.]
The Council regrets to have to announce the death of two of the Honorary Members of the Society—Dr. Reinhold Rost and Professor von Roth. In their place the Council recommends the election of Professor Baron von Rosen, of St. Petersburg, and of Professor Windisch, of Leipzig.

By the rules of the Society five gentlemen retire from the Council, two of whom are re-eligible, that is to say—

Mr. Arbuthnot,
Dr. Thornton,
Prof. Douglas,
Mr. Strong, and
Sir Raymond West;

and the death of Dr. Rost creates one vacancy. The Council recommends the election in their stead of—

Mr. Arbuthnot,
Prof. Macdonell,
Dr. Thornton,
Mr. Watters,
Mr. Wollaston, and
Mr. Walhouse.

By the rules of the Society Professor Cowell, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and Sir Fred Goldsmid retire from the Vice-Presidency. The Council recommends the election in their stead of—

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.,
Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., and
Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., LL.D.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.: My Lord Reay, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to move the adoption of the Report which you have just heard, and I very gladly do so. At the same time I must confess it is somewhat of a mystery to me why I have been
selected for this very honourable office; but though the honour is quite undeserved, I like it all the same. It is possible that whoever has selected me for this honour, has selected me on the Aristotelian principle, which is a very true one, that things are sometimes best explained by their contraries, and that therefore he has chosen one, who cannot claim to be an Orientalist, as the exponent of a Report of one of the most ancient and most successful Asiatic Societies in existence. But though, in common with many of my brethren in the Indian Civil Service, I cannot claim to be an Orientalist (because during my career in India I was far too preoccupied in affairs to be able to prosecute Oriental studies), yet I still take the deepest interest in them. Like a devout Hindoo, the retired Anglo-Indian still worships towards the Land of the Rising Sun, and is glad to seek refuge from the keen blasts of the North in the sunshine of the Light of Asia.

And now as to the Report itself. It is a somewhat chequered record—on the one hand, of terrible losses; but on the other hand, of steady progress and hope for the future. We have lost, ladies and gentlemen, the most illustrious of our members, the great Sir Henry Rawlinson, who for many years was the Director of our Society. We have lost the unrivalled scholarship and the genial presence of Sir Thomas Wade. We have lost the painstaking research of Dr. Trilokya Nath Mitra; and we have more recently lost the wide knowledge, the extended experience, of our late friend and colleague, Dr. Rost. Yes, they are gone; but they will not soon be forgotten. Bedded like rocks in the stream of human progress, their work and their memory survive. "The waters flow by"—so runs the Afghan proverb—"the waters flow by, the floods cease, but the stones remain for ever." But fortunately for human happiness, no man, however great, is indispensable; and it so happens, therefore, that in spite of our losses, the year's history is one, not of sensational, but what is perhaps better, of continuous and satisfactory advance.

When I first joined this Society, on my retirement from
India about the year 1881, its income from subscriptions was £538; the receipts from the sale of the Journal and advertisements amounted to the magnificent sum of £1; and on the year's income and expenditure there was a loss of £87. Now, during the year 1895, in spite of long-continued financial depression, and in spite of our having, in the case of a certain class of members, reduced the amount of the subscription—notwithstanding all this, the total amount of the receipts from subscriptions amounted to £570; our income from the sale of the Journal and advertisements was £217, the largest amount from that source ever received; there was a surplus of £112, and during the year a sum of nearly £300 was invested: so that at the end of the year the debt to capital, which had accrued, owing to our having to sell out securities from time to time, in order to meet deficits to the extent of £1700, was reduced to £900—in other words, at the close of the year a debt of about £800 was wiped out. Moreover, though the income from subscriptions has not very largely increased, the number of subscribers has increased in far greater proportion, owing to the reduction in the amount of fee in certain cases.

It is a very satisfactory feature that, during the year 1895, eleven of our new subscribers were natives of India. I trust that if any of our new members, natives of India, happen to be present—I think I see one in the room here—I hope that they will inform their compatriots how very glad we shall be to welcome many more.

But, though our financial position is far better than it was, you must not suppose that we are wealthy. Such is far from being the case, for our ideas are far grander than our resources. We could wish, for instance, to have co-operated much more effectively and substantially in aid of the formation of the Oriental Translation Fund, which, thanks to the liberal generosity of Mr. Arbuthnot—(applause)—and of our late President, Lord Northbrook, and others, has been formed, and, as we are told in the Report, is doing excellent work. But matters are improving, and let us hope that some day or other there may arise another Colonel North,
equally open-handed and generous with him who has just departed, but with Oriental instead of nitrate proclivities.

But the most satisfactory, though not always, I admit, the most successful, means of raising money is—to deserve it. Let us consider, therefore, how far during the year we have deserved the contributions that we have received, and that we hope to receive. Let us inquire how far, during the year, we have endeavoured to carry out the objects of our institution, that is to say, what we have done towards the “investigation and encouragement of Arts, Science, and Literature in relation to Asia.”

Well, on this point the Journal itself will tell you a great deal. In the first place, the Journal for 1895 contains 27 original communications, some of them of very great value, and—as is an important point—nearly all of them would, in all probability, have never seen the light but for the opportunity afforded for their publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Among the more important of these papers I would venture to mention that of Mr. Guy Le Strange’s text and translation of “Ibn Serapion’s Description of Mesopotamia and Bagdad in A.D. 900”; and Dr. Winternitz’ very learned paper on “The Connection between the Nejamesha, Naigamesha, and Nemeso.” These are not what would usually be considered lively reading, but as specimens of laborious and careful scholarship, they are of the greatest value. Then there is Mr. Hopkins’ valuable account of “The Origin and Early History of the Chinese Coinage,” and Mr. Strong’s “History of the Island of Kilwa,” from a previously unpublished old Arabic text, which is given in extenso. Then there is a Sinhalese gentleman, Don Martino de Zilwa Wickremasinghe—and we are particularly glad to welcome as a fellow-worker one born in that remarkable island, which can boast an unbroken succession of good scholars for more than 2000 years—who has deciphered for us “The Sinhalese Inscriptions on Copperplates in the British Museum.” Dr. Bühler’s “Notes on Past and Future Archaeological Explorations in India” is full of interesting
and valuable suggestions; and then there is Mr. Chalmers’ paper on “The Nativity of the Buddha”; Mr. Browne’s “Notes on the Poetry of the Persian Dialects”; Mr. Rapson’s papers on “The Counter-marks on the Early Persian and Indian Coins.” Each of them adds to the world’s knowledge on the subjects discussed; and I dare say there are many other papers that have struck other members and subscribers as being papers of very great value.

Then, again, the Report contains forty-five Reviews or Notices of Books. And here I would venture to express on behalf, I think I may say, of the Council, our thanks to those gentlemen who, at considerable trouble, have undertaken to review the books that from time to time appear in our Journal. We have no funds from which to remunerate them, and therefore their kindness is all the greater. Then, again, in the Notes of the Quarter that are published in our Journal will be found a contemporaneous record of Oriental research. And in addition to all this we have had several Committees of some importance—one, for instance, on Transliteration, which is still sitting; and we have also had several interesting meetings and discussions.

Well, for such success as has been obtained in all these departments of our work, the main credit, of course, is due to our able and indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Rhys Davids—(applause); but no small portion of the results of the year is due to the inspiring energy of our distinguished President—(applause)—who has stimulated us by his example and taken the keenest interest in our work. Thanks to his Lordship, the Royal Asiatic Society was admirably represented at the last Oriental Congress at Geneva, and it was through his initiation that the Society took part in pressing upon the Government the importance of establishing a teaching University for London, and in connection with it an Oriental department, and thus removing what his Lordship has appropriately described as a most disgraceful blot upon the educational escutcheon of the Metropolis. And now that we have, I am glad to say, re-elected our distinguished President for another term of three years, we look forward
with the greatest pleasure to the prospect of his again adequately and honourably representing our Society at the forthcoming Congress at Paris.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have not much more to say. I referred in the commencement of my speech to the severe losses that we had experienced; but I do not like to conclude without saying that we are far from being discouraged. We have still with us many distinguished representatives of Oriental scholarship in the widest sense; some have already achieved for themselves a worldwide reputation, e.g.: Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, or Professors Cowell, or Legge, or Sayce, or Douglas, or Bendall, or Rhys Davids; then there is our learned and ever active Honorary Secretary, Dr. Cust, and many others that I could name—Mr. Browne, who has given us some very valuable papers; Professor Macdonell, whom you have just elected on the Council; Mr. Rogers and Mr. Beveridge; and there is our friend Dr. Leitner, sitting immediately in front of us—he, too, is one of the illustrious band whose names are already known. But apart from all these, there are rising members of this Society whose work is of the highest promise. Amongst this younger generation we have Hopkins and Fraser, great in Chinese, and Guy Le Strange, Strong, and Ross in Persian and Arabic; and on the Indian side Rapson, and Taylor, and Chalmers, and Houghton, and Wickremasinghe; while in the domain of historical research we have in Edward Maclagan a very promising son of a distinguished father and old friend of ours; and last, and not least, there is to be mentioned the name of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the wife of our distinguished Secretary. (Hear, hear.) So altogether, notwithstanding our losses, the outlook is most encouraging. Death may make havoc in our ranks, but there are fine recruits ready to fill up the gaps, or, to change the metaphor, as in nature, so in scholarship—

Roses shall be where roses were,
Not shadows, but reality;
As if they never perished there,
But slept in immortality.
(Applause.)—With these remarks I have the honour to propose the adoption of the Report and the several recommendations contained in it.

Mr. J. Kennedy, I.C.S. (ret.): I have been asked, my Lord, to second the adoption of Dr. Thornton's resolution. When the request was first made to me, I, too, asked myself precisely the same question that Dr. Thornton asked himself, why was I selected for this office? and as I could find no answer in myself, I set about a diligent study of the Report. That Report is almost entirely financial; and as it so happens, I have on one or two occasions had the honour to act as Auditor for this Society, and I have had occasion to examine somewhat closely the financial aspects of the Society's work; I can therefore speak with the greater confidence on one or two points of the very gratifying Report before us. The income of this Society is mainly derived from four sources—a grant from the India Office, certain rents (derived by subletting the rooms to other societies), subscriptions, and the sale of the Journal. The grant from the India Office and the rents from other societies are of course more or less fixed, and, taken together, they almost cover the rent of this building; the solvency of the Society therefore depends entirely on the subscriptions and the sale of the Journal. Of the subscribers, the non-residents are the most numerous, and in many respects a most important section, though financially each non-resident member subscribes less than a resident member. The greater part of the non-resident subscriptions goes really to defray their share in the publication of the Journal. The Society, therefore, must mainly depend upon an increase in the number of resident subscribers. Now the circle from which the Society draws its resident subscribers is a limited one, and any increase under this head must be slow. I do not know whether the Council has ever considered the advisability of altering the rule with regard to composition, but at present it seems to me that the permission to compound instead of
subscribing annually is a source of loss, and not a source of gain, to the Society. It might be well either to abolish the rule altogether, or to modify it according to some scale of age as has been done, for instance, in the London Library. Then I come to the sale of the Journal, the most gratifying feature of this year's statement: eight years ago the income of the Journal did not reach anything like £100; this year we have derived over £217 from that source alone, and this result is in the main due undoubtedly to the enterprise and energy of our Secretary, which has resulted in the excellence and variety of the articles in the Society's Journal. I lay stress on the word variety, because some years ago in India there was an impression that the Society's interests were too much devoted to a few departments only. No one can now complain that the Society's interests are in any way restricted. We have subjects of all ages from the earliest periods to the eighteenth century, and ranging from the Magians of Persia and the Gnostics of Alexandria to the furthest East.

At the same time I think the Journal might be improved perhaps in two ways. I think that though we have articles on all subjects connected with history, and all subjects which go to the making of history—religion, ethnology, numismatics, and archaeology—yet of articles on history proper in its narrowest sense we have remarkably few. They are conspicuously absent. And such articles, I submit, appeal to a certain section of students, and might advantageously find a home in the Society's Journal. Another point in which we might improve, I think, is by the insertion of summaries of research—occasionally or annually in the Journal. This would be an immense boon to many of us who are not able to follow all the literature of the subjects; and by some reduction perhaps in the notices of the less important books, room might be made in the Society's Journal for such summaries. Then, again, I think that we have this year had two or three papers of interest which were not printed in the Journal. That
system, I submit, might be somewhat extended. We must all of us have often felt that it was impossible to criticize adequately, or in any case it was presumptuous of us to criticize, articles which the authors had devoted months and years to elaborating, when they were submitted to us at an hour's notice. These articles, I think, are better studied at home in the Journal, whereas very often articles of interest might be read here though they found no place in the Journal, and made no pretense to original research, provided they contained sufficient novel matter of general interest to the subscribers.

As to the expenditure, I need only say that the Society's expenditure has always been on the most frugal scale—one might be almost tempted to call us penurious, but it is a case of necessity and not of choice. Every year your Council is now able to show us a balance in our favour, an increasing balance as a rule; and I think we may all thank the Council most heartily for the wise and judicious manner in which our finances have been managed.

Dr. Thornton: I wish to be permitted, Lord Reay, to supplement what I said, for I find I have made an omission in my speech. I wished to mention our great indebtedness to the services of our excellent Assistant-Secretary—(Hear, hear, and prolonged applause)—who knows every book in the library, and is always most ready to help those in search of the information. When I said in the earlier part of my speech that "no man was indispensable," I was careful to limit the observation to the male sex. For men may come and men may go,—but what should we do without Miss Hughes? (Applause.)

The Chairman: We should be very pleased if any members present would make suggestions, either with reference to the Journal, or the recommendations of the Council, or any other matters affecting the Society. We are in Committee of Supply, and any member has the right to speak.

Mr. Raynbird: For some sixteen years I have been engaged on original research. It has been a tremendous
struggle for me, and I was very pleased to hear what his Lordship had to say with regard to the Oriental School for London. I owe my first taste for Oriental learning to a visit to my brother down in the centre of Russia. I was there about four months, and picked up some few words of Russian. Afterwards I was a student under the late Dr. Rost, and in studying Sanskrit with him I was very much struck with the similarity of some of the Russian and Sanskrit words. I am sorry to say that owing to a lack of facilities for studying Sanskrit, and especially, what I consider most important, for the study of the Indian vernaculars, the Prakrit, my studies have been obliged to be to a great extent laid on one side. They have been especially in the non-Aryan vernaculars of Northern India—Gondi, Khond, Uraon, and Malto—as well as the Kolarian group, Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhil, Korwa, Agaria, and others. In these studies I was assisted especially by my wife, who is a native of India. And what I wanted to say now was that I should like very much, if it were possible, to be able to prepare a paper on this subject, "The Comparison of the non-Aryan Languages of Central India with the neo-Aryan Languages of India"; but I am sorry to say it is a work that I cannot do myself. I have tried to do it; I have worked hard for the last sixteen years, but it is impossible for me; and unless I get assistance, I must abandon it. I wish to put this before you, because I think it is only right that the Oriental public should know what is going on. I remember at the Oriental Congress held in London, Mr. Baines called attention to these non-Aryan languages of Central India. They are dying out with the advance of the railway. I and my wife have done as much as we could to preserve them, and I believe there are other students at work on the subject; but, as I am sure everyone in this room must be aware, they are studies that are entirely uncommercial. If I have been personal in this matter, I hope you will excuse me; I thought it was well that those of you who are pushing this matter of the Oriental School might
realize the urgency of it. I do not plead for myself in any way, but for the subject on which I am engaged, because I believe for many years many Oriental scholars have been trying to throw some light upon this subject, but for want of materials they have not been able to make much advance. Such materials as were available to me I have made over to the Royal Asiatic Society; I believe they are on the shelves at the present day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Desai: Ladies and gentlemen, allusion has been made to India. I may say that the Indians will receive with entire satisfaction the election of Lord Reay, who has been beloved by every citizen of India. I think there could not be a better stimulus to the Asiatic Society than the election of Lord Reay. I have spoken to several Indians who might be willing to join the Asiatic Society, and I think the election of Lord Reay will be an additional stimulus to them, and before long there will be a good many Indians joining this Society.

Dr. Leitner: Apart from the personal satisfaction which we all feel at the re-election of Lord Reay and of the members of the Council who have done so very well indeed in the past, I should like to take the opportunity of referring again to the importance of his still further advocating the establishment of a great Oriental School. The importance of this cannot be sufficiently accentuated; and I may mention, with reference to this point, the labours in the past of myself and others, rewarded as they were in the establishment of an Oriental Section at King's College in 1859–64, in which one of my pupils, Dr. Wells, now the Chief Interpreter at the Foreign Office, is Professor. The amalgamation between University College and King's College, in London, in the present Oriental School under the Imperial Institute, has turned out two or three promising scholars, amongst whom I may mention Mr. Ross. I feel inclined, with reference to this School (although personally pleased with the fact that both my son and my nephew have been scholars of the Institute), to find great fault with its want of organization, and to express
the hope that this Society will not be satisfied with the Oriental School there, the result of a paper that was read here by Sir Charles Wilson. No, have a School that shall not be an apology for one—that shall combine the scholarly manner, say of the Vienna Academy, and the practical (perhaps too practical) tendency of the Berlin School, in which the classical languages are sacrificed to the vernaculars; in which the dialects of Arabic are, e.g., studied in preference to the classical Arabic, by which alone a man can acquire any influence among Muhammadans. You ought to make it politically, academically, and practically the best possible School in the world. As soon as our President gains his main point of having established that School, I hope he will insist that it shall benefit, first and foremost, by the examples of the schools that I have mentioned, and then by such real liberality to be shown by the State towards it, as in the case of the French, German, and Russian Schools. It is almost too bad, I would say, considering how Oriental questions are pressing on us, to have to stop at the present not altogether successful stage. The formation of a great Oriental School is a necessity to science and to this country. My Lord, we hope that, in your chair as President of this Society, and in your seat in Parliament, and in all other positions which you are filling with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the public—that this should be insisted on in a manner in which, and be accomplished with a thoroughness and liberality with which, it has never been done before. Such a School we must have, if this country is to keep its own in its struggle with other countries, from every point of view—scientific and other.

Now, coming back to this Society, a great deal has been done by it, and it is ungracious to find fault; still, the success of this Society will depend on its sympathy with criticism, and on its readiness to benefit by it. The Journal has, certainly, been much improved. The proof of that is in its large sale, which we owe to the Secretary. Whether the suggestions that have now been made might not be taken
into serious consideration, I will not venture to say; but I certainly would suggest that the Journal be in touch, not merely with the best learning and the best research, but also with Oriental actualities. I do not wish for a moment to bring you within the range of political discussion; but when you had such an inquiry as that of the Mahdi, the academical treatment of it would not only have dissipated many mists that gathered round that question, but would have materially assisted in telling us much of what we have since learned from Slatin Pasha's book, and, indeed, it would have taught that excellent official something, namely, the importance of studying classical Arabic. This would have enabled him to become the master of the situation, and the Khalifa would never have dared to keep him in captivity, because of the commanding influence he would have acquired. Do not think I wish to urge your intrusion for one moment on the domain of politics; but I do wish this Society, on all obscure questions of this kind, to take the position of the leading academical society, to which its antecedents entitle it, by dealing from an academical standpoint with Oriental actualities.

Excuse my having taken up your time. I sincerely trust that this Society will be the acknowledged representative of the various specialities which the Society, as a whole, so worthily represents; that in the Council itself we may find the authorities on all the branches of Oriental learning—Turkish, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, and so forth; and that you will put the concluding seal of success on Oriental learning by enlarging the domain of discussion and re-entering on that of its active promotion. In the success of the Oriental School none will more sincerely rejoice than the men who have tried to obtain what for many years they have thought essential to the success of this country. But I hope now many years will not pass before we shall have it as a fait accompli.

Professor Bendall: I would mention one small point in supplement to what fell from Dr. Thornton and in defence of our Journal. A very recent event was the assassination
of the Shah. That was attributed to the Babīs. Now I think the papers on the Babīs published in our Journal show that we take real interest in the Oriental movements of the nineteenth as well as those of the eighth century.

The Secretary: I should like to draw attention to the fact that the Council proposes in place of two honorary members, whose services we have unfortunately lost during the past year, to elect Professor Baron von Rosen, of St. Petersburg, and Prof. Windisch, of Leipzig. I have no doubt that that proposition will meet with the very cordial sympathy of the meeting. Professor Baron von Rosen is the very life and soul of the famous Oriental School of St. Petersburg, of which we so earnestly wish we had a copy here in London; he has edited its special Journal for a great many years, and although he is himself a scholar of the very highest standing, he is always willing to give his time and his help to all the young students there who are engaged in research. Among his other work, I may add, Professor von Rosen contributed very largely by his articles on the Babīs and their literature to the elucidation of a question which has been mentioned just now as coming most particularly within the purview of this Society. Then the other gentleman whom the Council recommends as an honorary member, Professor Windisch, is a many-sided man. Well known as one of the leading Professors of Sanskrit in Germany, he is also, I think I may say, one of the first Keltic scholars in Europe, having specially taken up the Irish side of Keltic studies. He has been elected during this last year as Rector of Leipzig University, and has been for many years the Secretary of the German Oriental Society. His recently published monograph on "Māra and Buddha" will be known to most of you as an excellent example of the right method of historical criticism in the comparison of documents of varying age in their treatment of one set of ideas. In all that has been done by both of these distinguished scholars they have been carrying out the objects this Society was founded to
promote. It is very difficult for us, who have only thirty
vacancies to fill up, to choose rightly, and, of course, it
is always somewhat invidious to choose at all, but I think
there can be no doubt that the gentlemen the Council has
named to you are worthy of the honour of being our
honorary members. (Applause.)

Mr. Adler: I do not know if I am in order in suggesting
a name for the Council, but I should like to suggest the
name of Mr. Thomson Lyon, who has acted, I think, as
Auditor of this Society for some time. He is a young
man: I do not know if that be a fault: it will probably
improve in time. He has done good work on the Trans-
literation Committee; and I can speak of my own knowledge
from this fact, that there is no member of this Society so
popular at the reunions abroad of the Oriental Congresses
as Mr. Lyon.

The Chairman: Before I put the motion which has been
so eloquently and exhaustively moved by Dr. Thornton and
so suggestively seconded by Mr. Kennedy, I shall only
make a very few remarks. In the first place, it is quite
true that this Society meets in rooms which are of
a very modest character. But if it be any relief to your
feelings, I may mention that I was lately present at
a meeting of the Société Asiatique in Paris, and certainly
the room where those gentlemen met was smaller and
even lower as to its ceiling than this room. But I was
very pleased to see that they were evidently proud
of their humble surroundings; and I am not sure that if
the day ever comes that you will be in palatial surroundings,
that the work will be more satisfactory than that which
is performed now in these humble apartments. I heard
M. Jules Simon relate, in most eloquent language, when
he had lately to address an audience in the magnificent
buildings of the new Sorbonne, how he regarded the day
when he was admitted through a little door by M. Cousin
to the tiny room in which M. Cousin lectured, as an event
in his life which made him feel rather uncomfortable in
those more sumptuous surroundings of the University.
Let us not forget, gentlemen, that after all this Society, its character and its future, depend on the seriousness of the work of its students; and so long as this Society shall have in the future, as it certainly has at present, the hearty co-operation of Orientalists of all departments and of all schools, both here and in India, of men like Professor Bhandarkar and of other learned Pandits in our Eastern dependency, and the respect which we now undoubtedly enjoy of all foreign societies, so long it shall prosper, even if its finances are not in the most brilliant condition. I wish your Treasurer could deliver a statement such as the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the other day about the finances of England; but I do not see that we can attain that condition for a very long time to come.

I listened to Mr. Kennedy's suggestions with great interest. One of them, he will be pleased to hear, will be carried out at once, for a proposal about the composition fee is to be made presently. Then his suggestion with regard to the papers which are read, and not printed in the Journal, must undoubtedly be considered. Perhaps even Mr. Kennedy might go a step further, and we might make this alteration, that a paper in the Journal which had been circulated among the members, might be discussed at one of our meetings—and some papers are well adapted to a debate. The members would come here after having read the paper in the Journal. There would be no necessity to read a paper, and we could at once enter upon a lively discussion. That is a suggestion growing out of the suggestion made by Mr. Kennedy. It would be to the same effect as if a sermon were published and the congregation invited to discuss the sermon. (Hear, hear.) I merely mention this as an idea which, perhaps by a revolutionary evolution, I deduced from what Mr. Kennedy said.

The very interesting speech made by Mr. Raynbird was not, I think, at all egotistical, but struck me, as I suppose it did most of the members present, as very practical and
very much to the point. We might certainly improve neglected opportunities in many ways. We have all listened with pleasure to Dr. Leitner's speech. He has taken up more or less the position of a candid friend of our Society, and he has a right to assume that position, because we all know that he does take a real interest in our work. We also know that he himself undertakes a good deal of work in the field that we cover, and there is plenty of room for all. What he has said about our Oriental School deserves our assent. I hope he did not think I meant merely widening the scope of any existing Oriental School. What I desire to get is an Oriental School forming an essential and principal branch of the London University, with recognized courses of instruction and degrees. We shall then be able to compete with the very important schools which exist abroad. I hope Dr. Leitner will be one of the witnesses called by the Statutory Commission, and will give evidence on the organization of Oriental studies in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. We can draw on the experience which has been gained in those various capitals. I am sure Professor Bühler's evidence would also be most valuable. In conclusion, I wish to thank you for having attended this meeting in such large numbers, and to say that the active co-operation of members, the suggestions made to us either about the Journal or about our meetings, will be most acceptable to those responsible for the increased usefulness of the Society. (Applause.)

[Dr. Cust here took the chair, as the President had to leave.]

M. Gaster, Ph.D.: I have to move a small change in one of our rules, and shall not detain you more than a few minutes. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the intellectual income of the Society is derived from two sources—men with brains and money, and men with brains but without money; and the question is, how can we enlist the greatest number of scholars and workers in the Society to make the Journal as complete as possible, and to widen the interest and work of the
Society. I have been entrusted, therefore, with the following resolution to submit to you: "That persons residing in London, who earn their livelihood by teaching or research, should be eligible as members of the Society on the same terms as non-residents." That is to say, they will pay 30s. instead of £3 3s. They will not be members of the Council, but will be entitled to all the other privileges which the non-resident members enjoy, and we should have the right to enjoy their intellectual services on behalf of the Society. It might bring us only a few shillings, but it will also bring mints of intellectual gold and increased interest in the proceedings of the Society.

Dr. Leitner: I have much pleasure in seconding this motion, and there is very little to be added to the eloquent and practical remarks of Dr. Gaster. It often happens that the working men in literature and science are not blessed with this world's means, and yet their adhesion is very valuable. I should almost think a guinea would be enough, but 30s. may not deter them. Besides the advantage of having new members, I think you are really tapping the brains of new men for your Society. I do not quite understand what is meant by their not being members of Council, and I am glad to see that is not embodied in the words of the resolution. I think it might be left for the Society to decide whether they should be eligible. I would welcome them there, and would simply make the rule that all engaged in teaching, and especially in the teaching and authorship of Oriental languages, should be admissible as members of the Society, and reserve all further questions for the Council to settle.

General G. G. Alexander: It seems to me that a proposition of that kind is so important that sufficient notice ought to be given, that it might be well thought over before it is brought to the vote; and, generally speaking, I think it is desirable to give notice beforehand of any motion that deals with the constitution of the Society. I propose, therefore, that the consideration of it be adjourned to some future meeting.
The Chairman: The rule is that "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." This is the only occasion on which the Society meets collectively; the question has been thoroughly thrashed out in the Council. It is a liberal measure, and should not be put off. It may not be offered again.

[The motion was put, and carried unanimously.]

Professor Bendall: I have great pleasure in moving that Rule 42 should run as follows:

"42.—The following compositions are allowed in lieu of annual subscriptions—

"For resident members for life, forty-five guineas.

"For non-resident members for life, twenty-two pounds ten shillings; for four years' subscription in advance, five guineas."

This question has been carefully considered by the Council, who appointed a small committee, of which I was a member, to go into the question. The Secretary was good enough to get us the rules of several other societies. We had, I think, before us, the rules of the London Library, but we thought them somewhat too elaborate. We came to the following somewhat simple result, but still in the direction which was indicated by Mr. Kennedy. We quite agreed that the Society did stand to lose by the existing rate of composition, which is ten years' subscription. I cannot say that it is inappropriate that I have been asked to bring this forward, for I am a standing example of the loss the Society suffers by it. I entered fifteen years ago, and compounded—I remember it was a great pull on me then—and for the last three or four years, since the ten years have passed, you have
been steadily losing by me. Perhaps in more fortunate days I may be able to join that noble army of the compounders who voluntarily pay extra; but meanwhile, we propose that the composition be calculated on a basis of fifteen years' subscriptions, as it is in most of the other societies.

Mr. H. Morris: I formally second that motion.

Mr. Thomson Lyon: May I ask when the change is to come into effect, for I was in the course of making an arrangement to commute?

The Chairman: I think it need have no retrospective effect if you have already communicated your intention.

Mr. Thomson Lyon: In that case I should be quite prepared to vote for it.

[The motion was put, and carried unanimously.]

Mr. Morris: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the change which I have now to propose is a formal one, but it goes very much in the direction of what Dr. Gaster said just now, of widening and broadening the basis of the Society. In Rule 9 you have this—

"Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible for election as an Honorary Member."

That makes two classes of persons, Ordinary Members and Honorary Members; and now we propose another clause respecting those who have distinguished themselves, and yet at the same time are unable to pay the ordinary subscriptions, and it is proposed to add Rule 9a—

"It shall be in the competence of the Council to elect in special cases any person as a Member of the Society without payment; such member to receive the Society's publications, and have all the privileges of a non-resident member."

There are already two gentlemen who have been dealt with under the section which we propose, and the Secretary seemed to think it was out of order to have no rule providing for such cases; and therefore the Council agreed that
we should put these words in the rule in order that there should be no favour in the future. We had one very pathetic case of a gentleman abroad, who was unable to pay, and yet wanted to keep up his touch with the Society and to receive the publications. I beg therefore to propose the addition of Rule 9a.

Mr. Kay: I beg to second it.

The Chairman: This has always been the practical rule of the Geographical Society. There are men whose means are very narrow, and who cannot pay the subscription. They are very few; we have only two, but they are men who are certified to be most deserving of the indulgence.

[The motion was put, and carried.]

Mr. Morris: In Rule 24 we find—

"The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held once a month from November to June inclusive, and five shall form a quorum."

and in Rule 26 we find—

"Five Members of Council shall constitute a quorum."

This is a mere piece of redundancy; therefore the Council proposes that in Rule 24 the words "and five shall form a quorum" be expunged.

Rule 45 is another small matter. It says that—

"Every person elected a Non-Resident member shall make the payment due from him within eight calendar months after his election."

This rule was written when we were a very long distance from India, and a very long distance from other Oriental countries. Nowadays, as you all know, we are very close to India and other Oriental countries, so we propose to alter the eight into six.

[These changes were put to the meeting, and carried.]

Professor Rhys Davids: At this late hour I would not venture to trouble you with the paper I was announced to read. With the permission of the Chairman, the reading will be postponed to the next meeting.
June 9th, 1896.—Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot in the Chair.

1. A letter from Dr. Waddell on "Ceylon Rosaries" was read; and Mr. Wickremasinghe exhibited some ancient beads found in a dāgaba, and described the use of the beads. Mr. Sewell, Professor Bendall, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Rhys Davids took part in the discussion. Dr. Waddell's letter will be found in this Number of the Journal.

2. The Secretary read Mr. J. Takakusu's paper on "The Discovery of a Pāli MS. in the Chinese Buddhist Collection." Mr. Watters, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Rhys Davids took part in the discussion. The paper appears in this Number of the Journal.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGELÄNDISCHEN GESellschaft.
   Band 1, Heft 1.

   Oldenberg (H.). Varuṇa und die Ādityas.
   Jacobi (H.). Nochmals über das Alter des Veda.
   Stickel (Dr.) and Dr. Verworn. Arabische-Felseninschriften bei Tör.
   Foy (W.). Iranica.
   Nöldeke (Th.). Zur persischen Chronologie.
   Praetorius (Fr.). Weitere Bemerkungen zu der sabäischen Vertragsinschrift.
   Lidzbarski (M.). Eine angeblich neuentdeckte Recension von 1001 Nacht.
HENRI SAUVAIRE.

2. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. x, No. 1.

Jensen (P.). Die kilikischen Inschriften.
Bittner (M.). Zum "Indischen Ocean des Seidi 'Ali."
Kühnert (Fr.). Ein Geschichtscapitel auf einer chinesischen Theekanne.


Senart (E.). Notes d’épigraphie indienne.
De Harlez (C.). Un ministre chinois au VIIe siècle avant J.C. Kuan-tze de Tsai et le Kuan-tze-Shuh.
Chabot (J. B.). Notice sur les Yézidis.
Carra de Vaux (M. le Baron). Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi.

Tome vii, No. 2.

Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).
Nau (F.). Notice sur le Livre des trésors de Jacques de Bartela, évêque de Tagrit.

III. OBITUARY NOTICE.

Henri Sauvaire.

Henri Sauvaire died on the 4th April last, aged 65 years, at Robernier, a property he possessed in the south of France, and which some fifteen years ago became his permanent place of abode. His death will be lamented by many who had experienced the charm of his genial and kindly nature, and who have lost in him a much valued friend; but it is an unquestionable loss also to all interested in Arabic studies.

Sauvaire’s life was spent in the Consular Service of his country. From 1857 he held successive appointments in
the Levant as Oriental interpreter. He was attached in 1860 to the French Mission in Syria. In 1876 he was placed in charge of the French Vice-Consulate at Casablanca, in Morocco; and in 1879 he was promoted to the rank of Consul. In the following year he was, at his own request, placed on the unattached list (en disponibilité); and in 1883 he was granted his retirement, to which he had become entitled by the rules of the Service.

Throughout the years of his official life, his hours of leisure were unremittingly devoted to the cultivation of the language and literature of the Arabs, a labour of love which endured almost to the last day of his life, and in which his distinguished talents and unflagging industry long ago gained him a deservedly high reputation. His cabinet of Muhammadan coins, formed during his long residence in Egypt and Syria, ranks as one of the very finest private collections of the kind that has been made, remarkable alike for its richness and for the many rare specimens it includes. But of still greater value are the innumerable papers on Oriental numismatics, due to his indefatigable pen, published for the most part in the Annuaire de la Société Numismatique, in the Journal of the Société Asiatique, and some also in the Journal of this Society and in the Numismatic Chronicle. In all these Sauvaire's learning and scholarly care are conspicuously shown, and not a few have thrown light upon obscure points of history.

Among other works deserving particular notice is a series of articles on the history of Muhammadan numismatics and metrology, consisting of a large selection of extracts from the works of native writers. They were collected into four volumes, which appeared in 1882–7, forming a store of materials which future students of the subject will find of the greatest service.

In 1876 were published his excerpts from the Muhammadan history of Jerusalem and Hebron, the Uns al-Jalt of Mujir ad-din: in 1884, his translation of the journal of a Moorish envoy sent, in 1691, to the Court
of King Charles II of Spain: in 1893, an exhaustive description of an Arab astrolabe, dated A.H. 609 (A.D. 1212–3) and made at Seville, in the scientific portion of which he was assisted by M. de Rey-Pailhade. In the following year the first volume appeared of his translation, enriched with numerous and valuable notes, of 'Abd al-Basit's historical account of the pious foundations of Damascus. Both the last-mentioned works were reprints from the Journal Asiatique.

Sauvare was Correspondent of the Institute, and took part at Paris last summer in the celebration of its centenary. So far back as 1865, he was appointed Knight of the Legion of Honour, and among his other well-earned distinctions was that of Commander in the Spanish order of Isabella the Catholic.

In a letter received by the writer in December last, Sauvare mentioned that he was engaged in the final revision for the press of an account of the Judicial Astrology of the Arabs, extracted and translated from Ibn al-Kummi's Madkhal (or Mudkhal), a work which will without doubt add to the debt due to its author for his labours in the cause of Eastern research.

H. C. K.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

American Oriental Society.—This Society held its annual meeting in the middle of April last, and about thirty papers on various branches of Oriental inquiry were submitted for publication in its Journal. We are glad to learn that the financial position of the Society is satisfactory, and that a new issue of the Journal may shortly be expected. There is a good deal of first-class work in Oriental matters now being done by American scholars, who have so often received part of their training in Germany; and the prospect of help in our researches from the New World is full of promise.
Sanskrit at Yale.—Mr. Edward Washburn Hopkins, author of "The Religions of India" and "Ruling Castes in Ancient India," has been appointed Professor of Sanskrit in succession to Professor Whitney.

A Survey of Vernacular Languages.—Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., with the encouragement of the Government of India and the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta, has undertaken a work of considerable interest and importance in which Bombay is concerned—namely, a survey of the vernacular languages of Northern, Central, and Western India. This is intended to be preliminary to a fuller linguistic survey which may be arranged for later on if the preliminary survey be successful. The idea is, in the first place, to compile a catalogue of the name of every language and dialect spoken in India. It will surprise most people, we (Bombay Gazette) imagine, to hear that this is so little determined that some estimate the number at 150 and others at 250. The next thing will be to obtain specimens of each language or dialect in the shape of a translation of some one fable or other piece of English suitable for the purpose; and finally, there will be the classification of the languages according to their affinities and characteristics.—Homeward Mail.

Pāli and Sanskrit in Japan.—The Rev. Shaku Konen has returned from his journey to Ceylon, undertaken with a view of studying Buddhism there, and has opened a school at Kanagawa, in Japan, for the study by Japanese Buddhists of the Pāli documents of their religion.—Another Japanese, Mr. Tokuzawa Chiezo, is still studying Pāli at the Widyodaya College, in Colombo.—Mr. Sensei Murakami is lecturer on Indian Philosophy at the Tokyo University; and a Chair of Sanskrit has been recently established there, with Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio as Professor.

Study of Persian in London.—Dr. E. Denison Ross, M.R.A.S., has been appointed to the Chair of Persian at University College, London. This Chair was held for many years by Dr. Riceu, now Professor of Arabic in Cambridge, conjointly with the Chair of Arabic; but it has now been decided to separate the two Chairs.
Dr. Richard Morris.—The First Lord of the Treasury has granted pensions of £25 a year on the Civil List to each of the three unmarried daughters of this distinguished philologist, late member of Council of the R.A.S.

Wright’s Arabic Grammar, 3rd Edition.—This new edition of the standard Arabic Grammar in English very modestly styles itself again “translated from the German of Caspari,” although it has outgrown this till nearly twice the size of the original. We can confine ourselves to simply notifying the fact that the first volume has just appeared, whilst the second is in the press. Part of it was already prepared by the late Prof. Robertson Smith; the remainder went through the hands of Profs. de Goeje in Leyden and Bevan in Cambridge. For the numerous remarks bearing on common Semitic philology, references are made in the new edition to the author’s “Lectures on the Comparative Grammar, etc.,” edited, 1890, by the late Robertson Smith. The names mentioned as editors and coadjutor are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of this edition.

Indian Chronology.—The work on Indian Chronology, upon which Miss Duff has been so long engaged, is promised for publication before the end of the year. Modelled on Fynes Clinton’s “Epitome of the Chronology of Greece and Rome,” it aims at giving in tabular form all those dates relating to the civil and literary history of India, between the sixth century B.C. and the sixteenth century A.D., which have been established by the historical, archaeological, and literary researches of recent years. As each date is accompanied by references to the sources from which it is derived, the book, besides giving a chronological register of events, will serve, at the same time, as an index to the bibliography of Indian Chronology generally; a fact which should make it useful to scholars engaged in this branch of research. An appendix of dynastic lists, arranged similarly to those in Prinsep’s “Useful Tables,” will be included in the work.

Indian and Oriental Armour.—The public are indebted to Lord Egerton of Tatton for a new edition of his most
interesting work on Indian and Oriental armour. The
catalogue originally drawn up for the illustration of the
arms at the India Museum has to a certain extent
become useless by the transfer of the collection to South
Kensington, and as yet neither the authorities at South
Kensington nor at the British Museum have published
a separate catalogue. As the "Handbook of Oriental
Arms" alludes to both of those collections, its author
deemed it advisable to bring out a new edition, and to add
a chapter on Arab arms, with which our recent experiences
in the Soudan have made us more fully acquainted. He
also desired to describe his own collection, which contains
some examples not found in either of our national
collections, and which also exemplifies the great variety
and richness of design in Oriental arms. Hence the present
volume. It has been beautifully illustrated, some of the
plates being in colours.

_Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures._—As is well known, these
sculptures, found in such large numbers in and about the
district formerly included in the kingdom of Gandhāra, have
only hitherto been dated conjecturally, on reasoning based
on artistic grounds alone. Hofrath G. Bühler read a paper
last month before the historical branch of the Vienna
Academy on an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters found
on one of the sculptures in the Lahore Museum, which
he dates, on palæographical grounds, in the second century
after Christ. This confirms the conclusions reached, by Mr. V. A.
Smith and Prof. Grünwedel, on artistic grounds. The
inscription merely mentions that the statue was the gift
of one Sanghamitra.

_Oriental Translation Fund._—The next work to be pub-
lished by the Oriental Translation Fund is Bāṇa's romance,
_Kādambarī_, translated, with occasional abridgments, by Miss
C. M. Ridding. A full abstract of the continuation by the
author's son is added, with translations of some portions.
This volume will appear in the autumn.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

V. Notices of Books.

Notes on Buddhist Bas-reliefs. By Serge D'Oeldenburg. 4to, pp. 28. (St. Petersburg, 1895.)

This work forms a part of the publications of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg, and the pages of the separate offprint are numbered 337–365. In it the learned author passes in review the bas-reliefs and paintings at Bharhut, Ajanta, and Boro Budur. The text is, unfortunately, in Russian, but, with the help of Mr. Ross, I have been able to make out the results arrived at. These are as follows:—

Bharhut.

Pl. xviii. Vidhūra Paṇḍita Jātaka 542.

„ xxv. 1. Ruru Jātaka 482.¹
3. Episode of Maha Ummagga Jātaka.

„ xxvi. 5. Latukikā Jātaka 367.

10. Sandhibhedā Jātaka 349.
12. Bhallāṭiya Jātaka 504.²


„ xli. 1, 3. Camma-sāṭaka Jātaka 324.


¹ This is rather the Nigrodha Miga Jātaka No. 12, as is clear from the doe in the front of the scene laying her head on the block (as pointed out already in my "Buddhist Birth Stories," 1880, p. cii).
² As this is called Kinnara Jātaka on the stone, the Canda Kinnara Jātaka No. 465 may also be compared, especially as it is also illustrated at Buddha Gayā (Rāj. Mitra, pl. xxxiv, fig. 2).
Pl. xlv. 2. Mahā-janaka Jātaka 539.
" xlv. 5. Ārāma-dūsaka Jātaka 46 and 268.
7. Kapota Jātaka 42.
" xlvi. 2. Dabbha-puppha Jātaka 400.
" xlvii. 3. Sujāta Jātaka 352.

There are twenty-five bas-reliefs almost certainly illustrative of Jātaka stories which still remain unidentified. Of the above twenty-six identifications, eighteen were given in the list appended to my "Buddhist Birth Stories"; the remaining eight have been discovered by various scholars since.

Ajanta.

Some of the paintings described by Burgess, in the Ninth Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India (Bombay, 1879), are identified as follows:—

38. ii. 27. Ruru Jātaka 482.
47. ix. 1. Siri Jātaka 499.
50. x. Chaddanta Jātaka 514.
67. xvii. 25. Mahā-kapi Jātaka 516.
70. xvii. 26, 27. Mūti-posaka Jātaka 455.
71. xvii. 38. Sāma Jātaka.
75. xvii. 54. Siri Jātaka 499.
81. ii. outside. Khantivīda Jātaka 313.

Boro Budur.

The following plates in the magnificent series of reproductions in line engraving of the bas-reliefs at this ruin,
published by the Dutch Government, are also identified with certain Jātakas in the Jātaka Mālā, as shown by the following table:

Plates.

cxxxviii. 16. The Merchant takes his Food. 4. Čresthī.
18. Pratyekabuddha flies away.

cxxix. 24. Wild Beasts bring Gifts to Indra.
25. The Hare prepares to throw itself into the Fire.

exli. 31. 32. Five Frogs (?) and the Shepherd.

exlii. 34. Emperor Mātrībala and the Frogs (?) 8. Mātrībala.
37. The Elephant is given over.
38. The Children of Viśvantara.
39. The Frogs (?) carry off Viśvantara.

cxlii. 48. Unmādayanti is offered as wife to the Emperor.
49. The Emperor's Envoy and the Unmādayanti.
ing" to the Emperor.

cxlvi. 51. Meeting of the Emperor with the Unmādayanti.
52. The Merchants on the Sea.

cxlvii. 56. Fish in the Lake before the Rain.
57. Fish after the Rain.
58. The Quail in the Nest at the time of the Fire.

cxlviii. 59. Indra before the Emperor, with a Jar.

17. Kumbha.
clii. 65. The Hermit in the Wood. 18. Bisā.
clii. 68. Indra.
cliii. 73. Man and Woman go out into the Wood.
74. The Emperor in the Wood.
75. The Hermit carries the Woman off.¹
cliv. 77. Swans on the Lake.
78. They tell the Emperor about the Swans.
78. Hunter takes some Swans.
clv. 81. Interview of the Swan with the Emperor. [A fragment.]
clvii. 90. The Emperor rides out to Hunt.
91. The Emperor in the Gorge.
92. Çarabha carries the Emperor through.
clviii. 93. Çarabha’s Farewell.
clix. 95. Wild Beasts in the Wood.
96. The Drowned (men) and Ruru.
97. The Emperor in the Wood.
98. Ruru’s Sermon.
clx. 99. Fruit is brought to the Emperor (?)?
100. The Emperor prepares to look for the Fruit.
102. The Apes save themselves in Flight.
clxii. 103. The Sleeping Emperor.
104. The Emperor in search of Wives.
clxiii. 111. Brahma reads the Sermon to the Emperor.
22. Hamsa.
25. Çarabha.
27. Mahā-kapi.
29. Brahma.

¹ Or vice-versa.
clxiv. 112. The Elephant and one of the Travellers.
113. The Travellers.
114. The Elephant makes ready to throw itself down.
115. The Travellers do honour to the remains of the Elephant.

117. Saudāsa carry off Sutasoma.
118. Sutasoma listens to the maxims of the Brahmin.
119. Sutasoma reads the Sermon to Saudāsa and the Prince.

clxvi. 120. Birth of the Prince.
123. Expedition of the Prince.

clxviii. 127. The Prince becoming a Hermit.

clxix. 129. The Ape and the Ox.
130. The Frog asks the Ox why he tolerates the Ape?
132. The Frog listens to the Ox’s Sermon.

clxx. 134. The Lion who has a bone in his throat.
135. The Woodpecker extracts the bone from the Lion’s throat.
136. The Woodpecker converses with the Lion.

There is no need to apologize for reproducing in a form more accessible than the Russian original these very interesting results of Prof. Sérèse D’Oldenbourg’s work. To make, in the absence of any guiding inscriptions, such identifications as these, requires rare gifts of attention and of memory; and the results here set forth show the only way along which the many still unidentified bas-reliefs can be explained.

Rh. D.
Guru-pujā-kauṃudī. Small 4to, pp. 128, with a plate.
(Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896.)

This very interesting volume contains thirty short papers on points of Indian history or philology, written by as many friends and pupils of Professor Weber and presented to him by way of congratulation on the jubilee of his doctorate of philosophy in the University of Breslau. It is prefaced by an eloquent and graceful letter from Hofrat Dr. Georg Bühler, in which the splendid services rendered by our distinguished Honorary Member through so many years to the cause of Indian research in all its branches, are set forth, and expression is given to the deep feelings of gratitude and reverence with which he is regarded, not only by his own pupils, but by scholars throughout the world.

It would be of course impossible within the limits of a book-notice in this Journal, even if one had the necessary knowledge, to pass in review each of the thirty essays dealing with points so widely scattered over the whole field of Indian study. Every Indianist must consult the volume itself, and more particularly for the questions coming within the range of his own speciality. But the whole volume is a remarkable sign of the times in two directions, which have certainly not been present to the minds of the writers, and are therefore all the more suggestive.

This is the first volume published by a number of distinguished Oriental scholars in which (apart from the plate illustrative of a question of paleography) there is not a single Oriental character employed. We have, of course, seen a similar phenomenon in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society. But that is a journal devoted to only one branch of Indian history. And though, no doubt, the complete success of the use of transliteration as applied to Pāli has opened the eyes of other scholars; still the prejudice in favour of Oriental type has been so strong, and has so many good reasons (and, what is of more importance, such powerful sentiments) in its favour, that
no one, even a few years ago, would have expected so striking an occurrence. Professor Weber was one of the first to rise superior to the feeling against transliteration, and to see that the balance of advantage lay, after all, on its side. It is a (no doubt quite unconscious) tribute to his foresight, that this gift volume of affectionate regard should be entirely transliterated.

The second matter is really, to a great extent, dependent on this other. Of the thirty essays, no less than one-third deal with points of Pāli or other Buddhist subjects. Now, of course, most Sanskritists are willing, not only to admit, but to maintain, that in the reconstruction of the temporarily lost history of Indian thought, documents in the prakrits must be allowed their proper value side by side with documents in Sanskrit; and the ideas of Jains or Buddhists or other heretics are not, merely by their opposition to the Brahmanical theologies, on that account of no importance. But these studies still rank only as bye-paths; and the necessity of mastering strange and uncouth alphabets would have gone a great way to deter scholars from turning off from the beaten track. Here, again, Professor Albrecht Weber was one of the first to welcome all available evidence, whether expressed in Sanskrit or not, and has been always eager to press forward—et nihil tetigit quod non lustravit—into unexplored fields of inquiry. It is especially fitting, therefore, that this Festsgabe to him should consist so largely of what, to a narrower Sanskritist, would be extraneous studies. But this second tribute to his foresight is as undesigned as the other; and it marks a real step forward, which can now never again be lost, in the method of Indian research.

We take this opportunity of adding our congratulations to those of Professor Weber's friends and pupils, and of echoing the wish that he may be long spared to enjoy the high position he has won in the world of scholars, and to add still further by his creative work to the dignity and the value of the studies he has done so much to promote and foster.

Rh. D.
Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen. Von Dr. Wilhelm Grube, A.O. Professor an der Königl. Universität zu Berlin. (Leipzig, 1896.)

Those who are interested in the study of the people and the language known by such names as Nüchi, Nü-chen, and Juchen, will be grateful to Professor Grube for his "Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen."

This work begins with a short preface in which we have a few remarks about the grammar of the Juchen language. The first section of the treatise proper contains a Juchen-Chinese Glossary. This is a classified vocabulary of a number of Juchen terms with Chinese transcriptions of their sounds and the equivalents of the terms in Chinese. The student should use this glossary with care and caution, as some of the Chinese transcriptions and renderings are at least doubtful. He will probably find that he has to suppose the sounds of the Juchen terms to be given by the "fan-ts'ieh" process more frequently than Dr. Grube thinks. He will also observe that in some instances the terms given here as the Juchen equivalents for Chinese words and phrases are different from those given in Mr. Wylie's Vocabulary and in other books. Many of the terms given in the present glossary as Juchen are purely Chinese, and many others are closely related to modern Manchu words.

The second part of the treatise gives a list of the Juchen words in the glossary arranged according to the number of strokes in the characters; the third part gives an alphabetical index to the characters; the fourth part gives a Juchen-German glossary of the Juchen words in the original vocabulary; and the fifth part gives a series of Chinese documents with a literal translation of each into Juchen terms, together with transcriptions of the latter and translations from the Chinese into German.

I propose now to make a very few observations on some passages in this curious and interesting book.

At p. 6 we find the Chinese compiler of the glossary gives "Han-shi-ha-ch'eng-yin" (塞食 哈稱因), that is,
"the period of cold food," as the equivalent of the Chinese Ch'ing-ming (清明) period. The latter, however, denotes the period which immediately follows the Hanshi, which is not a chil or period properly speaking. No. 101 on this page gives Ch'ung-yang or double yang, the ninth day of the ninth month, as in Juchen "Ch'u-wên tu-lu-wên." Here Ch'u-wên is apparently, as Dr. Grube states, for the Chinese Ch'ung; and tuluwên, which means "warm," is for yang. Dr. Grube calls the Ch'ung-yang the "Drachenfeste," but it has nothing to do with dragons.

On p. 17, No. 322, we have the Juchen term Pai (Poh)-i written 百夷, with the Chinese equivalent written with the same characters, translated by Dr. Grube "Die Barbaren." But who are the "100 Barbarians"? May not Poh-i here be for the term now written Pao-i and denoting the "serfs" of the people? The inner division of each Manchu Banner, Mr. Mayers tells us, "is composed of the so-called pao-i (包衣), from the Manchu bo-i, signifying a bondservant, who are especially bound to render suit and service" ("The Chinese Government," 2nd ed., p. 51).

At p. 18, No. 324, we find the native name corresponding to the Chinese "Nü-chi" given as Chu-hsien (朱先), that is, probably Jusin. This seems to agree with the statement made by Chinese authorities that the original name of the people was Su-shên (肅慎), and that this became corrupted to Nüchên and Nü-chi.

The series of texts and translations in Part V is not of much value from any point of view. On Dr. Grube's translations from the Chinese there is only one observation which need be made here. Each document ends with the words 奏得圣皇帝知道, and these the Professor translates—"Sr. Majestät zur Kenntnissnahme unterbreitet." Is not the meaning rather "The memorialist had the honour to receive the Imperial Rescript 'Noted'?" The character 奏 is apparently a mistake for 奉.

T. W.
Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchifrées par Vilh. Thomsen, Professeur de Philologie comparée à l'Université de Copenhague. (Helsingfors: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1896.)

This is the latest and in some respects the most valuable of the contributions to the literature of the Orkhon inscriptions.

In 1889 the Archæological Society of Finland published a volume of "Inscriptions de l'Jénissei." This was the first work to draw attention to the numerous specimens of some curious but unknown writing found in South Siberia. The work was the result of the researches instituted by the Finnish Archæological Society under the direction of Mr. Aspelin.

In the years 1890-1 new inscriptions, also in the unknown writing, were discovered in the valley of the Orkhon in North Mongolia, near the Kocho Tsaidam Lake and not far from the sites of the ruined cities Karakorum and Kara Balgassun. These inscriptions were photographed for the Finnish expedition under Mr. Heikel and for the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg by Professor Radloff.

The key to the unknown writing from Orkhon was found in a very ingenious manner by Professor Thomsen, of Copenhagen, and in 1894 he published his short notice entitled "Déchiffrement des Inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Jénissei." In this notice the Professor details the process by which he arrived at a clue to the nature of the strange writing, to the values of the letters, and the decipherment and translation of the inscriptions. At the end of the pamphlet he gives his proposed transcription and transliteration of the alphabet. It was not until the present year that the Professor was able to carry out his design of giving a full and particular account of the results of his researches in the Orkhon inscriptions, and this he has done in the volume now before us.

This treatise in the first part gives us the alphabet of
the language, ancient Turkish, in which the inscriptions are composed, the alphabet being arranged according to vowels and consonants. The author next describes the process by which he came to give the letters their values and to treat them as he does in his translations. At the end of this part of the treatise we have some remarks on the probable origin of the alphabet and on its affinities. M. Thomsen dismisses the conjectures as to the alphabet's relations advanced by others, and states his reasons for thinking it to be allied to the Semitic Aramean alphabet.

The next part of the treatise is the introduction to the translations, and in this we have a very interesting summary of the history of the Turks known in Chinese books as the "T'u-küe." The notices of this people given here are derived from Chinese originals through European translations. Then we have the transcription and translation of two of the Orkhon inscriptions. These are supplemented by notes and "Additions et Rectifications," an "Index analytique des matières," and an "Index ture" in two divisions. As an appendix, we have an English translation of the least defective of the Chinese inscriptions from Orkhon by Mr. E. H. Parker.

The two old Turkish inscriptions here transcribed and translated by M. Thomsen were found engraven on large stone monuments. Each of these monuments contains also a Chinese inscription from the T'ang Emperor Hsüan Tsung. The Turkish and Chinese writings are not in any degree related as original and translation, and they agree only in being concerned with the same Turkish heroes. The two Turkish inscriptions were apparently the work of Bilga Khan, though written out by a relative. This Khan was a son of the Kut luk Khan and elder brother of the Kul Teghin. It was to the memory of this last that one of the monuments, the Monument I of M. Thomsen, was erected and the Chinese and Turkish inscriptions on it were composed. The work was executed by Chinese artisans, and the monument was apparently set up in the year 732, the date of the Imperial epitaph for Kul Teghin.
The inscriptions on the Monument II of Professor Thomsen are in a much more mutilated and unsatisfactory state than those on the other monument. They were composed apparently in the year 735. In that year the Bilga Khan was assassinated (or poisoned) by a chief of the Meilu (梅 録) horde, and he was succeeded by his son, who became Têng-li (登 利) Khan.

The two Turkish inscriptions here translated by M. Thomsen give us many interesting notices of the exploits of Bilga Khan and his illustrious brother Kul Teghin. They are valuable also for the references which they contain to the former and the existing state of the Turks under Bilga's rule. Professor Thomsen has been able to compare his renderings with those given by M. Radloff in "Die Alt-türkischen Inschriften der Mongolei." His criticisms of the readings and renderings of M. Radloff are not the least interesting part of this valuable treatise.

A few words must now be devoted to the Imperial Chinese epitaph on Monument I and its translations. Of these there are at least four, viz.: two in German by Professors Wassiljew and G. von der Gabelentz, one in French by Professor Schlegel, and one in English by Mr. Parker. It must be admitted, however, that there is still need for a new and correct translation. M. Schlegel, in his "La Stèle Funéraire du Teghin Giogh," gives the Chinese text of the epitaph with his proposed restorations of some of the lost characters. In the first column he gives us the reading Pi-chün-chang-chê-pên[-yin-yang-chî]-i-ye (彼 君 長 者 本 [陰 陽 之] 裔 也). The words Yin-yang-chî are the Professor's conjecture, the original characters being lost. He, accordingly, translates—"La souveraineté est donc en principe la descendance du (Yin et du Yang)." Mr. Parker accepts the conjectural restoration as though it were a certainty, and translates—"These prince-elders are, in fact, the hereditary consequences of the [above-mentioned] two elements." But M. Schlegel's conjecture seems to make the Chinese emperor write what is neither Chinese nor sense. Professor
Wassiljew's suggestion seems to point to the correct restoration, viz. Hsia Houshi (夏后氏). According to the Chinese, the T'ü-küe were the descendants of the Hiung-nu, and the descent of the latter was traced to the great Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, and hence called Hsia Hou. "Your chiefs," says the Emperor, "were originally the descendants of Hsia Hou." This name actually occurs in the second Chinese inscription given in Radloff's "Alt-türkischen Inschriften," the first character being now missing. One of the names of the Emperor Yü was Wén-ming, and it is not impossible perhaps that this in Turkish pronunciation became "Bumin," the name of the Khan whom Bilga seems to regard as his first forefather.

The epitaph continues—Shou-tzu-Chung-kuo-hsiung-fei (首自中國雄飛); and M. Schlegel translates these words by—"D'abord, elle [la souveraineté] s'est étendue victorieuse-ment de l'Empire du Milieu." Mr. Parker's rendering of the words is a little better—"[Now] dating back from the time when China made her robust flight." But the two words hsiung-fei convey an allusion to a poem of the Kuo Feng in the Shiching which begins 雄雉于飛, "the cock-pheasants (?) as they fly." The wife whose husband is detained far away in the wars compares him to the brave and handsome pheasant which can fly home at will. Thus the words of the text mean—"Beginning with the frontier wars of China," that is, in the reigns of Wu Ti and other emperors of the Han dynasty. These wars led to the pacification of the Hiung-nu and other border tribes, and to the introduction of good government among them for a time.

Several other passages in these translations require to be revised, but further observations must be reserved for another possible opportunity.

T. W.
1. The Imitation of Śankara. By Manilāl N. Dvivedi. 8vo, pp. 229. (Bombay, 1895.)

2. The Māndūkya Upanishad. By the same. (Bombay Theosophical Society, 1894.)


These works, published from the point of view, not of the scholar, but of the propagandist, deserve notice, not only as an interesting sign of the times, but also as being incidentally useful to the student of Indian thought. The "Imitation of Śankara" is avowedly fashioned after Mr. Bowden's "Imitation of Buddha," which is merely a birthday book with an edifying passage selected for each day of the year from Buddhist writings. So does Mr. Dvivedi select 658 sentences, not taken, indeed, from Śankara, but from recognized authorities on the view of life propounded by Śankara, and arranges them, not one for each day, but according to the subject—Guru, Karma, Jñāna, Yoga, and so on. Each sentence or verse is given both in English and Sanskrit; and there are four capital indices—of authors quoted, of the first words (in Sanskrit) of each sentence, of details of the Vedāntist view referred to in the sentences (act, being, belief, ecstasy, evil, etc.), and of Sanskrit technical terms used in the English sentences: all these are so well drawn up that the whole forms a most useful book of reference on the Advaita system.

So also the second book on the list, though it has a long introduction in which the claims of the Advaita Vedāntism to be the highest outcome of human thought are urged in an extravagant way, goes on to give a very reliable and valuable version of the Upanishad itself, and of Gauḍapādās Kārikā and Śankara’s Bhaṣya—again a very useful work.

The "Theosophy of the Upanishads" is of quite a different class. Here an anonymous author gives his own view of
the Advaita teaching in language supposed to be intelligible to modern Western readers. He quotes authorities without chapter and verse, and has practically put together a book of Vedānta and water which is of no value to the historical or philosophical student.

In the last work on our list the student will find, for the price of sixpence (!), a translation, in several respects very interesting, of six of the early Upanishads—the Isā, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, and Māṇḍukya. It is a dainty volume, got up to imitate the smaller modern Sanskrit MSS. on paper; and the peculiarity of the versions is the attempt to convey in English the ruggedness and ambiguity of the original Sanskrit. There are short introductions, and a few very short notes, but no indices of any kind. Perhaps these are reserved for the next volume, which is to give six more of the early Upanishads. The translations are distinctly interesting and scholarly, though it is a pity that they follow so exclusively the Advaita interpretation of documents so much older than the completed Advaita scheme.

On the whole, these four manuals of devotion—for they do not pretend to be anything more—give a more favourable impression than most scholars would expect of theosophical activity.


This essay, published as No. 111 of the Library of the École des Hautes Études in Paris, has gained for its author the title of élève diplômé of the historical and philological section of the school. We have here eight different Sanskrit textbooks of the art of the Indian lapidary, edited from MSS., two of them translated with notes, and the whole provided with elaborate indices and a very careful and interesting introduction.

The principal is the Ratnaparīkṣā, by Buddhabhaṭa (spelt Buddhabhaṭṭa in the colophon), which purports to be an
abstract of the Ratnasāstra. There are striking analogies between this poem of 252 stanzas and Varāha Mihira's (505–587 A.D.) similar abstract of an older work; and our author draws the probably correct conclusion that both are giving the substance of that older book, the Ratnasāstra, which seems also to be referred to in the Kāmasūtra, p. 32. This Ratnaparikṣā has been incorporated bodily into the Garuḍa Purāṇa, only the initial verse having been so altered as to conceal the fact of its author being a Buddhist.

The next in importance is the Agastimata, of 344 verses, no doubt composed in the Dekkan, not only because of the choice of the name, but also because it uses weights unknown to Buddhahatā but used in the south and in Ceylon. The date and author are entirely unknown.

These are the two texts translated. The other, shorter and evidently later and supplementary, texts are given only in the Sanskrit.

The precious stones are described in these treatises with special reference to—(1) the myths as to their origin—ulpati; (2) the places where they are found—akara; (3) their colour or nuance of shade—varṇa, chāyā; (4) the class to which they belong, true or counterfeit, variety, etc.—jāto; (5) their value or the reverse as ornaments or bringers of luck—doṣa, guṇa, phala; (6) their value, weight, and volume—mūlyā. The introduction sums up the results arrived at under these heads with regard to all the principal precious stones.

This study merits attention for the light it throws on Hindu beliefs of the Middle Ages, for its usefulness as an aid to Sanskrit lexicography, and for the comparison which it renders possible with similar works of the European lapidaries of the Middle Ages, who shared many of the beliefs, erroneous and otherwise, appearing in these treatises. The work has been distinctly well done, and reflects credit, not only on the industry, but on the judgment and the training of the author, who has had to deal with MSS. in a very confused state.

M. Cordier's description of the Corean Atlas in the British Museum is one of the publications of the Recueil de voyages et de documents edited by MM. Schéfer and Cordier. The Atlas itself is a rare and curious book, and M. Cordier has prepared his description of it in his usual thorough and careful manner. The book is also well printed on good paper, and the photographs are excellently reproduced. Of the fourteen maps of the British Museum MS., only six, however, were allowed to be photographed.

The complete Atlas is composed of fourteen maps, viz. — (1) a map of Japan with the Liu-Chiu Islands on the same sheet, (2) Corea, (3 to 10) maps of the eight Provinces of Corea, (11) Söul, the capital of Corea, (12) the environs of the capital, (13) the world as known to the maker of the Atlas, and (14) a map of China.

Of these maps the Ssú-hái-tsung-t'ü, or General Map of the Four Seas, that is, of the world, is very curious and interesting, though not very instructive or correct. It places many known countries in new positions relative to others, and it introduces a number of unknown or imaginary countries. The maps of the Provinces of Corea, of which, unfortunately, only two are in M. Cordier's book, are the most useful and interesting parts of the Atlas. These maps give the names of the towns, rivers, hills, the boundaries of the Provinces, and also valuable itineraries.

The transliteration which M. Cordier uses for Corean names of places seems a peculiar one, and some of the places will not be easily recognized in the forms he has given. Thus he writes "Tjyen-ra-to" for the Province which is called Challa do, or in Satow's transcription "Chöh-la do." So also we have "Hpyeng-an-to" for the
Phyŏng-an do, and "Kyeng-keui-to" for Kyŏng-kwi do or King-ki-to.

There are a few slight mistakes, chiefly in copying or printing, which it may be worth while to correct. In the first line of p. 5 "Kao-lo-li" is for Kao-kou-li. In the same page the first syllable of the name of the Tuman river should be Ո, not .Hidden. In the last line of this page the words "Myo-ho," or temple designation, should apparently come after the words "Kong-yang Ouang." The personal name of this king was Yao, and he is known in history as "Kong-yang" Wang.

M. Cordier tells us quite correctly that the Imperial Chinese envoys to the King of Corea were received officially at I-chow (Wei-ju). But the king's reception of the envoys took place at a spot on the North Road, not far north-west from Sŏul. The spot is indicated by a "triumphal arch" bearing the inscription Ying-en-mên, the Bounty-meeting Gate.

T. W.

A. MERX. Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe, publiés avec sept planches photolithographiques. 4to, pp. 57 and 7 plates. (Leyde: E. T. Brill.)

Hebrew palæography is undergoing a great change: old-dated Hebrew MSS. have up to a very recent time been exceedingly scarce. Finds in the "Genizoth" (i.e. the hidden place in the synagogue where fragments of Hebrew MSS. were stowed away, until the time when they were to be buried), especially those of Egypt, have brought to light many very old documents, with dates. A number of these have found their way into the Library of Oxford, and into private libraries. Mr. E. N. Adler has recently brought with him from Egypt a goodly number of such documents, and there are some in my possession. All these help us to reconstruct many a missing link in the tradition of Hebrew writing. Not a few of these documents
prove that the character of writing hitherto assumed to have been of French origin, of the eleventh or twelfth century, was in reality Oriental and much older.

The present work of Prof. Merx is now the first attempt to utilize some of these newly recovered documents for the study of ancient Hebrew palæography. He publishes three documents (contracts of partnership, sale, and marriage) from 1115, 1124, and 1164, which he had obtained from a Jew of Yemen, who had probably got them in Egypt. Professor Merx publishes them in Hebrew square characters, with a French translation, and adds a few notes as well as an introduction, in which he dwells mostly on certain forms of the marriage-contract. The originals are reproduced by prototype, and a few epitaphs and documents from Worms and Spiers are added, also a fragment of an ancient Arabic text.

Every contribution of this kind, however small, must be gratefully received. But I cannot join in Professor Merx's enthusiasm over these not very perfect specimens. One can account for it by the fact that Professor Merx does not know of the vast number of more ancient and more perfect documents which the old "Genizoth" have furnished. If all those with dates would be published in facsimile and transcribed, they would form one of the most important contributions to Hebrew palæography. Texts of the tenth century (and not of the twelfth as those of Professor Merx) undreamt of only fifty years ago are now a reality, and who knows what surprises the soil of Egypt has still in store for us.

The book is magnificently printed and beautifully got up.

M. G.


This book contains the first series of American Lectures on the History of Religions. The opening announcement
describes the circumstances under which the course delivered by Prof. Rhys Davids was conceived and carried out. It is the aim of the promoters of the new enterprise to secure "popular courses in the History of Religions" by the best scholars of Europe and America for delivery in various cities. For this purpose it was natural to begin with Buddhism in a country where Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" has been accepted "almost as a fifth Gospel"; and no better exponent could possibly be found than the author of the volume before us. It was perhaps a disadvantage that this distinguished scholar had already presented the same theme in a similar course of lectures some time ago on the foundation of the Hibbert Trust; but the ways of error in this difficult path of study are many, the same truths need reinforcement and fresh illustration, and much additional material has become available in the last fifteen years. Prof. Rhys Davids' style has lost none of its ease and charm, and if his opposition to the soul-theory be a little more vehement and pervasive, this does not prevent him from appreciating contrasted systems, at least on Eastern, if not always on Western soil.

The lectures, though often delivered within university precincts, were designed for general audiences. It is much to be regretted that the published volume adheres so closely to the original plan; the student would often have welcomed additional information, or fuller discussion of difficult points, such as the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith was wont to include in his notes. Criticism, therefore, takes the form chiefly of a wish that this or that topic for which space could not be found in the text, might have been expounded in an excursus. Thus, in the opening lecture the relation of Buddhism to two current forms of belief is sketched—the monism afterwards formulated in the Vedānta, and the origins of the Sāṅkhya philosophy (where Prof. Rhys Davids avails himself of the researches of Prof. Garbe). But there were other modes of speculation in the immense
intellectual activity of the Ganges Valley, amid which Buddhism arose, some of which involved the total rejection of the doctrine of Karma (common to Buddhism and Brahmanism), and with it the whole possibility of the ethical culture which was the essence of Gotama's teaching. How did Buddhism defend itself against these? Each lecture, in turn, suggests similar questions. The second discourse deals with the Piṭakas; the third describes the life of Gotama; two more are devoted to the Path and the goal of Arahatship, in which Prof. Rhys Davids finds the secret of Buddhism; and the sixth lecture offers "some notes on the history of Buddhism."

Among these the fourth and fifth, as they are the most important, so they are the most firmly knit. They contain a singularly clear and forcible display of the "truths" as expounded by the Teacher. But Buddhism, as it existed in the apprehension of the disciple, was necessarily different from its aspect to the mind of the Master. The believer received it through the Order; it was invested with all the authority of revelation, it was the gift to a sinful and perishing world from the supremely Holy and Enlightened One. The missionary power of Buddhism was largely due to the possession of this ideal. How much of the Buddha-theory was already in existence when Gotama began to preach? The materials for a decided view on this subject are not yet completely at our command; but so much has been published (due chiefly to the unwearyed toil of our author himself) since the Hibbert Lecture of 1881, that a reference to his former volume is, on this topic, no longer adequate. There is a good deal of uncertainty on some questions about which Prof. Rhys Davids entertains very positive views, connected more or less directly with this central theme. For instance, there are passages in which, as Oldenberg has shown, the question of the existence after death, whether of the Buddha or of the perfected saint, is left practically open. If it may not be affirmed, it may also not be denied. So much of the terminology
of the Buddhahood is borrowed from modes of thought in which it had a transcendental meaning, that it cannot be surprising if some shreds of such significance still lingered round it. It is at any rate in that direction that we must look for the explanation of what Prof. Rhys Davids can only regard as the corruptions of the truth, viz. the assimilation of Buddhism with theism. But at this point we approach a philosophy of the subject unsuited for discussion here. It must suffice to call attention to some of the fresh passages which are now translated from the texts for English readers, and to express the hope that the lecturer may be enabled to complete the work to which he has devoted a score of laborious years.

The book is well printed: "conception," p. 124, l. 11, should of course be "exception." It is not evident what is the connection of the Akkadians of Mesopotamia with Zoroastrianism (p. 7), nor can we profess the author's faith that religion is a product of the feminine mind, and that all the gods were once "goddesses" (sic). And is anything gained by spelling Konfucius with a K? Kong-fu-tse might be endurable; but if we accept the Latinized ending of the old Jesuit missionaries, why alter the first letter?

J. E. C.


Among the fragments which have come from Egypt, came also a portion of a Talmudic treatise (Kerithoth), dated 1123, of the Babylonian redaction, and another small fragment consisting of two leaves of the Tr. Berachoth (Palestinian recension), but without date. These two have now been published by S. Schechter and the Rev. S. Singer. But not even an attempt has been made by them to collate these fragments with the printed editions, and especially with the first editions.
The variations are of far greater importance than the editors, who have taken their task very lightly, seem to think. The philological side of these fragments has been completely neglected, and the whole edition falls short of the requirements of a modern critical edition. The way how to do it has been shown by W. H. Lowe, who published in 1879 "The Fragment of Talmud Babli P'sachim, of the ninth or tenth century," with an exhaustive introduction, copious notes, and critical remarks, and a careful collation of his text with other editions. We miss in the new publication every reference to palæography, to the system of abbreviations, and to the mode how notes and marginal glosses are indicated in the text. It is but a bare reprint of the text, without any assistance from the joint (!) editors.

The first fragment was written by a certain Joseph the scribe from Mount Nefusah, for a certain R. Nissim, son of Sa'adyah. The editors identify this Nefusah with the Nefusa mountains in Tripolis. The character of the writing points more to Arabia and Egypt. From these countries an absolutely identical fragment of the Halakoth Pesuqoth has been recently obtained.

The divisions of the text are marked by the word Pisqa, which the editors omit to mention, although it is of very great importance, having been retained only in Midrashic works.

Another extremely important peculiarity, common to both fragments, is that some of the words are endowed with vowel points, and here and there biblical accents are placed upon the words. The editors explain their presence in these texts by saying: "They were probably intended to assist the student in the task of recital, it being customary to employ a certain intonation in the study of the oral as of the written Law." Not a shred of evidence is vouchsford to us to show upon what basis this assumption rests. The use of such accents in non-biblical books opens a far-reaching question, which had created bad blood as far back as the tenth century, when Sa'adyah Gaon was
assailed for using them in his own writings. They probably served in the first place as interpunction, and had not yet anything to do with the Cantilene of the recital. Other similar fragments are in existence, in which a few biblical accents can be detected on words of a non-biblical text.

M. G.


The main importance of the publication mentioned above consists in the circumstance that it gives one of the oldest original texts on Moslim law, and contains much new information on the questions of territorial property and ground taxes. The different ways in which Muhammed increased the area of Islamism, either by conquests or by treaties, and the different methods in which the new estates were placed at the disposal of the Moslums, formed precedents for later arrangements. Some of these territories, as e.g. those of the B. an-Nadhīr, had not been taken sword in hand, and the Prophet, therefore, claimed the right to hand them over to the fugitives from Medina, whilst the land of Kheibar was distributed among the warriors. These and similar incidents set the example for the conquests made in Asia and Africa after Muhammed's death. Some scholars, as Tornauw (ZDMG., xxxvi, p. 299), hold that these territories, whilst being in earlier times allotted to the Moslim community, gradually were allowed to remain in the hands of the subdued inhabitants, or even distributed among others. This view is contended by Kremer and Van Berchem in their publications on the subject, and they receive material support by the evidence furnished in Yahyā b. Ādam's book. And it gives also valuable information on the administration of the Moslim dominion both during Muhammed's lifetime and two centuries after his death.
The book itself is a compilation from traditions collected and communicated by Ibn Ādam to a pupil. The publication lying before us is according to the copy of Al-Busrī received from the text of As-Sukkarī 416 h. The edition is very carefully prepared after the unique MS. of Prof. Schefer in Paris, to whom and Prof. de Goeje in Leyden it is dedicated. Good indexes are annexed.

H. H.


To the indefatigable energy and scholarship of Dr. W. Budge we owe two of the most important contributions to the history of Alexander the Great. In 1889 he published the Syriac text of the well-known version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and now, in 1896, in two volumes, the Ethiopic versions. In the first we get the Ethiopic texts, and an Introduction, in which the editor gives a description of the MSS. and a succinct history of the legend and of its various forms and recensions. Then follow the Oriental texts, to the number of seven, and three Appendices. All of these are taken from comparatively modern MSS.—the first, Pseudo-Callisthenes, from a MS. of this century, the others from MSS. of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are—(1) Pseudo-Callisthenes; (2) The History of Alexander, by Al-Mākīn; (3) id., by Abū-Shāker; (4) by Joseph ben Gorion, i.e. the Arabic version of the work which goes in the Hebrew original under the name of Josippon, or Pseudo-Josephus; (5) an anonymous history of the Death of Alexander; (6) A Christian Romance of Alexander; and (7) The History of the Blessed Men who lived in the days of Jeremiah the Prophet. As appendices follow—(1) The Prophecy of Daniel concerning Alexander’s Kingdom; (2) I Maccabees i, 1–6; and (3) Extract of the Chronicle of John Mudabbar.

All these texts are translated in the second volume. The
whole concludes with an excellent Index of proper names and subjects.

The legend of Alexander being the literary property of most of the civilized nations, every contribution to its history is at the same time a contribution to the elucidation of important literary problems. I will therefore dwell a little longer on this edition.

We have thus, first, what stands for that version which is known in the Greek as Pseudo-Callisthenes. To the Ethiopians it seems to have come from an Arabic version. It is curious, however, that hitherto no Arabic text of this legend has come to light. The Ethiopic version is, according to Dr. Budge, not a literal translation, but a remodelling and recasting in a Christian form of a Muhammadan text. The scribe, we are told, adds and omits according to his own fancy. I am not inclined to credit scribes or copyists with too much latitude or originality. It is remarkable, now, that the latest form which the legend has assumed in Greek, and which to a certain extent is the basis of the Slavonic versions, differs considerably from the text published by Müller, and approaches much more the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Many an incident, especially those of a religious character, finds its counterpart in this latest Byzantine form of the legend. Here we find also the Brahmans as "the children of Seth," son of Adam. Further, "God who dwelleth above the Cherubim and Seraphim," and ever so many minute details. It would therefore be advisable to compare these two texts. In this way the age of the direct source for the Ethiopian could be fixed with some precision, and the relation better determined in which it stands to the older Greek versions, from which it would be almost independent.

Of no little importance is it to find an Ethiopic translation of the Alexander legend of Gorion's compilation. The Hebrew text in Gorion is an abridged interpolation into the chronicle made from an independent version of the legend, which does not figure in the ed. Pr. (by Conte, ante 1480), and may have been added, either to the more recent
prints or to one of the MSS. utilized for these editions. The independent and more extended Hebrew version has been published by J. Levi, and an abstract of the text contained in a London MS. has been published by me in Russian, with comparative notes. The result of my investigation has been to establish the dependence of the Hebrew legend upon an Arabic, now lost, which goes back to an old Syriac (Pehlewi) version.

A third text, viz., the "Romance of Alexander," from which every trace of history has been successfully obliterated, commands our greatest attention. Nöldeke, in his study on the Oriental versions, has dwelt at some length on the Syriac "Romance." We have here an Ethiopian counterpart, and I have discovered a Hebrew version of this "Romance," of which I am preparing an English translation. In each of these "Romances" Alexander is treated with the same liberty with which French epic writers of the Middle Ages treated the "Life of Alexander." Much is still obscure in the continual growth and change of the legend, and the "Romance" has thus far escaped everyone's attention. The research into the history of this special development of the ancient legend has now been much facilitated by the publication of these numerous texts, and above all through the Ethiopian version of the "Romance."

I cannot conclude without alluding to the sumptuous edition of this version, and to the munificence of Lady Meux, through which alone this important publication has seen the light.

M. G.

Henry Barnstein, Ph.D. The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis. A critical inquiry into the value of the text exhibited by Yemen MSS. compared with that of the European recension, together with some specimen chapters of the Oriental text.

Since the time when Merx published his "Chrestomathia Targumica," and drew the attention of scholars to the
vocalized texts of the Targum which came from Yemen, the study of the Targum, which had lain fallow for such a long time, was again taken up with an ever-increasing interest. Although we can hardly complain of the lack of MSS. in European libraries for establishing the bare text, yet the vocalization of the Targum still remained in apparently inextricable confusion, and it appeared a hopeless task to attempt a grammar of the Targumic dialects. However, latterly, a little progress has been made in this direction. The writer of this notice has used these new sources hailing from Yemen, and has endeavoured to lay the foundation of a trustworthy Aramaic grammar; the elaboration of an Aramaic dictionary is also being taken up, and, it is hoped, will shortly be placed in the hands of those who are interested in the subject, thanks to the kind assistance given to me by Dr. Barnstein. What was still wanted was a critical comparison of the existing Targum texts with those MSS. which have since come to light, and Dr. Barnstein has attempted to carry out this comparison in the carefully-prepared essay mentioned above. After a brief survey of the origin and history of the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, we have here principally an inquiry into the differences exhibited by the Yemen MSS. compared with those texts which have hitherto been known in Europe. The peculiar system of vocalization in use in the Yemen MSS. is described with minute details, whilst the orthographical, grammatical, and exegetical variations are fully described and explained. At the end of the work the author publishes the text of Genesis xvii, xxvi, xxxi, and xli, according to the excellent MS. Codex Hebr. Gaster, No. 2, with the variant readings from Codd. Montefiore 502 and 508, the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2363, and the Venice edition of 1517. The aim of the author—to show how a better and more correct text of the Targum of Onkelos can be obtained by the aid of Yemen MSS.—has undoubtedly been completely fulfilled, and those readers who may differ from him in some points will agree in this. The book also contains many note-
worthy contributions to the Targumic grammar; especially instructive is the comparison between the different readings shown by the Yemen MSS, themselves. These show how far the Yemenite pronunciation and tradition were consistent and old-established, and how far differences occur. I cannot, however, subscribe to the author's important proposition that we are already now in a position to restore the original Palestinian text by means of these MSS. We shall have good cause to be thankful if we can restore the Targum of Onkelos of the Babylonian School with a certain degree of reliability, but we have not the means to reconstruct the original Palestinian Targum from these MSS. alone. We also require more proofs for the author's statement that the superlinear system of vocalization is likewise of Palestinian origin. We have not only to notice the similarities between the punctuation of the Yemen MSS. and Biblical Aramaic, but we have also to observe the differences in the two dialects. Careful and continued investigation of the sources at our disposal may probably tend to modify Dr. Barnstein's assumption, and show that he has placed a too far-reaching importance upon these MSS. These details, however, in no wise detract from the value of his researches. The Yemen MSS. remain invaluable for the study of the Targum, even if we should not assume the Palestinian origin of their text. The want of a critical edition of the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch has become very pressing, especially as we so frequently have to deplore the lack of care in the texts published by Merx, and absolute reliability is indispensable in publications of this kind. I conclude with the wish that Dr. Barnstein may soon have the opportunity of publishing such a critical edition of the Targum of Onkelos.

Leipzig. 

Prof. G. Dalman.
VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.


Presented by the Publishers.


Sewell (R.) and Dikshit (S. B.). The Indian Calendar, with Tables for the Conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. dates, and vice-versa (with tables of eclipses visible in India: by Dr. R. Schram). 4to. *London*, 1896.


Purchased.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Windisch (E.). Über die Bedeutung des Indischen Alterthums. 4to. Leipzig, 1895.


Chakrabarti (J. C.). The Native States of India. 8vo. Calcutta, 1895.

Hata (Dr. R.). Gedanken eines Japaners über die Frauen, insbesondere die japanischen. 8vo. Wien, 1896.


Presented by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.


Presented by the Japan Society, London.


Presented by the Madras Government.

Hultzsch (Dr. E.). Report on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India. No. 1. 8vo. Madras, 1895.

Presented by the Columbia College.


Presented by the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, Berlin.

Stumme (Dr. H.). Neue Tunisische Sammlungen. 4to. Berlin, 1896.
Presented by the Curator of the Government Central Book Depôt, Bombay.


Presented by the Author.

Kielhorn (Prof. F.). Die Sonnen und Mondfinsternisse in den Daten Indischer Inschriften.
Pamphlet. 8vo. Göttingen, 1896.
Stein (M. A.). Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pir Pantsál Route.
Saraswati (B. S.). Surya Siddhānta. Sanskrit Text (Bengali character) and Bengali translation. 8vo. Calcutta.
Seth (M. J.). History of the Armenians in India. 8vo. Calcutta, 1895.
ART. XIV.—Note on Udyâna and Gandhâra. By H. A. Deane.

As the Swat valley, and neighbourhood, which constitute the principal portion of the old province of Udyâna, have hitherto been inaccessible for archæological research, the following rough notes (made during the little time at my disposal as Chief Political Officer with the Chitral Relief Force, and lately as Political Officer for Dir and Swat) may induce others better qualified to devote some attention to this interesting neighbourhood. They are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsiang, as given in Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World."

The Pilgrim says (Beal, ii, 120) that there were 1400 old Sanghârāmas on the banks of the river Su-po-fa-satu, the present Swat river. This was probably no exaggeration, as ruins are now found all through the country. Unfortunately, however, the majority lie in Upper Swat, which is at present closed to Europeans.

The old capital of the province in the Pilgrim's time was Mungali, or Mung Kie-li. General Sir A. Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India, Buddhist Period,"

J.R.A.S. 1896. 43.
p. 82, thought that this place could be identified with Minglaur, a large and important village lying at the foot of one of the north-western spurs of the Dosirri mountain. Dosirri and its neighbouring peak, IIm, belong to the Dūma range, which here divides Swat from Boner. General Sir A. Cunningham also thought Mingaur, or Mingora of Wilford’s Surveyor, to be the same place.

The identity of Minglaur with Mungali is undoubted, though the main site of the old town lay (from the reports of men I have at times despatched to Minglaur) about a mile to the east-south-east of the present village. Mingaur is a separate place, lying some five miles to the west of Minglaur. The ruins about Minglaur are described as very extensive. On cliffs not far from them deeply-cut Sanskrit inscriptions exist. Three of these, impressions of which I obtained last year, have been translated by Professor Bühler, and are now being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The Pilgrim states that to the north-east of Mungali, about 250 or 260 /li, a great mountain range is entered, and the fountain of Nāga Apalāla is reached, this being the source of the Su-po-fa-sutu river. The distance and direction given by the Pilgrim bring us exactly to Kalām, the point at which the Utrot and Laspur (Ushu in our maps) streams meet. The junction of these is the present head of the Swat river.

South, about 200 /li from Mungali, the Pilgrim mentions the Mahāvana Sanghārāma. This was apparently on the western, or north-western, slopes of the present Mahaban. Numerous ruins exist on the lower slopes and also on the higher portions of Mahaban. A portion of an inscription which I obtained from this hill recorded the deposit of a relic at some place on the hill, on which there must therefore have been a stūpa or sanghārāma of noted sanctity.

Going west 60 or 70 /li, he next describes a stūpa built by Aśoka Rāja. The measurements and distance given bring us within the present borders of the Peshawar district. On
this side, hitherto, though many ruins and remains are found, no stūpa has yet been discovered. There are ruins named Chănai on low hills above the present village of Surkhāvi, and in the Narinji valley adjoining these low hills on the south, much sculpture which denoted the previous existence of a sanghārāma; and some which may have belonged to a stūpa, has at various times been found by the natives, and destroyed by them.

From either Chănai or the Narinji valley the Pilgrim's next measurement, 200 ¾ north-west, leads to the Adinzai valley, entered from Swat at Chakdara. This may be identified with the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley of the Records.

About three and a half miles north of Chakdara is a site which was plainly at one time occupied by a stūpa. It has not yet, however, been excavated. Not far off, to the north of this, are the remains of a large stūpa. The greatest feature of interest in this stūpa is, that it is still known to some of the people by the name of Sūma, the name mentioned by Huan Tsiang (Beal, ii, 125). It is difficult to fix the site of the convent, but possibly it was on the spur overlooking the passage of the Swat river on which military posts are now being erected. Débris and portions of well-built walls exist on this site to a great depth; and though there were defensive towers on the higher points, the few relics found point to former occupation of the spot for other than military purposes. These relics comprise a portion of a head of a very large figure of Buddha, a portion of a finely-carved cover of a small oblong box (in soapstone), and old ornamented “chiraghs.”

Adjoining this site is a detached rock close to the river, on which there are remains of old walls. The broken top of a “chaitya” was also found here. Amid the débris on this rock were also found two oval stones, weighing about 5 lbs. each, which appear to have been artificially shaped, and which are suggestive of Alexander's military engines;

---

1 Appendix D is a plan of the foundations as far as they can be traced.
also the iron head of an axe—the latter found at a depth of fifteen feet.

As regards the Sūma stūpa, I will refer to the attached plan, Appendix A, which shows measurements. The height of the remains is 35 feet. The centre of the stūpa has not yet been excavated, and I have been loth to open it, as if anything of value were found it would lead to wholesale destruction by the natives of other stūpa remains, many of which exist in the country. The outside of this stūpa was built with carefully-dressed granite, well laid and fitted; on the outside it was covered with lime-plaster, much of which still remains. The interior was carefully laid in horizontal strata. Nothing remains of the chaitya except a small portion of the interior. Possibly portions of it might be found under the large mass of rubbish lying around. To the west are the remains of a platform 90' by 190', to which apparently the steps of the stūpa led down; and on it are mounds which have not been examined, but which are possibly sites of small square vihāras, or of monks' dwelling-places. The platform is slightly raised from the ground to the level of the foundation of the stūpa. Such portion of it as has been preserved owes its existence to a curious custom on the part of the Pathan inhabitants of the country, whose tradition is that a notorious thug was once executed at this spot. It is incumbent on every good Muhammadan, as he passes the place, to support the execution by throwing a stone on to the mound, saying at the same time—"I swear by God he was a thug." The south and west faces are in the best state of preservation.

The stūpa alluded to by the Pilgrim (p. 126) to the north of the valley, by the side of a steep rock, lies slightly north-east from the Sūma stūpa, about two and a half miles distant. The mound is at present known as Badshah Dheri. It has not yet been excavated. Between this and Sūma another site, somewhat to the east, also exists, which appears to have been similarly occupied.

The abundant stream alluded to by the Pilgrim is, I think, to be found in a spring on the south slope of
the Laram to the north of Uch. There is a story current in the valley regarding this spring. After a fight with an invading Muhammadan force, the old inhabitants of the valley, being defeated, concealed the spring with a large cup-shaped stone, and covered it over with earth, completely closing it. Some years ago signs of water being found, the source of the spring was traced; its covering was found and removed, and the water now flows freely. I recovered the stone cover from a Masjid in the village of Gudia Khwar, where the Pathans had placed it. It seems to have been the cupola of a large chaitya. It has a diameter of 2' 6½" and a height of 1' 1½". There is no trace of the lake mentioned in the Records, and the stopping up of the spring for many centuries may explain its non-existence.

It is noticeable that all the fortifications in the Shan-ni-lo-shi, and in the neighbouring valley of Talash, are on the south. There is no trace of any on the Laram Hill, nor anywhere to the north, nor on the spurs of the Laram running down to the Panjkor. Near Sado, which was a post held during the Chitral Relief Expedition, there are a few ruins traceable, but these appear to be of ordinary dwellings. From the fortifications on the south, and the absence of any on the Laram range on the north, it may, perhaps, be assumed that the people of the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley were more or less connected with their neighbours to the north in the valley of the Panjkora.

Whether Adinzai, or Adinazai, is connected with Udyāna, I do not presume to say. Adinapur, near Jellalabad, I have seen held to be a corruption of Udyānapur. Old names certainly survive in this country, and in the Adinzai valley: among the most striking are Uch and Uchana, the latter appearing to be the same as Uchanga, an old name of this country generally.

The Pilgrim now starts again from Mungali, and mentions (p. 126) a stūpa 60 or 70 li to the south-east, on the east of the river; this river is, of course, the Swat. The measurement brings us to an extensive group of ruins—
Balogram, Odigram, and Panjigram, and a little lower down, Shankardar.

In the neighbourhood of Odigram inscriptions exist. A little further down the river, between Ghaligai and Shankardar, the natives of the country describe the remains of a stūpa as still standing; and this is undoubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrim—for the Pilgrim records next (p. 127) a large rock on the bank of the great river, shaped like an elephant. This rock is a conspicuous landmark existing near the river, about twelve miles from the village of Thana, and near Ghaligai. It is well known to the inhabitants of the valley, the name of which, Hathidarra, was derived from it. The stūpa is described by natives as still standing a few hundred yards distant from this rock; and, from what I can understand from the people, there is also a fine Deva temple near it.

The hill to the south of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ilm, is known as Velanai. Extensive ruins on this spur are connected by tradition with an old ruler, Viru, in whom we seem to have Rāja Vara.

Next the Pilgrim takes a measurement of 50 li or so west of Mungali, and brings us to a stūpa across the river. This is close to a village now called Hazara, and natives describe the stūpa as still existing. It is also said that the next one he mentions, 30 li north-east of Mungali, still exists. In this neighbourhood Sung Yun mentions the temple of Tolu to the north of the city, and says there were sixty full-length golden figures of Buddha in it. A few months ago a golden Buddha was dug up in this region. The people at first asked the fabulous sum of Rs. 4000 for it. It fell, however, into the hands of a jeweller, who found it to be as I suspected, a stone thinly plated with gold, which he has now stripped off it. The practice of plating sculpture with gold was not uncommon in the neighbouring province of Gandhāra.

From the stūpa north-east of Mungali, Huan Tsiang crosses the river, and, going west, arrives at Vihāra (p. 127). In regard to this locality I am unable to say anything at
present; but the point is important, as from it another line of 140 or 150 li north-west is given to the mountain Lun-po-lu, on which the Pilgrim (p. 128) describes the Dragon lake.

This measurement brings us exactly to the head of the Aushiri valley, which drains into the Panjkora near Darora. How the Pilgrim got his distance over several valleys and intervening high spurs, it is difficult to conjecture. But on the hill to which it brings us there is found a large lake, more than a mile in length. It is apparently fed by snow. Unfortunately, pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the Chitral Relief Force prevented a survey of the lake from being made.

The lake itself is now known as Saidgai, and the same name is applied to the hill; another point of the hill, not far off, being known as Lālkōh. There are several stories current as to the wonderful sights to be seen at this lake, the most persistent being that of "Jins," who live in and near it. These Jins, with half human forms, are said to be constantly seen on the banks of the lake; and one old gentleman of the country assures me that he lately saw three sitting together, who vanished as he approached them. At other times food and rice are said to be found on the bank of the lake, placed there in some mysterious way. This story of the Jins adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim as haunted by Nāgas.

Some of the former tribes that inhabited Udyāna and neighbouring countries can be traced in the present day.

Kafiristan undoubtedly is populated by the descendants of those who were driven back from other tracts, mostly from the Afghanistan side: their many Hindu customs, the many Sanskritic words in their language, and their traditions, point clearly to their origin. It is to be hoped that some one with opportunities will deal with that important point, the language of the Kafirs. From the few investigations I have made, I have found many Sanskrit words in use among them.
In Kafiristan the custom of the women wearing horns as head ornaments, mentioned by Sung Yun as prevalent amongst the Ye-tha, still exists. One kind worn is a veritable pair of horns, made of hair and shaped like the short horns of cattle. Another kind is made of manāl feathers, with a tuft at the top arranged and bound round a stick about nine inches in length.

If I remember rightly (I have not Sir G. Robertson's book on the Kafirs to refer to), Sir G. Robertson mentions a custom amongst the Kafirs of banishing a man who has committed murder to the hills; and Sung Yun describes the same custom as belonging to Udyāna, whence it is reasonable to assume the custom was carried to the present Kafiristan.

Another, and distinct, remnant of the old races will undoubtedly be found in the large clan of Gujars, extending from Kunar on the west to Kashmir on the east. A very interesting point is noticeable regarding these Gujars. In the Peshawar district, and on the hills bordering on the Peshawar district, the Gujars all speak Pashtu, and in some ways are more Pathan than the Pathans themselves. In the hills across the Swat valley the Gujars understand and use at times Hindi, though they speak Pashtu. At Dir and on the high ranges beyond, the same clan of Gujars use Hindi entirely in their houses and amongst themselves. The Greek historians describe the cowherds as one of the classes inhabiting this country, and there can be little doubt the clan of Gujars represents the men they wrote about. Those about Dir and the neighbourhood were only converted to Islām between 250 or 300 years ago, some of them even later. Conversion in Bashghhar of the Kohistanis, Gurialis, and others, who are undoubtedly a remnant of the former inhabitants of Udyāna, was brought about at this period, according to local history, through Mustamat Ram, daughter of one Barah, who fell in love with an Akhundzada named Salak Baba. Through her and her family, these people are said to have been brought over to Islām.
Lastly may be mentioned the Ghori, a small clan subservient to the Pathans, on the right bank of the Panjkora river.

The extensive manner in which the Udyāna is fortified on the south speaks of anything but the supposed peaceable nature of the people, or their cordial relations with their neighbours in Gandhāra, the present Peshawar district. Appendix B is a plan of the old fortifications on the Malakand Pass.

Beyond the Swat, Adinzai, and Talash valleys, remains of former habitation become more indistinct. Up the valley of the Panjkora there are considerable traces of ruins as far as the Aushiri. At Barikot, near Patrak, distinct ruins are said to be found, and a stūpa is said to have existed there which was overthrown by one Ilias Akhound, about two generations ago.

Throughout the Panjkora valley there are remains of old terraced cultivation, entirely deserted in the present day, and declared by the Muhammadan population not to belong to the Muhammadan period. This points to a different previous condition in the valley: this condition was probably that the land along the banks of the river was during Buddhist occupation swamp, and incapable of cultivation to the same extent as now. The process of the bed of the river deepening, and swampy land being gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation, goes on now. The people of the valley also talk of a much heavier rainfall in former days, which has doubtless been much reduced by the wholesale destruction of forests.

To the west of the Panjkora, the Jandol valley, occupied during the expedition by our troops, is too thickly populated for many traces of former occupation to remain undisturbed. An old road leads over the Binshi Pass into Asmar from the Jandol valley. The only good site noted was of a city on the hills to the west of Kanbat. Near this I obtained an inscription. I also obtained two inscriptions near Badin, between Munda and Kanbat, in the Jandol valley—one from Tarawar in the Maidan Banda valley, near the
Panjikora; and a Persian one, broken into three pieces, near Sapri Kalan, in the same valley. These have all been sent to the Lahore Museum.

A former Khan of Dir almost ruined an old Deva temple at Gumbat, in the Talash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation, still remain. Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binshi Pass to the south-west, and near Nawagai are remains of a large city. Unfortunately these are inaccessible for examination.

Such sculptures as have been found have been obtained chiefly from the Swat valley and from Dargai, where also a Buddhist relic in a small gold casket was found. This has been made over to the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

Considerable damage has been done in places by irresponsible digging, and especially at a place on the north slope of the Morah Pass, called Kafirkot, which must have been a place of much importance. Here there are extensive remains of a large monastery, within which stood a stūpa, the base of which is still in situ. The diameter of the inner circle is 24 feet, to which may be added a projecting plinth of 10 inches. The diameter of the outer circle base is \(24 + 13.10 = 37\) ft. 10 in. Some sculpture obtained from this place has been sent to the Imperial Museum. Near this place I noticed two other stūpas, and in the plain below, a mound, from which Pathans not long ago obtained some gold sword-hilts and other pieces of valuable property which cannot now be traced. These stūpas are all worth proper examination. The sculpture from Dargai is of the Gandhāra type, and that from the Swat valley is of the same type, but in some respects superior, and principally in that the figures are better proportioned.

The country to the south of the Malakand ridge is rich in ruins, and has not been properly worked. There is much to be done in this quarter.

Hitherto not many inscriptions have been found in Swat, and those found are mostly in Sanskrit. Many others undoubtedly exist which we are unable to obtain at present.
I have lately procured one or two small ones in the same unknown character which has been found on small stones in old houses on the slopes of Mahaban. M. Emile Senart lately published several in the *Journal Asiatique*.

In this note on Udyāna I have recorded only what I have been able to ascertain from cursory inquiry and research. There is a large field for anyone who can systematically prosecute research. I offer the opinion that Udyāna was on the north bounded by the high range of hills above Dir and Swat, which would seem to be the Tsungling mountains mentioned by the Pilgrim (p. 119 and elsewhere). These hills now divide Swat and Dir from Gilgit and Chitral territory. On the west I do not think Udyāna extended further than the line of the Panjkora; the Pilgrim’s descriptions take us nowhere into Bajaur. On the south, the watershed of the hills bordering the present Peshawar district would appear from the extensive fortifications to have been the boundary. On the side of Boner the watershed would also appear to have been the boundary, as the cave temple on that border on the western watershed is described as being in Gandhāra. Further south on this line we are brought within the present limits of our British border at Surkhāvi and Narinji, and hence, down to the Indus, the lower spur bordering British Yusafzai would appear to have been within Udyāna limits. My opinion on this point is based on small indications being found amongst ruins on these spurs which are not found in Gandhāra.

The Pilgrim, after leaving Udyāna, went up the line of the Sintu or Indus river. But it is said that he went first north-west from Mungali, which would take him on to the line of the Indus via Gilgit. At Mungali he was within fairly easy range of the Indus on the east and north-east; and by going north-west, over a range of hills and through a valley, it would seem probable that he took the route via Kalam and the Laspur Pass to Drasan, from which point he would reach the Indus by the easiest line. It seems not unlikely that Sung Yun also entered Udyāna by this route.
I add here a few notes I have made from time to time regarding the adjoining province of Gandhāra, the British district of Peshawar.

Huan Tsiang, in his Records (Beal, ii, 97), first describes Po-lu-sha-pa-lo, which has been identified as the present Peshawar. One of the first points he notices (p. 99) is the large pipal-tree, which is mentioned later by Baber. Peshawar having a considerable Hindu population, it is natural to look for the site of this tree amongst places still, or until lately, held by them in reverence.

A mistake we are apt to be led into in such research is to disregard the fact that the site of the city itself may have been changed. On this point there is ample evidence that within quite recent times a portion of the city, which occupied the site of the present commissariat lines, near the present cantonments, was demolished, and the city perforce extended in the opposite direction. At the corner of what is now known as the Pipal Mandi, is an old pipal-tree. According to Hindu tradition, this tree is at least 500 years old. Until recent years, during which a market has grown up around it, it was the great meeting-place and resting-place for Yogis. There are other places in or near Peshawar which at the present day are regarded as more important than this—notably, a tank and temple known as Panj-tirath, surrounded by large pipal-trees, to the north-east of the city—but those places are all of comparatively recent date. After inquiry, which I have made during the last three years, I have come to the conclusion that the pipal-tree now standing in the Pipal Mandi is on the site of the old one mentioned in history. We may be sure that such a spot would not be lost sight of by the Hindus, though circumstances now render its former use impracticable.

Of the stūpas mentioned by the Pilgrim there are few traces left. The sites of five can be traced at a place about a mile south-east of the present city. The place is known as Shahji-ki-Dheri, and is below Hazar Khani, on the old road to Lahore. I obtained from this place a small figure of
a sitting Buddha, and a very interesting flint cameo—a figure of a man mounted on a horse. These were obtained from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site, which has not been excavated.

The Peshawar city now covers such an extent of land, and every available piece of land near it is so highly cultivated, that it is hopeless to try and follow the Pilgrim further in his descriptions in detail.

Going north-east from Peshawar, the Pilgrim (Beal, ii, 109) takes us across a great river to Pushkalavati. This has been identified as the Penkelaoitis of Arrian and the present Charsadda. It is probable that the main site lay a little lower down, where extensive mounds, wells, etc., mark the old site of a city very distinctly. This place would repay excavation.

If we follow Huan Tsiang’s distances carefully from these old mounds, we come eventually to the eastern end of the mass of buried ruins known as Shahr-i-Narparsan, between the present villages of Rajar and Utmanzai. The stone from these has for years been abstracted for building purposes, and it is impossible to trace what existed. I found here portions of the top of a chaitya. Accepting the Pilgrim’s measurements and directions to be correct, and assuming that the large stupas mentioned by him stood at the east end of these extensive ruins, to which point the measurements bring us exactly, we get a point from which the Pilgrim (p. 110) gives a further line to a position 50 li north-west. Here he mentions another stūpa. The direction and measurement lead direct to a mound of ruins, hitherto, so far as I know, not excavated, and known as Dheri Kafiran. This stands not far from the village of Sher-pao, in Hashtnagar. There can be little doubt that excavation would show this “Infidel’s mound” to have been a stūpa. Judging by the ruins, it must have been a large one.

Again, from this point north 50 li the Pilgrim (p. 111) describes another stūpa. This brings us a little north-east of the present village of Gandheri, which may be connected
with the old name Gandhāra. The name Gandheri, however, has a meaning in Pashtu, being the "oleander" which grows in the ravines here. A little north of Gandheri, and not a mile from the village, the site of a stūpa is traceable. A small vihāra, such as is generally found near stūpas, was excavated here; the base was standing, and it has since been built up with other portions excavated near it. The sculpture is very old and good, and much of it shows traces of gilding. It has been made over to the Imperial Museum. The whole site near Gandheri is worth exploration.

These last two measurements and distances being correct, I see no reason for not locating the places mentioned near Pushkalavatī by accepting the Pilgrim’s measurements exactly.

The point thus fixed at Gandheri is important, for it is from here that the Pilgrim takes his direction and measurement to Po-lu-sha. This has been assumed by General Sir A. Cunningham to be Palo-dheri, a village in the Sadhum valley, mainly on account of the name. North-east of the city was Mount Dantaloka, 20 -li distant. This is the Sanawar or Paja range, north-east of Palo-dheri, as identified by General Sir A. Cunningham.

The Pilgrim (p. 113) mentions a stone chamber between the crags of this mountain. This may be a small chamber or cell, which still exists, built into the rock, below the cave temple known as Kashmir Smats. This is just above the ravine in which "the trees droop down their branches like curtains," and form a leafy roof over the ravine. Above this woody ravine, but not "by the side of it," as described by the Pilgrim, is the rocky cave known as the Kashmir Smats. The Kashmir Smats is an immense cave piercing the hill at an angle of about 25°. It runs slightly north-west. It is of a limestone formation, and the walls and roof show fringes of stalactite, masses of which have occasionally fallen from the roof or exfoliated from the sides. The entrance to the cave is about 50 feet wide, with about an equal height. At a distance of 38 feet from the entrance, it widens to
84 feet, with a height of about 60 feet. At this point a flight of steps 17 feet wide leads up for another 38 feet to an octagonal vault, the sides of which measure 11 feet, 4½ feet, and 6 feet. Small niches exist in the walls, in which small earthen chiraghfs were found. Portions of what appeared to be a sheeshum-wood coffin were some time ago found lying buried in the débris not far from the vault. The conclusion is, that this originally lay in the vault. The lid was highly ornamented, but was ruined by a native who carried it off to convert into a door. On the right of the chamber is a small square masonry room. In 1888, near this I obtained, buried in the guano which lies around, four carved sides of a box, two wooden plaques, and a wooden pilaster about 4 feet in length. I made these over to Dr. Burgess, Director of Archæological Survey in India, who placed them in the British Museum. These are the only carvings in wood found hitherto in Yusafzai. They were in excellent preservation, though blackened with age.

The cave beyond this turns slightly to the west, and at a distance of 95 feet from the vault narrows to 47 feet in width. A flight of winding steps 20 feet wide, and extending for 68½ feet, leads up to the centre of the second chamber. At the top of the flight of steps is a fragment of wall about 10 feet high and 24 feet long, in fair condition, which evidently belonged to some large building. The cave is here 94 feet wide, with a height of over 100 feet. At a distance of 7½ feet beyond the above wall the cave narrows to 51½ feet. At this point another flight of steps is reached. To the left of the foot of these steps is a water-tank, with steps at the lower end leading into it. The tank is lined with cement half an inch thick, and is in excellent preservation.

The flight of steps leading onward into the cave is well made, and in good condition. About 50 feet further a natural gallery, about 30 feet high, leads on to the left. At the entrance to this, on the right-hand side, is a small square masonry vault, in which a year or two ago treasure
is said to have been found by some of the many Gujars, who frequently live in the cave. After 20 feet it takes a sharp turn up a flight of steps, in good order, and enters a narrower gallery, along which for a short way a man can only crawl on hands and knees. At the top of the steps, on the wall of the cave, are a few letters in Pāli; but these have been almost obliterated, and cannot be read.

The main cave from the entrance to the gallery winds through a long vestibule and up a winding flight of steps, protected by a balustrade, the direction being north, to the third chamber. The steps lead up to a square masonry tower, a part of which, to a height of about 10 feet, is in good repair. The measurement of the walls is 7 feet 6 inches, while the thickness of them is over 2 feet. The roof of the cave rounds away upwards to a height of about 100 feet, or may be more, and on the north-west side is a rift from 6 to 10 feet in diameter, which lets in light and air. The guano lying in this chamber is about 7 or 8 feet deep. The whole cave would probably repay careful excavation, but it would be a troublesome undertaking.

Appendix E is a rough plan of the interior, but the bearings are only approximate.

Looking down from the entrance to the cave, is a very fine view of what appears to have been a monastery, and of the gorge leading up to it.

There is another cave in the cliff not far from the Kashmir Smats, and perhaps more likely to be the place that an old Rishi would be credited with having as his abode. It is inaccessible to any but the best of cragmen.

Sung Yun's account of apparently the same cave, and its position, gives us no corroboration of the identification, except in the details that the rock-cave was south-east of the crest of the hill, and that it had two chambers, the second cave leading off from the main one possibly being the second chamber.

Sung Yun calls the hill Shen-shi, and places it 500 li to the south-west of the royal city of Udyāna, a direction
and distance that would take us (accepting Mungali as the royal city) into the Khattak hills on the line of the Indus, some distance below Hodi Raja. Sung Yun mentions a great square stone in front of the cave, on which a memorial tower was erected. There is no sign of any such tower. Sung Yun mentions traces of a lion’s hair and claws on a stone three li to the west of the cave. About half a mile west of the cave is curious ornamentation on the rock by the side of the road. He also writes of wild asses frequenting the neighbourhood, but it seems more likely he meant monkeys, which still frequent it.

In regard to the memorial tower, it seems possible that the tower in the inner chamber of the main cave, and not far from the entrance of the smaller offshoot, may be that alluded to; but this is mere conjecture. A tower would hardly be built at this point for other than memorial purposes.

It is noticeable that Sung Yun places the rock-cave in Udyāna, while Huan Tsiang describes it as being in Gandhāra.

Taking the stone chamber first mentioned as the point from which to measure, and taking the Pilgrim’s measurement and direction, we cross a small range and come to the range bounding Swat on the south. It brings us to the foot of the Shahkot Pass. After working this out on the map, I visited the Shahkot Pass, and a little to the west of the foot of it I found the conspicuous remains of a memorial stūpa. These have not yet been examined.

The Sanghārāma has not yet been found, though proper examination will probably reveal it. The whole site is much overgrown with jungle. This stūpa is close to a curious old road running straight up a spur leading to a point above the Shahkot Pass, where there are remains of old forts. The road is continued down into the Swat valley. The Pathans have a tradition that the road was made especially for bringing elephants up, and they call it the Hathi-lar, but they apply this name to most of the old roads. On the opposite spur on the east is an old road
with a far better alignment. It appears to be older than the Hathi- lar, and leads straight over the pass and down a well-aligned road on the north side, the making of which through solid rock for considerable stretches must have entailed enormous labour. How this road, and that over the Malakand, were cut through rock too hard to break with picks, is difficult to conjecture: it may have been effected by lighting fires on the rock and pouring water in the heated rock, as I am informed is still done in some parts in Southern India. At one spot only, and that on the Shahkot Pass, have I noticed any old sign of fire. In this case, about four feet up the hill-side, the rock through which the road had been cut was calcined, and partially converted into lime.

On the top of the Shahkot Pass is a large stone having foot impressions, shown as Buddha's footmarks. They are two impressions rather of shoes at right angles to each other, with nail-marks in the heel, under the instep, and in the middle of the foot. One impression is eleven inches long and the other about ten inches. They bear no resemblance, so far as I know, to any marks which are really known as Buddha's footmarks. The origin of these marks is not known; they are said to be old, and I heard of them a long time before we came to the country.

To return to the Pilgrim's record, after search extending over a long time no trace of the figure of Bhima Devi (Beal, ii, 113) has been found. I cannot trace any rock-cut figure on the Sanawar range, though possibly such exists. Rock-cut figures exist on IIm, and there is one on a rock to the south of the Morah; but in the former case the distance is too great when compared with the Pilgrim's measurement, and in the latter case the direction does not coincide, nor does the description of the figure.

From the temple of Bhima, Huan Tsiang (p. 114) mentions distance and direction to U-to-kia-han-cha. This was considered by the late General Sir A. Cunningham as the present Hund. The difficulty is, that we are not certain of the site of Po-lu-sha, and cannot therefore ascertain
where the Bhima temple was. The question where U-to-kia-han-cha was is accordingly open to a certain amount of doubt. The only stūpa so far found near the south-east foot of the Sanawar range, which General Sir A. Cunningham fixes as Mount Danto-loka, is the small one found at Sikri and excavated six years ago, which is now in the Lahore Museum.

The description given of Mount Danto-loka, and the measurement and distance given to the stūpa existing at the foot of the Shahkot Pass, go to support General Sir A. Cunningham’s identification of Mount Danto-loka, and consequently that of Palo-dheri with Po-lu-sha, though there can as yet be no certainty as to the exact site of the latter. The above notes, however, tend to prove the general accuracy of the Pilgrim’s distances, and one is loth, in the face of general accuracy, to assume that in one particular measurement or direction he has been incorrect.

The correct position of U-to-kia-han-cha depends much on the correct identification of Po-lu-sha. U-to-kia-han-cha was also known as Udakhanda; and if the possible remnant of an old name in a present one be taken as a guide, it might be argued that Khunda, the name (bearing no meaning in Pashtu) of a village about six miles north-west from Hund, is connected with the subject.

The line of the Indus through the Peshawar district has never been thoroughly examined. Beginning at Asgram, there are extensive ruins a little way above where the Indus leaves the hills; there are more on a low hill on the bank of the Indus near Gullai, known as Imran; many more buried near Jalbai; and, again, others near Jehangira and Alladher. None of these have ever been systematically explored.

The following brief note has reference to Aornos, which was situated either in Udyāna or Gandhara.

On Mahaban, at the point known as Shahkot, are the very distinct remains of a large fort, the foundations of which, 360 yards by 180 yards, with twelve bastions on the north and south faces, five bastions on the east face
(outside which was a ditch some 30 feet wide), and four bastions on the west face, can still be traced. The road to the fort winds up the southern face of the hill, and below it on the south is a plateau about a mile long by 600 yards wide. On the north face is a second gate, with a steep path leading to springs a little way below. Below the south-west corner is a large tank protected by three towers. Inside are remains of two temples and a tank about 60 paces in circumference. The fort is situated on a vast rock, and is reported as exceedingly difficult of access.

Close to Panjitar, at the foot of Mahaban, is a group of several old towns, from which I have obtained many inscriptions. Further down, towards where the Indus debouches into the plain, are extensive ruins, to which my attention was first directed by obtaining an inscription from them. These ruins are known as Asgram, already mentioned. The Pathans give this as the name of the ruins, stating that tradition holds them to be of the same period as Bēgram and Naugram (Ranigat). Taking Ptolemy's map and McCrindle as a guide, we find a hitherto unidentified place, Asigramma, close to the bank of the river, bearing the same relative position to Aornos and Pentigramma, as shown on the map, as Asgram bears to Mahaban and Panjitar. Aornos was above Asigramma; and if the identification of Asgram with Asigramma be accepted, the claims of both Hodi Raja and Ranigat are disposed of, and there does not remain much, if any, doubt as to Aornos having been on Mahaban as described above. Another very strong position on Mahaban is a spur running to the Indus known as Mount Banj. A fort also exists here, and is very difficult of access. Built into the foot of the wall, near the entrance to this fort, was a short inscription, which I obtained and sent to the Lahore Museum. It has not yet been published.

The line taken by Alexander's troops from the Kabul to the Indus has as yet by no means been satisfactorily followed out. But anything further connected with that must be the subject of a separate note. I have mentioned
the above point as regards Aornos as being of particular interest.

For further research in Udyāna, an accurate map of the country is required. When one is published, it will be easy to mark on it all the ruins which can be traced. This will show what a field for research still exists, even in the portion only of the country to which we have free access.

Careful inquiry amongst the Gujjars will elicit much information as to old names still known to them, but not now in general use. If this be first done, and then photographs and plans made, a useful record will be obtained, and excavation, if properly conducted, will produce much of great interest.
למען נ所提供ה לאسة המוסר:
שאני מבפנים התנכלות פרקרמה"ס
כלה האסירים על כל העם היא ממנה
מעי סין יוזר רצון מחולמך ממנה
נשמע בו רעב ROOM שבלא ש有不同的
בשנים של ימינו: כמו כן תראה תן
 mücadeיה על תכלית: כהיות ליתן
胝י מעורב אם כי חבר: רעב ROOM
של מי יצא מעורב: כהיות ליתן
למען נ所提供ה ליפון המוסר
שאני מבפנים התנכלות פרקרמה"ס
כלה האסירים על כל העם היא ממנה
מעי סין יוזר רצון מחולמך ממנה
נשמע בו רעב ROOM שבלא ש有不同的
בשנים של ימינו: כמו כן תראה תן
.executeUpdate על תכלית: כהיות ליתן
胝י מעורב אם כי חבר: רעב ROOM
של מי יצא מעורב: כהיות ליתן
למען נ所提供ה ליפון המוסר
שאני מבפנים התנכלות פרקרמה"ס
כלה האסירים על כל העם היא ממנה
מעי סין יוזר רצון מחולמך ממנה
נשמע בו רעב ROOM שבלא ש有不同的
בשנים של ימינו: כמו כן תראה תן
.executeUpdate על תכלית: כהיות ליתן
胝י מעורב אם כי חבר: רעב ROOM
של מי יצא מעורב: כהיות ליתן
ART. XV.—The Liturgy of the Nile. By the Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.R.A.S.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Description of the MS.
2. Analysis of the Service, followed by Remarks on (a) the Dates of its Celebration, (b) its Malkite Origin, (c) the Biblical portions contained in it.
3. Analogies from (a) the Ritual of the Ancient Egyptians, (b) the Graeco-Roman Period, (c) the Religious Observances of the Coptic Church, (d) Muhammedan times.

II. THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXT.

III. AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES.

IV. A VOCABULARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS AND FORMS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Description of the MS.

The MS. from which the text of the Nile Service is taken is numbered Or. 4951, and is a recent acquisition of the British Museum. It consists of 69 paper leaves, measuring about 6½ ins. by 5 ins., with mostly 15 lines to a page. The quires, 7 in number, are of 10 leaves each (the last leaf being blank). The Syriac letters by which the quires are numbered are written in the middle of the lower margin, both on the last and the first page of each quire. Thus, on fol. 10b, the letter ℹ denotes the end of the first quire, and the same letter also stands on fol. 11a; the letters ם, י, etc., are similarly written on foll. 20b and 21a,
foll. 30b and 31a, etc. The only exception is the absence of the letter ôte on fol. 61a. The style of writing,¹ though smaller, approaches very nearly to that of pl. xx (representing fol. 34a of Add. 14,664) in vol. iii of Wright's "Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum," which has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The letter "ris̄h" is, with very few exceptions, written ⪨² (with two dots instead of one), and the "daleth" is, as a rule, not distinguished by a dot below. There are no diacritic points below the letters, and points over the text (see the first facsimile, representing fol. 38b of the MS. chosen to exemplify some of the characteristics mentioned here) are mainly employed in the following cases: (1) one dot over the letter Ł to mark the aspirate;³ (2) a dot often placed over the σ of both the 3rd person suffix masc. and fem. sing.; (3) the occasional distinction of the plural form by the two dots known as "šeyāmē" (e.g. אנת in the fourth line of the first facsimile); (4) two dots over the inverted pē (ן), and sometimes also over the letter ôte.

¹ The earlier stages of Palestinian Syriac writing are exemplified in plates xviii and xix published in Wright's Catalogue; see also the facsimiles given in Land's "Anecdota Syriaca," vol. iv,¹ and in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Semitic series, vol. i, parts v and ix.

² It is well known that there was a double pronunciation of the "ris̄h" in Palestine (see J. Derenbourg, "Manual du Lecteur," Journal Asiatique, 1870, p. 445), but one can hardly refer the occasional use of ⪨ in this MS. to a difference of pronunciation.

³ Differences from the Edessene Syriac are shown in such words as נפש (Jew. Aram. ܢܒܝ), ܐܠܢܐ, etc. The dot is, however, not used with perfect regularity.
There are no vowel-signs\(^1\) for the Syriac in the MS., and the system of interpunction consists mainly of two, three, or four dots, differently grouped.

It contains the following Services of the Malkite Church, in the Palestinian Syriac dialect, the rubrical directions and several of the headings being in Karshuni, and also embodying prayers and liturgical "formulae" in Greek transcribed into the Syriac character:—

I. Two services for the Consecration of a Church.

\((a)\) The consecration to include the Holy Table. Fol. 2a.

\[\text{Heading: } صٓعٓمٓصٓئٓ بٓطٓعٓأ ظٓجٓعٓأ بٓسٓسٓثٓا بٓسٓسٓثٓا بٓعٓتٓا : نٓعٓآٓآ، صٓعٓمٓصٓئٓ بٓلآجٓعٓأ حلٓضٓثٓا لٓجٓضٓثٓا صٓعٓضٓثٓا صٓعٓطٓثٓا} \]

\[(b)\] The consecration to apply to the Chancel only. Fol. 12b.

\[\text{Heading: } َزٓلٓجٓبٓوٓعٓأ كٓلٓجٓصٓعٓثٓا صٓعٓضٓثٓا بٓمٓلٓجٓعٓمٓا} \]

\(^1\) On the vowel-signs which are used in connection with the Syriac transcription of Greek words, see further on.

\(^2\) For ٓحٓيٓعٓسٓ in the sense of "consecration" see Dozy, Supplement aux Dict. Arab., vol. ii, p. 455.

\(^3\) i.e. "المايدة".
II. A series of Ordination Services for Celibate Clergy.

(a) The Ordination of Readers. Fol. 16α.

Heading: ὅθεν τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν τάσην ἐνημερώσει μεν ἔμενεν ἕως ἐν τῷ ἔνθα

At the end of this Service: ἰδώρ αἴσθησεν τὸ κεφάλι πάντας ἐν συναγωγῇ

This prohibition to marry is not repeated at the end of the other Services belonging to this series, as the obligation of celibacy being taken at the ordination to the lower degree covers the ordinations that follow.

(b) The Ordination of Deacons. Fol. 18α.

Heading: ἦλθεν μοι ᾿Αμα γεναλλάτωρ ἐν τῷ

(c) The Ordination of Priests. Fol. 22α.

Heading: ἦλθεν μοι ᾿Αμα γεναλλάτωρ ἐν τῷ

At the end of this Service is the following colophon:

1 Note the use of ᾿Ασμον αύτος in this place to express the Greek παρατρέποντας. The usual Pal. Syr. rendering is ᾿Ασμον, whilst ᾿Ασμον αύτος is the regular translation of the Syro Hexaplar.

2 i.e. χαιρετος (for χαιρετος). The separation into two words, as written above, appears to show that the etymological sense of the word was unknown to the copyist.

3 ατε is here used for δε; in the "Liturgy of the Nile," ατε occurs for δ (see p. 696, l. 6).
i.e. "Finished by the help of the Lord; the prayer of the laying on of hands is finished. I, Antony, the sinful Metropolitan. Pray for me, my masters, and everyone shall be rewarded according to his prayer. Amen."

If the Metropolitan Antony, who appears to have written the MS., could be identified, the period to which the copy belongs would cease to be uncertain; but, unfortunately, he does not appear to be mentioned in Le Quien's "Oriens Christianus," nor can I find a trace of him in Neale's work on the "Holy Eastern Church." Some scholar who has made a special study of the Malkite ecclesiastical history of that time might be able to throw light on the subject.

III. The Liturgy of the Nile. Fol. 27a.

Heading: صمصام بِهَام حَمِيْتُ مَسَٰحِهُ لَكَمْ

مُمَّطَّبَةَ : مُصَصَّبَ أَمْيَلَ الْبَيْتَ لِبَيْتٍ لِيْسَ مَتَّى

For the full heading and translation, see pp. 695, 711; an analysis of the Service, together with an account of the lessons from the Holy Scriptures, will be given in the second part of the Introduction.

IV. A series of Ordination Services for Non-celibate Clergy.

(a) The Ordination of Readers. Fol. 43a.

Heading: صمصام لَهَا مَصَبَّرَةٌ مَسَٰحِهُ لَكَمْ

(b) The Ordination of Subdeacons. Fol. 48a.

Heading: صمصام لَهَا مَصَبَّرَةٌ لَكَمْ
At the end of this Service:

At the end of this Service:

Heading: (c) The Ordination of Deacons. Fol. 52b.

Heading: (d) The Ordination of Priests. Fol. 60a.

1 One should expect بَلْتَنَّىل.

2 The diacritic points are mostly absent in the latter part of this colophon in the MS. With regard to the style of writing, it ought to be remarked that Dr. Charles Rieu, now the Adams' Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, considers it to be not later than the thirteenth century. His judgment, therefore, strengthens the opinion formed with regard to the MS. as a whole.
Greek 1 transcribed into the Palestinian Syriac character is more common in the second series of Ordination Services than in the rest of the MS. As a photographic illustration fol. 61a is chosen, containing in ll. 5–13 the central formula for the ordination of priests. The barbarous nature of the Syriac transcription will be manifest by a comparison with the Greek 2 which it represents. The use of the Greek vowel-letters ɔ and ω is very conspicuous in other parts of the MS., and there are also slanting strokes and other signs both over and under the lines, the exact force of which will no doubt be elucidated by means of further study. Besides ɔ and ω, the vowel-letter a is found in other places. Occasionally the Syriac letters ܐ (see line 2 of the second facsimile) and ܒ are written over the line to indicate the pronunciation; and there are some other marks, both over and under the line, which an editor of those parts of the MS. will have to consider. In the present publication only the peculiarities occurring in the “Liturgy of the Nile” have been treated on as fully as possible.

On the last page of the MS. the invocation ܐܒܕܐ (

t. 50) is written twice in yellowish ink in a very similar—if not the same—hand as the rest of the MS., the Arabic translation (of the same date) being in both cases written underneath the Syriac.

Then follow two Arabic sentences in the same hand as the invocation:

سيل بعض الابا متي يكون العيد | واجاب وقائ بل يوم تكون (1)

خطاياك منتک بعيد

i.e. “One of the fathers was asked, when the feast shall be?

He answered and said, when thy sins will be far from thee.” (Note the rhyme: بعيد... بعيد.)

1 The few Greek words which occur in the Nile Service will be found re-transcribed into the Greek character in the notes on the translation.

2 ἡ θεία χάρις ἡ τὰ ἁπειρὴν ἑκατερόνη καὶ τὰ ἀλατίνων ἀκαλυκήτων κ.τ.λ. Comp. the formula now used in the Greek Church as given in the Euchologion.
2. Analysis of the Service.

The Service begins with a procession to the ford over the Nile, which is assigned to the Malkite community. One of the priests carries a cross, and the other objects taken are a copy of the New Testament, incense, and wax candles. They group themselves close to a basin into which water out of the Nile had been poured. After the singing of a "troparion," or short hymn, one of the priests addresses the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Metropolitan, and all the priests and deacons present, declaring the object of the Service with the words—"We have come to prepare a good season and an acceptable year; risen is the wellspring of God, the Nile, and by the command of God has it mounted upwards." In connection with this address, which is repeated twice, the following verses\(^1\) from the Psalms are recited as antiphons: xxix, 3; lxv, 10a; lxv, 11; lxv, 12-14. Then comes another "troparion," after which three lessons are read from the Old Testament, viz.: Gen. ii, 4-19 (containing an account of the rivers of Paradise, with one of which, namely Gibon, the Nile is identified); 2 Kings ii, 19-22 (in which the healing of the water by Elisha is related); Amos ix, 5-14a (where the Nile is expressly mentioned). Ps. xxvii, 1 is then said, followed by the reading of Acts xvi, 16-34 (ending with the baptism of the Philippian jailer). After this lesson vv. 10a and 11 of Ps. lxv

---

\(^1\) Note that all references to Old Testament passages relate to the printed text of the Hebrew Bible.
are once more recited, and subsequent to this St. Matt. xiv, 22–34 (containing the account of Jesus walking on the waters of the Lake of Gennesareth) is read. The chief priest then pronounces a blessing over the water that is in the basin, using the words of St. Luke ii, 14 ("Praise be to God in the heights," etc.), Ps. li, 17, and lxxi, 8. The two longest prayers of the Service come next. In the first of these the water which had been put into the basin is spoken of as "an offering" to God "of the firstlings of its rising," and as "a type and a figure" of the waters of the Nile.

The latter part of the Service contains the more specially characteristic ceremony connected with it. After the renewed recital of the verses from the Psalms which were sung before, the cross is dipped three times into the water of the basin, the priest saying the words—"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen." All the people present then drink of the holy water, and after the repetition of a few versicles and responses by the archdeacon, the officiating priest, and the deacon, the Service is concluded with a special form of the doxology.

(a) Times of the Service.

The dates between which the present Service was held do not quite agree with the period of the gradual rise of the Nile in Lower Egypt. The "Lailat an-Nuṣṭah," or the night during which a miraculous¹ drop was believed to fall into the Nile and thus cause its increase, is that of the 17th of June, and the greatest height is reached on the 26th or 27th of September. The actual period of the gradual rise is between the summer solstice and the

¹ On this popular belief, as on the various dates connected with the rise of the Nile, see Lane's "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," ii, pp. 224–236; Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 20–24; also Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," ii, p. 428.
autumnal equinox; but, according to the heading of
the Service in the MS., the season of its celebration fell
between the Sunday of the 318 Nicene fathers and the
feast of St. Mark as anciently celebrated at Alexandria,
that is (taking the dates of this year, 1896) between
May 17 and Sept. 23. It may be argued that the very
early beginning of the celebration is due to the fact that
in the upper parts of the Nile the rising naturally begins
much earlier. Khartûm\(^1\) is actually reached by the swelling
tide of the Blue Nile in the middle of May, and at the
cataracts\(^2\) the rise is perceived about the end of May or
the beginning of June. It is very doubtful, however,
whether these facts would be taken account of by the
Malkite community of Alexandria, and it certainly appears
more likely that the dates of the present Service were
suggested by those of the Christian festivals which occurred
on those days. Their object was evidently to dissociate
their worship and thanksgiving as much as possible from
the customs that prevailed around them. They probably
had some special reason for selecting the Sunday of the
318 Nicene fathers as the starting-point. The feast of
Pentecost, which falls on the Sunday following, would be
particularly suitable for the celebration connected with the
blessings which are secured by the increase of the Nile;
and for the conclusion of the cycle the day following the
feast of St. Mark, which was held on Sept. 23, would be
selected as occurring very near the actual greatest height
of the Nile waters.

(b) The Malkite Origin of the Service.

Not much need be said to prove the Malkite\(^3\) origin
of the Service. The structure of it is distinctly that of the

---

\(^1\) See Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
\(^3\) The term *Malkite* answers to the Syriac word *Malkāyā*, *i.e.* royal. The
Eastern adherents of the decrees issued by the Council of Chalcedon were so
named "propter quod . . . menti imperatoris Marciani se submiserant." See
Greek liturgies from the beginning to the end. The "troparia," the antiphons, and a term like ὑψίλη,¹ are quite enough to stamp it as a service belonging to the Syriac-speaking branch of the Greek Church. The presence of a considerable amount of Greek in Syriac transcriptions is another mark of the same origin. The Ordination "formulae" are also distinctly those of the Greek Church, though containing many interesting variations from those in common use; and it should also be noted that the lesson from St. Matthew ² as indicated in the Nile Service is referred to the well-known Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels, which is acknowledged to be Malkite. In fact, all the Palestinian Syriac MSS. hitherto discovered appear to be Malkite throughout, and there can, in any case, be no question at all as to the Greek ³ character of the Service before us.

(c) The Biblical portions of the Service.

Of the four Biblical ⁴ lessons contained in the Service, it is enough to say in this place that the three lessons from the Old Testament are unmistakably based on the LXX, and that the lesson from the Acts of the Apostles ⁵ is clearly an adaptation of the Peshitta. The fact that these four lessons are given in full, whilst the one from the Gospel of St. Matthew is referred to the Lectionary, does not necessarily show that there was no recognized Lectionary in Palestinian Syriac of the Old Testament and of the rest of

---

¹ The exhortation addressed to the people by the deacon: see p. 726, note 6.
² See p. 720.
³ See also the note on ܐUILabel, p. 714.
⁴ The Biblical portions contained in the Service will be published separately, in complete photographic facsimiles contained in eleven plates, and will be accompanied by full textual and philological notes.
⁵ A proof of the dependence of the Pal. Syr. translation of St. Luke ii, 14 on the Philox. version will be found on p. 720.
the New Testament; for it may be that the four passages, with their exact number of verses, did not constitute Lectionary divisions on any other occasion besides the Service of the Nile.

3. Analogies from other Rituals.

The Malkite or Syro-Greek Liturgy of the Nile, as it is now before us, is peculiarly free from any superstitious element that one may have been led to expect finding in it. If the pouring\(^1\) of some water out of the basin into the Nile formed part of the ceremony, one must, indeed, see in it a reference to the superstitious observance of the "Night of the drop," when, as was believed, the increase of the Nile is caused by a drop falling into the Nile from Heaven; but the rest of the ceremonial is exactly what one should expect to find in a service of the Greek Church. The baptizing, or dipping,\(^2\) of the cross into the water of the basin is evidently a means of consecrating the water from which the worshippers were afterwards to drink. It is, in fact, tantamount to the preparation of holy water with which various Christian communities are fully acquainted. The Biblical character of the Liturgy is, as will have been noticed, fully maintained, and the prayers are also remarkably free from any unorthodox or superstitious element.

It is, however, natural to think that the Christian Nile Service must have some historical connection with the ritual of the ancient Egyptians, and that some analogies will be found for it both in the religious ceremonies of the Coptic

---

\(^1\) See p. 722, note 10.
\(^2\) For the possible connection of this ceremony with an older ritual see p. 693.
Church and the ritual observances of the Muhammedans. It is, then, in this spirit of historical comparison that we must proceed to offer some observations on the other known forms of the Nile Liturgy.

(a) The Ritual of the Ancient Egyptians.

The extent of the Nile ritual among the ancient Egyptians, by whom, as may be expected, the god (Hapi by name) was mystically identified with the fertilizing Nile course, may be gathered from the following lines, forming the thirteenth stanza of a Nile hymn which was composed in the reign of Merenptah, son of Rameses II, nineteenth dynasty:—

"O inundation of Nile, offerings are made to thee;
Oxen are slain to thee;
Great festivals are kept for thee;
Fowls are sacrificed to thee;
Beasts of the field are caught for thee;
Pure flames are offered to thee;
Offerings are made to every god,
As they are made unto Nile.
Incense ascends unto heaven,
Oxen, bulls, fowls are burnt.
Nile makes for himself chasms in the Thebaid.
Unknown is his name in heaven;
He does not manifest his forms,
Vain are all representations."

1 An exhaustive investigation on this subject could, of course, only be undertaken by a specialist in Egyptology.
3 The lines are here quoted from F. C. Cook's translation in "Records of the Past," loc. cit.; Maspero's French translation in "Hymne au Nile" is practically the same as far as this stanza is concerned. In "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 40–42, the first twelve stanzas only are translated.
Even if one allows a certain amount of poetic exaggeration to have had a share in the composition of this hymn, enough—and more than enough—remains to show the great extent, as well as the popularity, of the festivals in question; and the opinion that there must have existed a considerable number of similar hymns specially adapted to the annual Nile celebrations appears to be borne out by almost every indication one meets with in connection with this subject. More definite chronological data of actual Nile festivities are afforded to us by three official \(^2\) "stelae" engraved for the purpose of recording the personal \(^3\) participation of Rameses II, Merenptah, and Rameses III in the religious ceremonies which were observed in connection with the rising of the Nile. Two festivals are there expressly spoken of—the first \(^4\) "on the 15th of Epiphi, when the river was thought to come forth from his two chasms"; and the second \(^4\) "on the 15th of Thoth, when the inundation arrived at 'Khennut,' or Gebel Silsileh." The first of these dates \(^5\) fell, however, about a month after the summer solstice, and the second \(^6\) is evidently the celebration held in connection with the completion of the Nile increase.

The manner of celebrating the Nile festivals need not be dwelt upon in this place, nor will an opinion be hazarded here as to whether there is any truth in the statement that the ancient Egyptians were in the habit \(^7\) of throwing a virgin into the Nile as a sacrifice to the river-god in

---

1 See Brugsch, "Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypten," ii, p. 640.
3 L. Stern, in "Records of the Past," loc. cit., does not appear to agree with Maspero as to the special reason for the engraving of these stelae (see p. 38).
4 L. Stern, loc. cit., p. 38.
5 Ibid., p. 39.
6 Ibid., p. 40.
order to secure a plentiful inundation; but the importance which was attached to the Nile celebrations appears to be perfectly certain. "According to a tradition transmitted from age to age," says Maspero,1 "the prosperity or adversity of the year was dependent upon the splendour and fervour with which they were celebrated"; and judging from the plentiful indications that are to be found on the subject, one is led to expect that some day Egyptologists will discover more actual texts and data than have hitherto come to light.

(b) The Graeco-Roman Period.

A glimpse into the Nile ceremonials of the Graeco-Roman period is obtained from the description given in Heliodorus' romance "Aethiopica," and as it is believed that Heliodorus drew his facts on this point 2 "from the lost works of some Ptolemaic author," one may assume that one is here dealing with data which have a real historical foundation. In the ninth book of his romance (we quote from the English edition of 1622) is the following reference to a Nile festival celebrated at Syene about the time of the summer solstice3: —"For then it happened that Nyloa, the highest feast that the Egyptians have, fell, which is kept holy about Midsummer, at what time the flood increaseth, and it is honoured more than all other for this cause: The Egyptians faine Nylius to bee a god, and the greatest of all gods, equal to heaven, because he watereth their countrey without clouds, or raine that commeth out of the ayre: and thus doth he everywhere without faile, as well as if it should raine."

2 Ibid. (note 3).
With regard to the manner of keeping the festival, the same author says:—"When the feast of *Nylus* was come, the inhabitants fell to killing of beasts, and to doe sacrifice; and for all that their bodies were busied with their present perils, yet their mindes, as much as they might, were godly disposed." The question as to whether the *Niloa* spoken of here corresponds to the Epiphiday mentioned on the stele of Rameses II, need not be discussed now, but the historical continuance of the Nile celebrations into the Graeco-Roman period appears to be established without a doubt, and this is the only point which has a distinct bearing on the present investigation.

(c) The Coptic Church.

The observance of Nile festivals among the Copts is sufficiently attested both by their almanac and by historical tradition. The legend of the "Lailat an-Nuqtah" appears to be very closely connected with the 11th of the month Payni, which falls a few days before the summer solstice, and this more modern form of it seems to have been substituted for an older belief connected with the "Martyr's Festival," which was observed down to the year 754, or 755, of the Hijrah. Other more or less certain historical data appear to show that in later times the principal Nile festivity among the Copts was connected with the official measuring of the Nile by means of the Nilometer. According to one account, this function was performed by a priest at about three o'clock in the afternoon, after

---

the celebration of the Mass; and it is further stated that the Muhammedans, in taking over the function from the Copts, conformed, *mutatis mutandis*, to the religious usages which had been practised before. According to Makrizi,¹ the privilege of measuring the Nile was taken away from the Copts in the year of Hijrah 247 (A.D. 861), by the Khalif al-Mutawakkil, who had also ordered the construction of a grand new Nilometer. It is just possible that the ceremony of baptizing the cross, as observed in the Malkite Liturgy before us, has some connection with the anointing of the Nilometer reported to have been practised by the Muhammedans, and presumably also by the Copts before them.

(d) Muhammedan Observances.

The close relationship of the Muhammedan Nile festivities with those of the Copts, from whom they, in the main, borrowed them, is clear from what has just been said. The religious almanac of the Copts is, indeed, as Lane² has pointed out, the foundations of many customs and beliefs which became prevalent among their Moslem conquerors. A link with some more or less authentic traditions of ancient Egypt is probably to be found in the idea³ that the irruption of the river into the bosom of the land was the presentation of an actual marriage. The reported drawing up⁴ of a contract by a cadi, and the confirming of its consummation by witnesses, is considered by Maspero to be connected with the story of the "Bride of the Nile," by

⁴ See the reference for this report in Maspero, *loc. cit.*
which the above-mentioned legend of the sacrifice\(^1\) of a virgin appears to have been understood. The modern popular and semi-religious observances of the Muhammedans are so fully described in Lane's well-known work on the "Modern Egyptians,"\(^2\) that very little need be said about them in this place. It need only be pointed out that the Crier of the Nile (Munāde-an-Neel) performs his ritual in the streets of Cairo from about the 3rd of July to the 26th or 27th of September, according to our reckoning, and that the "cries" consist of versicles uttered by the "Munādee," and responses made by a boy who accompanies him.

\(^1\) Compare the term "aroosah" (or bride) as applied at the present day to the "round pillar of earth, diminishing towards the top," which is raised at a distance of about sixty feet from the dam. See Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

\(^2\) pp. 225-236.
II. The Palestinian Syriac Text.

1 For ፅጆጆ.  2 MS. እጆጆ.  3 For ወጆጆ.
The words enclosed thus ꞌ are corrupt; see the translation.

2 For 6, see Introduction, p. 680, note 3.

3 The four antiphons are marked by the first four Syriac letters in the margin, and partly also in the body of the page.

4 So the M.S., but omit ʼ which seems to be only a wrong ditography for ʼ that follows. It is also possible that the correct reading is ʼ. ʼ

5 One would expect ʼ (sing.).
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

For Ṣḥabām, see p. 713.

The letters َّ, َّ, and َّ are written in the margin of the MS. to indicate the number of times َََّّّ is used at each response.

For ِّلبَن, the letter َّ is omitted in the MS., but َََّّّ is written in red in the margin.
Genesis II. 4-19.

\[\text{\footnotesize Text in Hebrew script}\]

 Fol. 30a

 Fol. 30b

\footnotesize{1 Corrected, apparently, into הָעֵדֶּה.}
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

I.e. Ebeulār = ḫelāṭ."
2 Kings II. 19-22.

Amos IX. 5-14.a.

1 For ἀκομακαλή.

2 Μὴ after ἀκομακαλή cannot be correct.
1 For ḫāṣāmm. The form of the ḫ is here ẖ.

2 For ḫāḥāmn.

3 So the MS. for the usual ḫāḥāmn.
Acts XVI. 16-34.

1 So the MS. for ܐܘܠܒܐ.
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE. 703

1 Read ٍّلٍّ٥٥, see note 5 on p. 696.
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

Fol. 35b

Fol. 36a

1 MS. न्द्रवात्वर्थ

2 For न्द्रवात्वर्थ?

3 See note 4 on p. 721.

4 See note 5 on p. 721.

5 For न्द्रवात्वर्थ
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

1 Read Ḥaṣāa.
2 So the MS.; for ḫaṣāa (?), see p. 722, note 1.
3 See p. 722, note 2. 4 See note 5 on p. 722. 5 Read Ḥaṣāa.
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

Fol. 38a
(fol. 37b being blank).

لا نأَرِي سُكْنَةَ فَقِيرَةٍ تسَّكَّنُ تَجَّازِرَ النَّافِصَةِ نَفْرَتَهَا تَحْضِيَّةٌ تَمْلَأُهَا

كَيْفَ يُخَلُّقُهَا كَيْفَ يَثْبِتُهَا كَيْفَ يَلْحَجُّهَا ماَكَتَهَا يَحِيضُهَا يَسْتَخْلِقُهَا

هُندَةً قَطَّ وَعُمْرَةً جَزْرَ وَحَمْمَةً نَتْحَمُّهَا عَدْمَ وَلَحْبَهَا يَتَحَمُّهَا عَدْمَ وَلَحْبَهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

فَيَنْهَى فَيَنْهَى أَنْ يَدْخُلَ شَرَّ الْجَهَّالَةِ.

Fol. 38b

لا نأَرِي سُكْنَةَ فَقِيرَةٍ تسَّكَّنُ تَجَّازِرَ النَّافِصَةِ نَفْرَتَهَا تَحْضِيَّةٌ تَمْلَأُهَا

كَيْفَ يُخَلُّقُهَا كَيْفَ يَثْبِتُهَا كَيْفَ يَلْحَجُّهَا ماَكَتَهَا يَحِيضُهَا يَسْتَخْلِقُهَا

هُندَةً قَطَّ وَعُمْرَةً جَزْرَ وَحَمْمَةً نَتْحَمُّهَا عَدْمَ وَلَحْبَهَا يَتَحَمُّهَا عَدْمَ وَلَحْبَهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

لَعِيدَةً هَامِةً آلِصَافَةٍ يَرَأَهَا تَمْرَهَا يَكْتُبُهَا تَحْطِبُهَا تَؤْلِفُهَا تَحْقِبُهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا تَتْهَلُّهَا

فَيَنْهَى فَيَنْهَى أَنْ يَدْخُلَ شَرَّ الْجَهَّالَةِ.

1 See note 1 on p. 724.

2 For مَذَد.
Read du'iz. On the possible meaning of this passage (evidently corrupt) see p. 724.

In the original passage (Amos ix. 6): אֲדוּשָׁם לָכ֖וּם.

The mark " before du'iz may possibly be a sign of punctuation.

The passage enclosed in ( ) is hopelessly corrupt in every clause; see p. 725.
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

1 Read לארז. 2 רע"מו א"ו is untranslatable in this place.
3 So the MS. for רומאכ. 4 Read נסלל.
5 For וללכ? 6 Apparently corrupt.
THE LITURGY OF THE NILE.

1. Note the form 1.°
2. Note the form 2.
3. For 3.°
4. For 4.°
5. See note 3 on p. 727.
III. Translation.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, do we write the Order of the feast of the blessed Nile [which is observed] on the Sunday\(^1\) of the three hundred and eighteen fathers, [and also] from the Sunday\(^1\) of Pentecost [and onwards], and after the conclusion of the feast\(^1\) of St. Mark the Evangelist. And the priests go to the ford of the congregation, one priest carrying the venerated cross, and taking with them the holy Gospel, and incense, and wax candles; [and approaching] a basin, into which water had been put, they shall say this troparon\(^2\) in the sixth\(^3\) tone to the tune of "Bear that which time does bring"—

The Lord has gone up to heaven, in order that He may send the comforting\(^4\) Spirit to the world. Heaven has been prepared for Him as a throne, and the clouds are His chariot. The angels were astonished when they saw the Son of Man rise above them. The Father beholds Him crowned\(^5\) who had never been separated from His bosom. The Holy Spirit commands all His angels: Lift up your gates, O ye chiefs. All the nations clapped their hands, because Christ has gone up\(^6\) to where He was before.

\(^1\) Of the three dates mentioned, the "Sunday of the 318 Nicene fathers" is the one which precedes the Sunday of Pentecost (Whitsunday), the latter coinciding this year (1896) with the Latin date of the festival (May 12 Gr. cal. = May 24 Lat. cal.), as Easter Day fell on the identical date (March 24 = April 5). The feast of St. Mark spoken of here is not April 25, which is the day now assigned to the evangelist in the Byzantine calendar, but Sept. 23, the day dedicated to St. Mark at Alexandria in ancient times (see Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. ii, p. 1089). For further remarks on the dates of the Service see the Introduction.

\(^2\) On the troparon see Neale's "History of the Holy Eastern Church," General Introduction, pp. 832, 918. The word is "the generic term for all the short hymns of which the services of the Greek Church almost entirely consist."

\(^3\) The sixth of the eight tones of the Greek services is called βαπτός: see Neale, op. cit., Gen. Intro., p. 830.

\(^4\) Literally "the Spirit of the Comforter." In the Edessene Syriac the word would mean "the resuscitator" instead of "the comforter": see F. Schwally, "Idioticon des Christlich Palastinischen Aramäisch," p. 54.

\(^5\) See the note on בָּאָה, p. 712.

\(^6\) The rendering "to where He was before" is free, the text being evidently corrupt.
And after they had finished this troparion shall one of the priests address this call for prayer to the chief of the priests:—
O holy one of God, who is perfected in excellency, N.N., pope and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, chief of the chiefs of the priests; and [thou], N.N., the upright metropolitan; and all [ye] assemblies of priests, and orders of deacons, through many years enduring: we have come to prepare a good season and an acceptable year; risen is the well-spring of God, the Nile, and by the command of God has it mounted upwards; [saluted be thou, O] Nile! and all the priests respond to him, and say, O holy one of God (antiphon). All the priests say: "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters: the Lord of glory thundereth:"

1 The word "pope" is here merely used to represent in an exact literal manner the Syriac word סאן.
2 The text reads "Alexandria."
3 מַעְדָּן is equivalent to the Hebrew יִשְׂרָאֵל; מַעְדָּן occurs in Pal. of I Kings ix, 4 (see "Anecdota Oxoniensia," vol. i, part 9).
4 It seems best to translate מַצְלַחָה in this place by "enduring" (see P.S. Thes., cols. 1856, 1860), though the word מַצְלַחָה in the preceding troparion was best rendered by "crowned," in accordance with the special meaning of the root in Palestinian Syriac and the allied dialects (see Schwally's "Idioticum d. Chr. Pal. Aram."). Note also the instances of the same signification in Biblical Hebrew, as e.g. the Af'el וּנְיוֹרֵי נַחַל in Prov. xiv, 18.
5 With מַעְדָּן, literally "the son of the well," comp. the Talmudic מַעְדָּן תָּב (Hullin, fol. 106a).
6 מַעְדָּן appears to be the same as מַעְדָּן, O! The rendering given above probably represents the full meaning which the interjection is intended to convey in this place.
7 i.e. to the priest who opened the Service.
8 The words "O holy one of God" are probably only the beginning of the response.
9 On the exact meaning of the term "antiphon," see Neale, op. cit.; General Introduction, pp. 364, 368. Here it relates to the verse or verses from the Psalms, followed each time by "O holy one of God," etc.
10 Psalm xxix, 3.
11 מַעְדָּן = Hebr. מַעְדָּן, LXX ἦμεραν, Peshitta מַעְדָּן. So also in Pal. St. John xii, 29: מַעְדָּן where the Peshitta has מַעְדָּן.
the Lord is upon many waters." And all the priests and the people respond to him and say, O holy one of God; and furthermore he shall say the second Psalm: "The river of God is filled with water; Thou hast prepared the food, for thus is Thine ordinance." And the priests and the people respond together: O holy one of God. And furthermore this antiphon: "Its ridges hast Thou watered, and increased the fruit thereof; through the raindrops is it rejoiced and quickened." And all the priests respond: O holy one of God. And he shall say the fourth antiphon: "Thou beseechest the crown of the year of Thy goodness, and Thy plains shall be filled with fatness of fatnesses. May the land of Egypt prosper in it, and let the hills gird themselves with joy. The rams of the flocks shall become clothed, and the valleys shall be overgrown with wheat; they shall rejoice, yea, and they also shall sing." And all the priests and the people respond thus: O holy one of God. And they shall say: Glory. And all the priests and the people respond.
respond: O holy one of God. And they shall say: From eternity to the eternity of eternities. And all the priests and the people respond: O holy one of God. Once more they shall recite the whole call for prayer from the beginning to the end. One of the priests shall say: O Nile. And all the priests and the people respond once: O Nile. And the priest shall say twice: O Nile. And all the priests and people shall respond twice: O Nile. And the priest shall say three times: O Nile. And all the priests and people shall respond three times: O Nile. And they furthermore recite this troparin in the second tone:

Thou wast born in accordance with all that Thou hast desired, and Thou hast appeared in accordance with all that Thou hast planned. Thou hast suffered in the flesh, O our God. And from the dead hast Thou risen, and hast trodden upon death. Thou hast risen in the glory which filleth all, and hast sent us Thy Holy Spirit, in order that we may sing and offer praises to Thy Godhead.

And one reads the first lesson from Genesis:

GEN. II, 4–19.

v. 4. This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when the day was on which the Lord God made heaven and earth.
v. 5. And no green thing of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the earth had yet sprung up; for the Lord God had not caused rain to rain upon the face of the earth, and there was no man that he may till the earth.

v. 6. But a well was rising up from the earth, and was watering the whole face of the earth.

v. 7. And the Lord God formed the man Adam of the dust of the earth, and He blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man Adam became a living soul.

v. 8. And the Lord God planted a paradise in Eden in front on the east side, and He placed there the man Adam whom He had formed.

v. 9. And the Lord God caused again to grow every tree that is pleasing for sight and good for eating; and the tree of life in the middle of paradise, and the tree of understanding the knowledge of good and evil.

v. 10. And a river was issuing from Eden that it may water the paradise, and from thence it divided [itself], and became into four heads.

v. 11. The name of one is Pison: this is it which encircles the whole land of Olōt, where there is gold.

v. 12. And the gold of that land is good, and there is the carbuncle and the emerald.

v. 13. And the name of the second river is Gihon: this is it which encircles the whole land of Cush.

v. 14. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: this is it which goes in the direction of the Syrians. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

v. 15. And the Lord God took the man Adam whom He had formed, and He placed him into the paradise of Eden that he should dress it and keep it.

v. 16. And the Lord God commanded Adam and said unto him. Of all the trees that are in the paradise eating mayest thou eat.

v. 17. But of the tree of understanding the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for on the day on which thou eatest thereof dying shalt thou die.
v. 18. And the Lord God said, that, behold it is not good that the man Adam should be alone, but let us make him a helper like unto him.

v. 19. And the Lord formed again from the earth every beast of the field, and every fowl of heaven, and he brought them to Adam that he might see what he would call them; and everything that Adam called them a living soul that was its name.¹

---

The lesson that is read from the fourth book of Kings²:—

2 Kings II, 19–22.

v. 19. And the men of the city said to Elisha, Behold the habitation of the city is good, as our lord seeth, but the water is bad, and the land is barren.

v. 20. And Elisha said, Bring me one new pot, and throw salt into it; and they brought [it] to him.

v. 21. And Elisha went out unto the springs of the water, and he threw salt therein, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters, and there shall no more be thence that which is dead or is bereft.³

v. 22. And these waters were healed unto this day, according to the word of Elisha which he spake.

---

The third lesson is read from the prophet Amos:—

Amos IX, 5–14a.

v. 5. Thus saith the Lord God, the all-apprehending One, He who toucheth the whole earth, and shaketh it,⁴ and all those that inhabit it, shall mourn; and it shall rise up like the river of Egypt which⁵ buildeth its rising in heaven.

¹ The above is the verbatim rendering of the latter part of the verse; the meaning no doubt is—"and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was its name."
² Literally "of Kingdoms" (LXX βασιλείας).
³ Or ""barren."
⁴ Or ""and it shaketh."
⁵ Or ""He who buildeth."
v. 6. And establisheth its promises on the earth; He who calleth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, the Lord God, the all-apprehending One, is His name.

v. 7. Are ye not like children of the Ethiopians, O ye children of Israel? saith the Lord. Israel have I brought up from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Cappadocia, and the Syrians from the depth.

v. 8. Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are against the kingdom of the sinners, and I will remove it from the face of the earth; only so as not to destroy completely will I remove the house of Jacob, saith the Lord.

v. 9. For behold, I command, and I shall winnow among all nations the house of Israel, as one winnoweth straw with a winnowing-fork; there shall not [anything] fall upon the earth in the pounding thereof.

v. 10. By the sword, then, shall die the sinners [of my people] who say, These evils will not approach us, nor come upon us.

v. 11. And on that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David which had fallen down, and I will build up its ruin, and raise up its destruction, and I will build it up as in the days of old.

v. 12. In order that the rest of men, and all the nations upon whom my name is called, may seek [it], saith the Lord, who doeth these things.

v. 13. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, and the threshing shall overtake the vintage, and the vintage the seed[-time], and the grapes shall mix with the seed, and the mountains shall drop sweetness, and all the hills shall be planted.

---

1 Or "His."
2 It may also be rendered "from the Cappadocians," but "from Cappadocia" is required by the Hebrew, LXX, and Peshitta.
3 Or "those who say."
4 Or "that which had fallen down."
5 i.e. the tabernacle spoken of in v. 11; or "the Lord" with the Alexandrine text of the LXX?
6 Or "He who doeth."
v. 14a. And I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel.

Finished is the lesson from the Prophets. Then shall be said a Psalm in the third tone: "The Lord is my light and my redeemer; whom shall I fear?" Its response: "The Lord protects my life; of whom shall I be afraid?" Then is recited that which is read from the Acts of the Apostles:—

Acts xvi, 16–34.

v. 16. In those same days, as the apostles were going to the house of prayer, there met them a certain young woman who had a spirit of divination, and she was bringing her masters much gain by the divination which she was divining.

v. 17. And she was following Paul and us, and she was thus crying and saying, These men are the servants of the Most High God, and they announce to you the way of life.

v. 18. And thus was she doing many days; and Paul became angry, and said to that spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ that thou go out of her; and in that same hour did the spirit depart.

v. 19. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gain had gone out from her, they seized Paul and Silas, and they dragged them and brought them to the market-place.

v. 20. And they brought them to the magistrates and to the chief men of the city, and they said, that these men trouble our city, because they are Jews.

1 ἔρθεν = προφητεύει.

2 The name of the third of the eight tones is β': see Neale, op. cit., Gen. Introd., p. 830.

3 Ps. xxvii, 1; the rendering "redeemer" points to the LXX σώτηρ, but is not a literal translation of ἀπερατωτητής.

4 Literally "of a diviner."
v. 21. And they teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, or to observe, because we are Romans.

v. 22. And a great assembly was assembled against them; then did the magistrates tear their clothes, and commanded that they should scourge them.

v. 23. And when they had scourged them much, they cast them into prison, and commanded the prison-keeper that he should keep them carefully.

v. 24. He, therefore, having received such a command, brought [them in, and] bound them in the inner prison-house, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

v. 25. And in the middle of the night, Paul and Silas were praying and praising God, and the prisoners heard them.

v. 26. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, and the foundations of the prison were shaken, and all the doors were suddenly opened, and the bands of all of them were loosed.

v. 27. And when the prison-keeper awoke, and saw that the doors of the prison were open, he took a sword, and wanted to kill himself, because he thought that the prisoners had fled.

v. 28. And Paul called unto him with a loud voice, and said unto him, Do thyself no harm, because we are all here.

v. 29. And he lighted himself a lamp, and sprang and came in trembling, and fell at the feet of Paul and Silas.

v. 30. And he brought them out, and said to them, Sirs, what befits me that I should do, so as to be saved.

v. 31. And they said to him, Believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole house.

v. 32. And they spake to him the word of the Lord, and to all his household.

v. 33. And in the same hour, in the same night, he led [them] and washed their stripes; and in the same hour was he baptized, and all his household.

---

1 Literally "in the inner house of the prison-house."
2 Literally "with."
3 Literally "washed them of their stripes, or stripe?" (i.e. beating).
c. 34. And he led [them] and brought them to his house, and placed meat ¹ before them; and he rejoiced, he and his household, in the faith of God.

And for ² the Alleluyah: ³ "The river of God is filled with water." Another: ⁴ "Its ridges hast Thou watered, and increased the fruit thereof." And a lesson shall be read from the Gospel of Matthew. Look for the ninth Sunday after Pentecost ⁴ (from Matthew). And when the Gospel lesson is finished, shall the deacon say a prayer. And the chief priest shall say this prayer over the basin ⁵ of water: O cistern ⁶ of water! (his face being turned to the east). ⁷ "Praise be to God in

¹ Literally "a table."
² For in the sense of pro see P.S. Thes., col. 2887.
³ See above, p. 713.
⁴ See Miniscalchi Erizzo, "Evangelarium Hierosolymstanum," p. 143. The lesson comprises St. Matt. xiv, 22-34, containing the account of Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee, and thus being as appropriate to the occasion as the three lessons from the Old Testament and the one from the Acts of the Apostles. One may, perhaps, conclude that the Gospel Lectionary was the only one which was widely in use. It may, however, be held that the reason for the other lessons being given in full is to be sought in the fact (?) that the exact number of verses were not used at any other Service.
⁵ See p. 711.
⁶ ⁶ = Lat. piscina, Gr. παρακλησίον.
⁷ St. Luke, ii, 14. The final ⁷ of ⁷ stands for ¹, as is often the case in the MS. The reading ² at the end of the verse is remarkable. The Palest. Gospel Lectionary has ². The translation given above assumes the same use of ² as in the Lord's Prayer (Pesh. also ² in the Lord's Prayer, but ² in St. Luke ii, 14). The explanation of this remarkable reading must be sought in the rendering of εὐαγγέλια by ² ² in the Philoxenian version (ed. White). The Palest. Lectionary then omitted ², and in the present text ² was further altered into ². This appears to show the dependence of the Palest. Syr. upon the Philoxenian version.
the heights, and upon earth peace, amongst men [be] Thy will [done]” — 1 “O Lord, my lips hast Thou opened, and my mouth is telling forth Thy praise” — 2 “My mouth has been filled with praise, so that I may sing Thy praise, the whole day the greatness of Thy beauty.” — And the priest shall say this prayer: O Lord of all goodness, O Lord, the all-apprehending. One, God of all consolation, who hast established the heavens with wisdom, and hast crowned them with their orders of stars, and hast founded the earth upon water, and hast beautified 3 it with flowers, and hast planted the paradise in Eden, and hast created in it the tree of life; Thou who hast made the expanse of the sea, and hast hemmed it in with sand, and hast commanded that out of one spring there should issue four rivers, and hast caused 4 their names to be known in the inhabited world, and hast caused 5 each one of them to flow, 5 and [hast appointed] the path which befits it: the first among them, Pison, which encircles the land of Lot, 6 which is towards the north, 7 and Hiddekel, 8 and the Euphrates. And Thou hast commanded them that they should become separated in the middle of the earth. And this Nile hast Thou commanded that it should rush, and pour itself out, and flow

1 Ps. li, 17. The perfect άλλορ appears to be free.
2 Ps. lxxi, 8. Translated from the LXX, the clause “ἀπὸς ὀμηροῦ τῆς δόξας σου” not being represented in the Mas. text.
3 If the be here a mistake for the, the literal rendering would be “and hast painted it.”
4 έκτός ....... άλλορ is by no means a Semitic construction.
One should, perhaps, emend the latter word into έκτός, and the translation would then be “and hast assigned [to them] their names which are known in the inhabited world.”
5 For άλλορ in the sense of ὄψηματα τῶν τοπαμῶν, see Land, “Anecd. Syr.,” vol. iv, 105, line 6. The present passage can hardly be translated differently.
6 άλλορ = Εδέσια = άναίρ.
7 Taking έκτός to stand for έκτός.
8 The final έ in έκτός stands for 1. See p. 720, note 7.
upon gardens (?) and lands . . . and the borders of the Ethiopians, and that it should water the whole land of Egypt, and that it should satiate it, so that its seed should be enriched, and its fruit abundantly multiplied . . . for the support of those who dwell in it, as we even now make an offering unto Thee of the firstlings of its rising. We laud and sing with praises, and we ask and beg of Thee, for Thou art gracious and merciful, that Thou mayest prepare its lifting up in peace, and that it may mount up by Thy grace to the border of its measure. The congregation says: Amen. The deacon says: [Let us bow] our heads [to the Lord]. The priest says: Present thy blessing to the land, for Thou art good, by means of the water of the Nile. Multiply the fruits of the land of Egypt, on account of the needs of thy people, for Thou art the source of goodness and the sea of blessing, as all good gifts are from Thee. We, therefore, beg of Thee, O Creator of all things, that Thou mayest bless the waters of the river Nile. By means of this water which is put in multiply the waters of the

1 If be the right reading, it might be compared with see P.S. Thes., coll. 743, 765.
2 can hardly be translated. Are "the lands on both sides of the Nile which are burnt up (i.e. parched) " meant?
3 must apparently be taken to stand for : comp., p. 713.
4 Note the application to a physical process, whereas its proper signification (studioso, diligenter) qualifies a mental act.
5 Untranslatable. would mean "and of the wells"; something appears to have dropped out. See p. 705, l. 5.
6 Note the forms and .
7 Greek: τὰς κεφαλὰς ημῶν [τὰς Κυρίες Κληρωμάτων].
8 On the root see Schwally, op. cit., p. 96.
9 evidently represents the Hebrew אֱלֹהֵי, Aramaic אֱלֹהֵי. Compare Gen. xlix, 26: הָאֵלֹהֵי הָעָם הַבְּרֵאשִׁים.
10 Part of the ceremony appears to have consisted in pouring some water, previously taken from the Nile, into the river; this is the offering which is spoken of before as "the firstlings of its rising." It is possible, however, that only refers to the pouring of the water into the basin.
river Nile, so that the earth may bring forth her fruit. For we who are standing by these waters that are put in as a type and a figure have made it a sign of the waters of the rivers of the Nile. And we now beg of Thee, and ask, and beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou mayest send Thy blessing upon the waters of the river Nile; and as the water which one drinks provides life and strength to the bones, thus may it provide to the inner parts of the earth supernal strength which by Thee is made full and perfect, so that this seed which has sprung out of the earth may grow. And on this account do we beg of Thee, O Lord, who art very merciful and loveth man, that Thou mayest lift up the waters of the river Nile to the perfect height of the border of [its] waters, so that the river of God, the waters of the Nile, may be filled, O God. Renew from it food for Thy congregation according to [Thine] ordinance. Visit the earth with the water of the river Nile, and satiate it. Multiply without number its waters and its wells. Satiate all the valleys, and plains, and fields, and its harbours. Multiply its fruit, so that the earth may rejoice, overgrown with good fruit, and rejoicing with beautiful and shining grapes and pure flowers, by means of the waters of the Nile. Thou blessest the crown of the year of Thy goodness, and Thy plains shall be filled with fatness; and may the land of Egypt prosper in it by means of the waters of the river Nile, and may the hills gird themselves with joy, and may the valleys be overgrown with wheat; may they rejoice, yea, may they also sing, on account of the needs of Thy congregation.

1 must be taken to stand for.

2 Note the form.

3 Note the form, which is evidently the imperative of an Af'el of.

4 Apparently an allusion to Ps. lxv, 10 (last word) : see p. 713.

5 apparently = (from the Greek).

6 Note this signification of.

7 Compare Ps. lxv, 12-14, as given on p. 713.
And bless us furthermore, our Lord and our God, that we may bring, and give,\(^1\) and produce good spiritual fruit, sweet, and pleasant, and acceptable\(^2\) to Thee, one a hundredfold, and one sixtyfold, and one thirtyfold. And forgive us our sin, and blot out our transgressions, on account of Thy blessed name, and Thy landed kingdom, and Thy glorified majesty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now [and] for ever and ever. Amen. Another prayer: Thou, O God, who, in the fulness of the times, hast opened the womb of her that was barren, and hast given [her son]\(^3\) a name that he may tell for all generations [the praises of her]\(^4\) from whom Thy Godhead put on the form of humanity: hear the voice of the prayer and supplication of Thy congregation. On the same day on which we call upon Thee send Thy promise\(^4\) upon the earth, and may the river Nile rise up, and be poured out, and water the whole land of Egypt, [the Nile] which buildeth its rising in heaven, [and] which stands in need of blessings.\(^5\) May the face of the earth be covered, and may be lifted up the river Nile, which is the joy\(^6\) of the whole earth, and may herb grow for all those who dwell in it; and mayest Thou give fruit for seed and bread for eating, so that the people may eat and be satisfied, and confess to the name of Thy Godhead that there is no other God beside Thee.

\(^1\) מְלֹאָה means literally "and that we may be given." One should expect מְלֹא.

\(^2\) Note the uncertainty in the usage of gender and number. To מְלֹא belong the adjectival form מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, and מְלֹא. Such irregularities are not rare in the MS.

\(^3\) This translation is conjectural, the text in its present form being very enigmatical. In the translation it is assumed that the mother of John the Baptist is spoken of first, and that John was destined to tell the praises of the Virgin Mary. This rendering is, however, not without its difficulties.

\(^4\) With comp. מְלֹא בָּא in Amos ix, 6.

\(^5\) מְלֹא, literally "those that bestow blessings."

\(^6\) This appears to be the sense intended by מְלֹא. One should expect a copula or מְלֹא (Palest. for מְלֹא) to accompany the relative מְלֹא.
The heavens were sealed, and the earth did not yield her fruit, and the inhabitants of the land were distressed in the former generations, on account of the transgression which was rising up from them.] But Thou, according to the multitude of Thy mercies, hast effected a reconciliation between the earth and the heavens, and hast made peace between the two, at the time when the assembly of Thy holy angels stand in the morning at the rising of the sun, [and] sing to Thee with them, saying: "Praise be to God in the heights, and upon earth peace, and amongst men [be] Thy will [done]." That peace give to us and to all the people that stand before Thee ......... and open the treasures of Thy good blessings [that are] in the river Nile, and pour them out upon the face of the earth, and cause herb and fruit to grow for all that dwell in it. May the trees rejoice, and may fruit multiply, and may the people eat and be satisfied, and make acknowledgment to Thy name, for Thou art their Father who is in the heavens, and we are standing before Thee, and beg for Thy mercies. Make us worthy that with simple minds worthy of Thy Godhead, we may approach and kiss one another with a holy kiss, as has been delivered to us by Thy holy [and] blessed apostles, who have pleased Thee, and done Thy will: by the intercession of the holy and pure blessed one, the mother of God, the pure virgin, our Lady Mary,

1 The passage is manifestly corrupt, and the translation here proposed is entirely conjectural.
2 On ἐν τῷ καιρῷ in the sense of quo tempore, quum, see P. S. Thea., col. 1884.
3 i.e. with the heavens and the earth?
4 St. Luke ii, 14: see note on p. 720. Instead of the simple preposition is used on p. 704, l. 7.
5 Two words of which the translation would be "in it the holy one" are here in the original.
6 See Schwally, op. cit., p. 96.
7 See Rom. xvi, 16.
8 Note the form = Edes. Syr. 
9 λατά for καθαρά.
and the prayer of St. John, the forerunner and baptist, and of our lords, the holy apostles, and our righteous fathers, and the chiefs of the blessed priests, and the glorified martyrs. Stretch out Thy right hand, and bless Thy servants with every spiritual blessing in heaven and earth. And to Thee do we cause to rise up glory, and honour, and worship, and confession, even to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and ever. Amen. And after this shall the priest take the cross, and they shall repeat all [the portions of] Psalms which were [said] at the beginning of the prayer. 2 (Then shall the chiefs [of the priests] repeat the Psalms which are at the beginning of the prayer, and the people respond as it is [there] written; and "Glory" 3 and "from eternity," 4 and the people say thus.) And after this does the priest immerse the generated cross three times, saying: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen." And the people shall say: Amen. And all the people drink of the holy water. And the archdeacon shall say: "Have mercy upon us, O God, according to the multitude," etc. And the priest adds 5: "Because God is merciful." The people say: Amen. The deacon says: Sofia. 6 The people say: 7 "Bless, O ye saints." The priest says: "The blessed One." 8 The people say:

---

1 The construction οὐδ’ ἔμπνευσι is very strange.
2 The part enclosed thus ( ) is partly a repetition of the preceding directions.
3 Both these expressions refer to the doxology.
4 It is not stated what they shall say.
5 Πλευρὰ appears to mean here "he recites aloud": see Cardahi, "Al-Lubab," vol. ii, p. 619; comp. the Arabic Πλευρά.
6 The fuller form of this exhortation addressed to the people by the deacon is Σοφία ἐρόει "wisdom, erect," or Σοφία, πρὸς ἀκοήν "wisdom, let us attend." See Katharine Lady Lechmere's "Synopsis," Introduction (by T. Gennadius), pp. xiii, xiv.
7 Εὐλογεῖτε ἡγιαστήν. "Bless, O ye saints."
8 Greek: τὸν εὐλογητόν.
"Amen; confirm it, O God." The priest concludes:

"Because by Thee and with Thee do we take refuge, and by Thee are we sanctified, and to Thee do we offer confession and praise, even to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen."


1 Apparently στρεφείν ω θεός, "confirm Thou, O God," as a kind of translation of "Amen."

2 For the usual meaning of see Schwally, op. cit., p. 51.

3 is very strange in this place, as can only mean "from Thee [we] flee." There is probably some corruption in this passage.
IV. Vocabulary of Unusual Words and Forms.1

ءريب (Eveilat, ḫewr), p. 699, l. 4.
 khôl, p. 696, l. 11, passim.
لأبجد p. 699, l. 8.
أمن, p. 704, l. 2 from bottom.
لأمد (Almád), p. 699, l. 4 fr. bottom.
لأمد, p. 700, l. 5; لأسح, p. 702, l. 13.
لأمس (for لأسح), p. 708, l. 8.
لأفس for لأسح (besides similar instances), p. 708, l. 5.
لأفس (Lám) in لاص, p. 705, l. 4.
لأمس, p. 704, l. 10 fr. bottom.
لأمس, ἐναγγέλιον, p. 695, l. 7; p. 704, l. 2.
لأمس, p. 702, l. 7.
لأمس, p. 695, l. 6.
لأمس, p. 696, l. 9.
لأمس “carbuncle,” p. 699, l. 5.
لأمس, p. 705, l. 2.
لأمس, see لأمس.

1 Only the more important words and forms are collected in this list. It will be seen that, besides some entirely new additions to the Palestinian Syriac vocabulary, the Nile Service also exhibits fresh examples of words, forms, and shades of meaning, of which only a scant number of instances were known before. The Arabic words occurring in the text are not noted here.
in ἢστρα, p. 706, l. 7.

in γεύσασθαι, p. 705, l. 8; p. 706, l. 5.

ἀγρός, p. 698, l. 13 fr. bottom; p. 699, l. 5 fr. bottom.

"raindrops," p. 697, l. 1.

(grounded on a physical process), p. 705, l. 5.

p. 696, l. 6; p. 708, l. 7 fr. bottom.

"emerald," p. 699, l. 5.

"crowned," p. 695, l. 3 fr. bottom.

( = Λουκάς, λαμψίν), p. 706, l. 11.

p. 695, last line; p. 701, l. 12.

in γνώσθη, in the sense of "because," p. 709, l. 5 fr. bottom.

p. 698, l. 6.

(for ὑπερέπαυσθαι) in γνώσθησθαι, p. 700, l. 5.

in γνώσθη "the comforter," p. 695, l. 7 fr. bottom.

p. 698, last line; p. 699, l. 13.

p. 698, l. 7 fr. bottom.

(for ἄδημος) in ἀνεμοῦσθαι, p. 703, l. 4 fr. bottom.

"baptist," p. 708, l. 4 fr. bottom.

p. 704, l. 5; p. 695, l. 8.

p. 709, l. 2 fr. bottom.

in γνώσθη, p. 702, l. 2 fr. bottom.

in ἰασθή, p. 701, l. 10.

in ἀστεά "astonished," p. 695, l. 5 fr. bottom.

See Schwally, "Idiot," pp. 74, 75.


(for ἄρα), p. 705, l. 13.

(for ἰασθή), p. 704, l. 2 fr. bottom.

παντοκράτωρ, p. 700, l. 9 fr. bottom; p. 704, l. 12.
(for ἄφθορος), p. 695, last line.

(see פְּאֵתֹנִי), p. 708, l. 8.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 698, l. 6.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) "feast," p. 695, ll. 2, 5.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 701, l. 5 fr. bottom, passim.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 702, ll. 3, 4, 5.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 707, l. 7.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 700, l. 6 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) (for פְּאֵתֶנִי) in פְּאֵתֶנִי, p. 697, l. 7.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 698, l. 7 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 705, l. 8.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) (= מֵאַבּיִו, מֵאַבּי), p. 696, l. 6 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) "hast caused to flow," p. 704, l. 4 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 701, l. 12.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) "present," p. 705, l. 11.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 696, l. 4 fr. bottom; p. 709, l. 1.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי) (evidently an active participle, analogous to the Samaritan form), p. 700, l. 5 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 707, l. 3.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 705, last line.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 709, l. 7.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 705, l. 10 fr. bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 700, l. 3.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), ibid., l. 8.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), p. 695, l. 2; p. 696, l. 7; p. 704, l. 14.

Greek Words and Phrases.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), ψαλµός (note the use of the nom. for the acc.), p. 701, l. 4 from bottom.

(see פְּאֵתֶנִי), ἀντίφωνος, p. 696, ll. 12 and last; p. 697, l. 3.
στρατηγοι, p. 702, ll. 4 and 9 fr. bottom.
εὐλογεῖτε ἄγιοι, p. 709, ll. 11, 12.
Pάππος "papa," p. 696, l. 4.
Πνευματικός, p. 695, l. 4.
Προφητεία, p. 701, l. 4 fr. bottom.
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν, p. 705, l. 11.
τὸν εὐλογητὸν, p. 709, l. 12.
τροπάριον, p. 696, l. 1; p. 697, last line.
καθαρά, p. 695, l. 9.
καθαρά for καθαρά, p. 708, l. 9 fr. bottom.
στέρεος ὁ θεός, p. 709, l. 7 fr. bottom.
πρᾶξις, p. 701, last line.
σοφία, p. 709, l. 9 from bottom.
καὶ γὰρ, p. 697, l. 8; p. 706, l. 7 fr. bottom.
τά (for δ), p. 696, l. 6.
Art. XVI. — Al-Abriķ, Tephrikē, the Capital of the Paulicians: a correction corrected. By Guy le Strange.

It is, I hope, never too late to acknowledge a mistake and correct a blunder. Since the appearance of my note on the Castle of Abriķ (see J.R.A.S. for October, 1895, p. 739), Professor De Goeje has called my attention to a passage in the "Tanbih" of Masūdi, which negatives the identification of Abriķ with the modern Arabkîr, and proves incontrovertibly that Tephrikē, of which there can be little doubt that Divrigi (or Divrik) is the present representative, must be the place which various Arab geographers describe under the name aforesaid of Abriķ or Abrūk.

In the "Decline and Fall," chapter liv, Gibbon gives an interesting account of the Paulicians (so called after one Paul, their founder), a curious sect of Eastern Christians, whose Manichaean beliefs caused them to be ruthlessly persecuted by the orthodox emperors of Constantinople. In the latter part of the ninth century A.D., Carbeas, whose father had been impaled as a heretic by the Catholic inquisitors, led the revolt of the Paulicians. He founded and fortified the city of Tephrikē, and, aided by the armies of the Caliph, utterly routed the Emperor Michael under the walls of Samosata. His successor, Chrysocheir, over-ran and plundered the whole of Asia Minor, but was finally defeated and slain by the troops sent against him by the Emperor Basil. "With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered; on the second expedition of the Emperor, the impregnable Tephrikē was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy and escaped to the borders." This is the account given by Gibbon on the authority of the Byzantine Chroniclers, and, as will be seen,
it agrees perfectly with the following passages from nearly contemporary Arab authorities—Mas'ūdi, who wrote in 943 A.D., and Kudāma, circa 880 A.D.

I should begin by stating that the name of the Paulicians occurs in the Arabic under the form of Baylakāni, which is the nearest available rendering of the Greek word Παυλικιάνοι (the Arabs having no P), and that the plural of Baylakāni is Bayālaka, a form which less clearly recalls the Greek original.

The heresy of Paul of Samosata is mentioned by Shahrustānī in his "History of Sects and Philosophical Schools" (see vol. i, pp. 262 and 266 of the translation by T. Haarbrücker); but there appears to be some confusion here between the reputed founder of the Paulicians and his namesake, the Patriarch of Antioch, a celebrated Monarchian heresiarch, who troubled the Church in more ways than one during the third century of the Christian era. This confusion, however, is unimportant to the matter now under discussion, which deals solely with the events of the ninth century after Christ, when, as a matter of historical geography, it becomes important to establish the identity between the Arab "Abrīḵ" and the Greek "Tephrikē"; and this identification is proved by the following.

Mas'ūdi, in his "Tanbih" (p. 151), while enumerating the various Christian sects, mentions that of the Baylakāni, which "is the sect instituted by Paulus of Shimshāṭ [read Sumaysāṭ, or Samosata], who originally had been Patriarch of Antioch." Mas'ūdi, later on in the same work (p. 183), when speaking of the various fortresses which, after having once been in Moslem hands, had now come to be reconquered by the Greeks, makes mention of Malaṭiyya, Shimshāṭ, Hisn-Mansūr, "and the Castle of Abrīḵ, which was the capital of the Baylakāni, where lived many of their Patriarchs [or Patricians], such as Ḥarbīyās [Carbeas], the Client of the family of Tāhir-ibn-al-Ḥusayn, also Kharsakhrūris [Chrysocheir], and besides these two some others."
The same author, in his "Golden Meadows" (viii, 74), further relates that a certain Greek, who had by conversion become a good Moslem, gave him (Mas'üdi) a full account of Constantinople, adding that there was in that city a church where were kept ten statues representing persons celebrated among the Christians for their valour and wisdom: "of these is Ḫarbiyās the Baylakāni, Lord of the City of Abrik, which at the present day belongs to the Greeks, and he was Patrician [or Patriarch] of these Baylakāni, his death having taken place in the year 249 [A.D. 863]. There is also here the statue of Kharsakhāris, who was the sister [the MSS. here are corrupt; we should perhaps read "successor"] of Ḫarbiyās. . . . Now mention has been made elsewhere of the sect of the Baylakāni and of their beliefs, and they are a sect part Christian, part Magian, but at this present time [A.H. 332, A.D. 943] they have migrated, and now live among the nation of the Greeks."

Another contemporary author who mentions the Paulicians is Ḫudāma, who, naming the Greek provinces ("Book on the Revenues," p. 254) which lie over against the territory of Malatjiyya (Melitene), mentions the districts of Kharsiana and Khaldiya, that is the Charsianian and the Chaldian Themes. It may be noted in passing that there seems to be much confusion as to the identification of the site of Kharshana. Ibn Khurdadbih, in his "Road Book" (p. 108), writes: "The Kharsiyyūn District is near the Darb [pass or high-road] of Malatjiyya. In this district lies the fortress of Kharshana, together with four others"; and conformably with this, in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 747), I have, on the authority of Mr. Hogarth, identified Kharshana with the present village of Alaja Khan lying on the upper waters of the Kuru Tchay, the older Jarjariya. It appears, however, from Professor Ramsay's "Historical Geography" (p. 249 and elsewhere) that Charsianon Castron, the original of the Arab Kharshana, is to be sought, not at the village of Alaja Khan, but at Alaja, an important road-centre to the west
of the upper Halys, and this Alaja was the ancient Karissa or Garsi. From Alaja Khan to Alaja there is a distance, as the crow flies, of over 150 miles, and they must not therefore be confounded.

To return, however, to the Paulicians, Kudâma (already quoted) states in his "Book on the Revenues" (p. 254) that between Malatiyya, Kharshana, Khâldaya, and the Armenian country is "the land which was settled by a people called the Baylağâni, who are of the Greeks, except for certain differences that exist between the two in matters of faith. These people used to give aid to the Moslems during their raids [into the Greek country], and their aid was greatly valued by the Moslems. All at once, however, they migrated away from this land, in consequence of the evil conduct of the governors of the [Moslem] frontier who had dealings with them, and of the little honour that they received at the hands of those appointed to look after their affairs [by the Caliph]. Hence the Paulicians have come to be dispersed abroad throughout the [Greek] lands, while in their place, now, the Armenians have settled."

In his French translation of this passage ("Bibl. Geog. Arab.," vi, p. 176), Professor De Goeje tentatively proposed the reading "Naylağâni" or "Naykalâni," that is Nicholas, for Baylağâni, Paulicians, the MSS. being here corrupt, and the letters n and b in Arabic only differing by the position of a diacritical point. I have Professor De Goeje's authority, however, for stating that Baylağâni is without doubt the true reading.

From the above it follows that Abrik, capital of the Paulicians, as described by Arab geographers, is undoubtedly the place which the Byzantine authors call Tephríkê; and as this last is represented by the modern Divrigi, or Divrik, on the Tchalta Irmak, the Arab Castle of Abrik and the river of the same name must be respectively Divrik and the Tchalta river, and not the fortress of Arabkir, which stands on the Saritchitchek Su, many miles to the south.

It of course follows that the tributary of the Abrik
called the river Zamra (or Zimara, as our MS. of Ibn Serapion also spells the name) cannot be either the Miram Tchay or the Kistek Tchay, which joins the Saritchitchek Su (see J.R.A.S. 1895, pp. 65 and 744). Zamra must have been the name of one of the tributaries of the Tchalta Irmak (Abrik river), which joined that stream below Divrigi, for Ibn Serapion writes that “it falls into the river Abrik a little below the Castle of Abrik” (*loc. cit.*, p. 63). This identification is certainly favoured by the fact that at the present day a village called Zimarraj still exists near here. Mr. Vincent W. Yorke, who has recently returned from a journey through this country of the upper waters of the Euphrates, informs me that the present Zimarra Su is a tributary of the Euphrates, and joins the great river a short way above the mouth of the Tchalta Irmak. The Zimarra Su does not, therefore, fit the case of the Zamra river, as described by Ibn Serapion; which last must have been one of the streams marked (but not named) in Kiepert’s Map, which are left-bank tributaries of the Tchalta Irmak, flowing in from the country near Zimarraj village.

Coming to the river Lukiya, which in note 4 to p. 57 of my paper on Ibn Serapion was wrongly identified with the Tchalta Irmak (the Tchalta being undoubtedly the Abrik river), this Lukiya most probably is one of the two important streams which join the right bank of the Euphrates a little above the junction of the Tchalta. These streams are not named in Kiepert’s Map, but Mr. Yorke writes that they are both of considerable volume, being called respectively the Armidan Tchay and the Kara Budak. One of them must be the Lukiya aforesaid, and on it lay the “single fortress” mentioned on p. 54 of my paper.

The next right-bank tributary of the Euphrates, the Nahr Anjä, I now believe to be identical with the river called the Saritchitchek Su, wrongly identified (*loc. cit.*, p. 58)

---

1 Also Zimara is the name of a station mentioned in the Peutinger Tables, the Antonine Itinerary, etc.
2 Still called Angu Tchay near its mouth, according to Mr. Yorke.
with the Abrîk river. In the former list of identifications, the river Anjâ could only come in as either the short stream on which stands the village of Tehermuk (loc. cit., p. 58) or its neighbour, the Soyut Tchay (idem, p. 744). Neither of these, however, correspond with the description given by Ibn Serapion of the course of the Anjâ, which "rises in the mountain of Abrîk, a little way above the crossing the high-road from Malatiyâ" (loc. cit., p. 54). The "high-road" here mentioned must mean the Great Road going from Melitene westwards into the Greek Country (the ancient High-road to Constantinople); and the important stream of the Anjâ—described as flowing down "between mountains," exactly corresponds with the course of the river now known as the Saritchitchek Su, which rises far to the westward, and on whose banks stands the modern capital of the district, Arabkir. It may be noted in passing that Arabkir is apparently mentioned by none of the mediaeval Arab geographers. It is called Nareen in the old Turkish fiscal Archives, as is recorded by Taylor (see J. R. Geogr. Society, xxxviii, page 311).

The only point against the identification of the Anjâ with the Saritchitchek Su, is the statement made in Ibn Serapion that the Anjâ joined the Euphrates "at a distance five leagues below the mouth of the river Arsânâs" (p. 54). But the Arabic MS. is here defective; "Arsânâs" is written "Asnâs," and I now believe this may be a clerical error for "Abrîk," a word with which it might easily be confused in the Arabic writing. In the loose way in which Ibn Serapion counts distances, the Anjâ (Saritchitchek Su) might well be described as flowing into the Euphrates "five leagues below the Nahr Abrîk," that is to say, a little way above the junction of the Murâd Tchay or Arsânâs river. If "Abrîk" for "Arsânâs" be deemed too bold an emendment, the facts of the case will be equally suited by changing the adverb "below" into "above" (and read fawk in the Arabic text of Ibn Serapion, p. 11, line 5 from below, in place of asfal), but the distance of "five leagues above the mouth of the Nahr Arsânâs" for the incoming of the Anjâ
river is only approximately correct for describing the mouth of the Saritchitchek Su.

In a tabular form the identifications now proposed for the right-bank (western) tributaries of the Upper Euphrates are as follows, beginning above and working down stream:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(I) Lūkiya (river)</th>
<th>is either the Kara Budak or the Armidan Tchay,</th>
<th>nöt the Teçalta Irmak (p. 57, note 2).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(II) Abrik (river and town)</td>
<td>is the Teçalta Irmak and the town of Divrik (Tephrikē),</td>
<td>nöt the Saritchitchek Su (p. 58, note 3), and nöt Arabkir (p. 740).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IIa) Zamra (river)</td>
<td>is an affluent of the Teçalta Irmak,</td>
<td>nöt the Miram Tchay (p. 65, note 2), nor the Kiztek Tchay (p. 744).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Anjā (river)</td>
<td>is the Saritchitchek Su,</td>
<td>nöt the stream of the Tchermuk village (p. 58, note 3), nor the Soyut Tchay (p. 744).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As showing that Tephrikē also among the Byzantines bore a name very like Abrik, it is to be noticed that the Greek MSS. of two of their Chronicles give, as a variant for Tephrikē, the name Aphrikē (Τεφρικῆ, variant 'Αφρικῆ). My attention was first called to this passage by Mr. Yorke, who has also pointed out to me that the name of the Zarnūk river, a tributary of the Kubākib, which flows into the Euphrates near Malāṭiyya (Melitene), is mentioned in the Byzantine Chronicles under the forms Ζάρνουκ and 'Ατγαρνουκ, which, seeing that n and b are unlikely to be substituted for one another in the Greek letters, disposes of the alternative form, given in the MS. of Ibn Serapion, of "Zarbūk" (loc. cit., p. 743).

What, however, may be gleaned on this and kindred subjects from the Byzantine Chronicles has recently been ably discussed in the pages of the Classical Review (for April, 1896), in a most interesting article entitled "The
Campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.,'" by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, of the University of Aberdeen, to whom (and Professor Ramsay) I am indebted for much valuable information. In the course of his discussion of the various Byzantine accounts of the campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians, Mr. Anderson shows that the river Karākis, described by Ibn Serapion, is also almost certainly mentioned by the Byzantines. Readers of this Journal who take an interest in the mediaeval geography of Asia Minor, and the question of the frontier fortresses lying between the Greeks and the Saracens, may be referred to this paper, where a solution is offered of the thorny question as to the true sites of Zibaṭra and Ḥadath.

There can be no doubt that Zibaṭra of the Moslems is identical with the fortress called either Zapetra or Sozopetra by the Byzantine Chroniclers, for the story of its capture by the Emperor Theophilus, and its recapture by the Caliph Mu'taṣim during his celebrated expedition against Amorium, is narrated alike by both the Greek and the Arab annalists (compare Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vi, 413, with Weil, "Geschichte der Chalifen," ii, 309). The question remains as to the situation of Zibaṭra, which neither the Greeks nor the Arabs very accurately describe. What the latter have recorded will be found in my notes to Ibn Serapion (p. 66), while the Greek authorities have now been examined by Mr. Anderson, and the results will be found in his paper above referred to.

It may be mentioned, however, as supporting the view that Zibaṭra must be sought at the present Virān-Shahr on the Sultan Su (and this was my first identification, which Mr. Anderson confirms by what is stated in the Byzantine Chronicles) and not at Derende (as is one of the suggestions offered by Mr. Hogarth; see Ibn Serapion, p. 745), that Derende is itself mentioned, under the form Ṭarandah, by the contemporary Arab authorities. Balâdhuri (p. 185, and he is copied by Ibn-al-Athîr and Yâkût) states that Ṭarandah, which lay three marches distance from Malaṭiyya, deep in the Greek
country, was garrisoned by the Moslems after A.H. 83 (702), but was subsequently abandoned by orders of the Caliph Omar II in A.H. 100 (719). Zibatra, therefore, cannot have been identical with Tarandah, which is another place. Mr. Anderson, also, gives us references to the Byzantine Chronicles proving that Taranta was a Paulician stronghold, and there is no reason to doubt the identification of Byzantine "Taranta," Arab "Taranda," and the modern Derendeh, which lies high up on the Tokhma Sū.

Further, in confirmation of the view adopted by Mr. Anderson and Professor Ramsay that the site of Hadath must be sought at or near the modern Inekli, on the Ak-Su, may be mentioned the statement found in the Geographical Dictionary of Bakri (p. 657). In the article on 'Arbasūs (Arabissos, Al-Bustan) the author describes this as a city of the Greeks lying "over against" or "opposite" Hadath, thus leading us to infer that Hadath (a place doubtless well known to him) was on the nearer and Moslem side of Arabissos, and to the south of that city.

In conclusion, I venture to point out that the historical geography of Asia Minor is likely to gain a yet firmer basis, if the accounts of the Byzantine annalists be systematically compared with, and a corrective applied from, the works of the contemporary Arab geographers.
Art. XVII.—Notes on Akbar’s Súbahs, with reference to the Áin-i Akbarí. By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. II.

ORISSA.

The ancient kingdom of Orissa (Odra-deša, whence Oṛesā), strictly speaking, extended from the Kánsbáns river in the north to the Rasákuliá river near Ganjám in the south; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east far into the tangled mass of low hills in the west, in which latter direction its limits seem never to have been clearly defined. But the kings of Orissa were not satisfied with these boundaries. It is a common boast both in literature and on monuments that their kingdom stretched from the great to the little Ganges; that is to say, from the Bhágrathí (called by Europeans the Hugli or “Hooghly”) to the Godávarí. At various times different kings made good this boast by victorious campaigns, followed by temporary occupation of territory both to the north and south.

The latest of these towards the north, starting from the Subarnarekhá, which had at that time been for a long while the northern boundary, was led by the last independent monarch, Mukund Dev, called the Telinga, who, about A.D. 1550, really touched the Bhágrathí, and built at the sacred tirtha of Tribeni, near Sátgáon, a stately bathing-place, the ruins of which still remain. He was attacked and defeated by the terrible Kálá Pahár, general of Sulaimán Kararání, really king, though nominally only viceroy, of Bengal. After holding out for some time at the strong fortress of Ráibanián on the Subarnarekhá, Mukund retreated, fighting as he went, to Jájpúr, where he was
either killed or driven into exile—for his fate is shrouded in obscurity—and Orissa became a province of Bengal in A.D. 1568.¹

It is so treated in the Aín. The arrangement, however, proved unworkable, and Orissa was eventually made into a separate Súbah by the Emperor Sháh Jahán. The suppression of the Bengal military revolt of 1572 led to the flight of Dáúd Khán, the rebel king of Bengal, into Orissa. Rájá Todar Mal accompanied the force under Munʿím Khán, which pursued Dáúd and defeated him at the battle of Tukaroi, near Jellasore, in 1574. Todar Mal advanced as far as Cuttack, and it must have been at this time that he obtained the materials for the financial arrangements which are preserved to us in the Aín. But as after the campaign Dáúd was left in possession of Orissa in little more than nominal submission to the Emperor, Todar Mal’s arrangements did not take effect, and his lists must be regarded as little more than a sketch or project, and the local tradition which ascribes to him the settlement of the cultivated and civilized central tract known as the Moghulbandi rests on no historical foundation. The first actual Moghul settlement was made by Rájá Mán Singh in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), and even this did not come fully into operation till the final suppression of the Afghans in the reign of Jahángír, probably, judging from Grant’s “Analysis,” not before 1627.

Todar Mal’s lists, as will be seen from the following remarks, are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa. A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bears no proportion to their known extent. Stirling, indeed, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the Sadr Kánúngos, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded

¹ For this date see the evidence in my article on “The History of Orissa,” J.A.S.B., vol. lli, p. 233, note †.
on that measurement, but he could find no evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenue was arrived at, and it is highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal’s time.

It will be noticed that in the Ain the word alus kila’ah ‘a fort’ occurs very frequently. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the whole of Orissa bristled with strong castles or fortresses. The kila’ah was generally a much humbler affair. It was for the most part merely the house of a zamindár with the adjacent village surrounded by an earthen rampart or breastwork, and occasionally a rude moat, the whole girdled by a thick belt of bamboo and rattan jungle, forming an impenetrable barrier to the cavalry of which the Moghul armies chiefly consisted. Several of these so-called forts are still in existence, as, for instance, at Al; but the number of stone forts is not large, and most of those which existed in the sixteenth century have since disappeared. They can, however, often be traced by the word Gar (fort) prefixed to the names of villages which still stand on their ancient sites though no longer fortified.

The materials for reconstructing this Súbah are Grant’s “Analysis,” the lists of parganahs in the appendices in vol. ii of Hunter’s “Orissa,” Stirling’s account of Orissa in the Asiatic Researches, and the two I.O. MSS. mentioned in my article on Bengal. The notes which I supplied to the late Professor Blochmann in 1870 were unfortunately lost with his other collections after his death, but I have some notes in MS. still, and having been officially connected with Orissa for nine years (1869–1878) and with Midnapore for five (1880–1885), I have been able to supply some suggestions from personal acquaintance with the localities.

In the following notes the names of the parganahs will be given in the form adopted by Colonel Jarrett; the correct names, with the necessary remarks and explanations, being given opposite each. The same abbreviations are used as
in my article on Bengal. The Persian words are transliterated on the usual Jonesian system, with the exception of such places as are well known under English corruptions, e.g. Jellasore (Jalesar), Cuttack (Kaṭak), Midnapore (Mednipur), Balasore (Bálesar).

SARKÁR JALESAR (JELLASORE).

This very large Sarkár includes the whole of the Midnapore district, with the exception of a few scattered areas on the eastern border attached to Sarkár Madáran in Súbah Bangálah. It also includes all northern Balasore as far as the Kánsbáns river, together with an indefinite extent of hill and jungle to the west.

Bánsanda, commonly Haftchór. Should be “Bánmundi, alias the Seven Chauras.” The MSS., which have all evidently copied from the same original, blindly repeat the mistake of writing s for m. Bánmundi is still a large village on the right bank of the Subarnarekhá, opposite Jellasore. The word chaur, meaning a cleared space in a forest, is added to the names of many parganahs in this part of the country. There are fifteen of them at the present day, several of which, however, are of modern origin. The original seven are probably Bhelorá, Nápú, Kamardah, Daṣará, Dántun, Kaurdah, and Kánkará, Chaur. They will all be found in A. of I., sheets 114 and 115, lying in a circle round Jellasore. Bánmundi, wrongly spelt Bandmundi in A. of I., sheet 115, is in Bhelorá Chaur.

The entry ‘castes’ means the caste of the Zamindárs. For J.’s Bhej read Bhanj, a very common caste title in Orissa.

Bibli, read Piplí. Celebrated as the earliest English factory in Bengal, established in 1640, at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá. It has now been completely washed away, and the river flows over its site. Sháh Jahán
named it the "Royal Port," Sháh Bandar, and the parganah now bears that name.¹ The zamindár showed me, in 1872, the original farmán of Sháh Jahán conferring on his ancestors the port dues and fees, on condition of their supplying provisions to the ships. In it the port is called Piplí Sháhbandar.

Bálisáhi. Now pronounced Bálsáhi. The latter part of the word is the Oriya sáhi 'a village,' mistaken by the Imperial scribes for the more familiar sháhi 'royal.' The word means 'village in the sand,' an appropriate name, as it lies among the sand-hills on the sea-shore.

Bálkohái. The name is written with many variants. Blochmann gives kohí and khosti. I.O. 6 has kothi, and I.O. 1114 málkoí! I have no doubt that the word meant is Bárah kosti 'the twelve kos.' This was the name given to the much dreaded tract, twelve kos, or twenty-four miles long, between the Subarnarekhá and Bárábalang. The old pilgrim road to the shrine of Jagannáth passed through this country along the foot of densely wooded hills, and was infested by robbers and wild beasts. Pilgrims used to stop at Jellasore till a large crowd had assembled; then they subscribed and hired guides to take them through the dangerous part. In later times the name was extended as far south as the Kánsbáns, and it is in this wider sense that it is used in the Áín. Of the three forts, two can be identified—Sokrah as the place now known as Sohroh, a town and police-station half-way between Balasore and Bhadrakh; and Báñhastáli as Bhainsbáti, on the Kánsbáns, six miles south-east of Sohroh. Dadhpúr I cannot identify.

¹ He visited the place in 1621, when, as Prince Khurram, he rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahángir (see my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. ii, p. 237). His grant to the zamindars was probably made in recognition of their support on that occasion.
Parbadá. This is an unlikely name for a place in Orissa. I.O. 6 has Barpadá, which is an extremely common name of villages in that province. None of the numerous Barpadás, however, possess the features here noted. Seeing how commonly the markaz, or sloping stroke of ـ, is omitted in MSS. of the Ain, I have no hesitation in concluding that the place meant is Garpañá. It is exactly as described—a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly in jungle; though the fortifications have now almost ceased to be traceable. In the Middle Ages this place, halfway between Jellasore and Balasore, commanding the pilgrim road, the only high road into Orissa, and the residence of influential zamindárs, was a position of great importance. Here a battle was fought by Kálá Pahár, and one of his captains who fell in it lies buried close by, and is worshipped as a martyr. (See my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. lii, p. 231; also my facsimile and translation of a copper-plate grant in the possession of the Bhuyán of Garpañá in Indian Antiquary, vol. i, p. 355, where I have erroneously spelt the word Garh- instead of Gar-.)

Bhográí. A parganah at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá, on the north side, partly in Balasore, partly in Midnapore. I have not been able to find any traces of the "fortress of great strength." Possibly the river has washed it away.

Bugdi, now pronounced Bogri. It is a parganah in North Midnapore, lying on both sides of the Selái river. The town of Garbétá is in it.

Bázar. Now Dhenkiá bázár, on the Kasái river, a little below Midnapore town.

Bábbanbhúm, a parganah in North Midnapore, now more correctly pronounced Bráhmanbhúm (not Brahman-púr, as stated by J.).

Taliya, with town of Jalesar. The first word is evidently incorrect; the MSS. offer every variety of reading.
I.O. 6 gives نلة, with no dots to the third letter.
I.O. 1114 has نلة. Mr. Beveridge has kindly examined for me six MSS. at the British Museum, all of which have نلة or تليه نلة. He suggests that the word may be تکیه takiya 'the hermitage of a darwesh.' I do not, however, know of any takiya near Jellasore. On the other hand, Jellasore has from ancient times been divided into two parts—the commercial town and the official station. The former has always been, and is still, known as Paṭna Jalesar; paṭna being, as is well known, a very common name for mercantile towns throughout India. It seems to me highly probable, indeed almost certain, that we should read паṭnah bā kusbah=‘the market town and citadel of Jalesar.' پشته might easily be misread as نلة if the dots over the ٧ got mixed with it by running of the ink or a slip of the pen, and still more so if the cerebral were indicated by a superscribed ٧, as is often done. As Blochmann notices in the preface to his Persian text, the MSS. follow one another so slavishly that a mistake in the original one would be faithfully reproduced in all the copies.

Tanbúlak. Read Tambúlak, ب before ب in Persian being always pronounced m. The place meant is the famous ancient emporium of Tamrálipti, now Tamlúk, still a flourishing town on the Rúpnaráyan river in North-east Midnapore.

Tarkól. Should be Tarkúá. The MSS. have apparently changed ١ into ٧. It is in South Midnapore, about ten miles north-east of Jellasore.

Dáwar Shorbhúm, commonly Bárah. Read Párah; it means the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorpárah. This expression is applied to the extensive tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore, where salt is, or till recently used to be, made, stretching from the Subarnarekhá to the Rasúlpúr river. In Sháh Jahán’s settlement it is entered as Gwálpára
(Grant, 532), and extended far inland. In Todar Mal's list, however, only the immediate neighbourhood of the coast is apparently intended, as the parganahs lying further inland are separately entered.

Ramná. An ancient and still flourishing town, the name of which is now pronounced Ramná or Remuná. It lies some six or seven miles north-west of Balasore town. From the mention of the Haveli it would appear to have been the headquarters of some sort of political or fiscal division under the kings of Orissa, and under Sháh Jahán it again became the head of a Sarkár. There is some difficulty about the five forts, caused by the indistinctness of the MSS. In most MSS. of the Aín the details of the Súbahs are given in tabular form, the page being divided by lines ruled in red ink both vertically and horizontally, forming small squares. These are often too small for the information which has to be given. To get it all in, the words are written very small and crowded together, and the dots being sprinkled carelessly about, after the manner of Persian scribes, it is often impossible to determine whether any particular dot belongs to the word above or below it. I have to thank Mr. Beveridge for a valuable note on the result of his careful inspection of the six MSS. at the British Museum. The quotations from these MSS. in the following remarks are taken from his note.

The first fort is clear enough. It is stated to be in the Haveli, and must, therefore, have been at Ramná itself, where there are still traces of mounds and ditches.

The second fort is Rámchandrapúr, still a well-known village, eight miles north-east of Ramná.

The third fort is written رامشاک in Blochmann, with no dots to the third letter. The B.M. MSS. have رامشاک, which looks like رامکانون, i.e. Rámgáon, with
the last two letters omitted. I.O. 6 has راکا as in Blochmann. I.O. 1114 has راکا. The local Kánúngu and other well-informed natives whom I consulted all insisted upon it that the place meant is Armalá, a large village four miles south-west of Remná (shown as Urmullah on the A. of I., sheet 115). This is not impossible, for the markaz of the kāf is in these MSS. treated as capriciously as the dots, being often inserted where it ought not to be, and as often omitted where it ought to be. So also, ر and ʃ in Persian MSS. are often indistinguishable. Thus, ى might easily be written راملا, and by mistaking the ل for ك and supplying it with a markaz the word would become رامکا. As there is no Rámgáon anywhere in this neighbourhood, the local tradition is at least worthy of consideration.

The fourth fort is written دوت in Blochmann, and Dút in Jarrett. There is, however, no such place, and the reading itself is open to serious objection. One B.M. MS. has دوت, but the dots seem to belong to the word سیم in the line above; another has دوت with no dots. But Blochmann has omitted some important words which occur in several of the B.M. as well as the I.O. MSS. Thus—

B.M. 7652 Addl. has ژمان دو سلسله از سنگ، or it may be read دو سلسله.

B.M. 6546 Addl. has the same; here also is not clear.

I.O. 6 ژمان دو سلسله از سنگ.

I.O. 1114 دوت سنم را سنگ; but the two dots over the .IMAGE_ are quite at the right-hand corner of the letter, not over the centre as usual, and the ʃ and ʃ are joined together, so that they look like ʃو.

The key to this mystery is, I think, supplied by the reading of I.O. 1114. سنم is apparently a mistake
for an image,' and the word has been still further corrupted by the other copyists. In my opinion the full text originally ran—

\[ \text{چیبارم دیول دو صنم از سنگ} \]

\[ \text{i.e. the fourth Деул (has) two statues of stone.} \]

The place meant is the ancient stone fort of Deúlgáon, some thirty miles north of Remná, on the Balasore and Midnapore boundary. A description of this fort will be found in Indian Antiquary, vol. i, p. 76. In the centre of the fort are two colossal statues of men on horseback. These represent the two horsemen celebrated in Orissa legend. In A.D. 1490, as Rájá Purushottam Dev was marching to attack Kánjivaram, two beautiful youths on horseback rode at the head of the army, and, like Macaulay's Great Twin Brethren, secured victory to the Rájá. They then vanished, after revealing themselves as Krishna and Balaráma. These must, I think, be the 'two statues of stone' alluded to in the text. In their efforts to get all this long note into the small space in the tabular form, the copyists have crushed it up into an unrecognizable muddle.

The fifth fort is given by Blochmann as سلاده, which J. renders Saldah. This is, however, apparently a mistake derived from the reading درسا سلاده of some MSS. Most of the B.M. MSS. have پنجم جدیداست 'the fifth is new.' I.O. 6 has پنجم جدید, where is a mistake for پنجم جدید صداست. I.O. 1114 has پنجم جاب, with no dot to the last letter. There is a town called Sildah, but it seems too far off. It is eighty miles to the north of Remná, in the north-west corner of Midnapore. It is of course possible that all the wild jungle country of Western Midnapore and Morbhanj may have been included under Remná, but as the reading سلاده is so doubtful
it is perhaps safer to take the reading جدید, although this leaves us in ignorance of the locality of the fifth fort. I presume, however, that the ‘new fort’ was Chandrarekhá Gařh, about eight miles north-west of Deúlgáon; the parganah is called Nayágrám, which seems to be indicated by the جدید of the A’in.

Rayn. The situation of this place “on the borders of Orissa” leaves no doubt that the correct reading is Raiban رایبان, or more strictly رایبان. It is now called Ráibanián. The MSS. are here again incorrect. I.O. 6 has زیس, and I.O. 1114 زیس. The “three forts” mentioned in the text appeared to me when I visited the place to be four. (See my article on the “Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa,” in Indian Antiquary, vol. i, p. 33, where there is a description of Ráibanián, with a map of the forts and several sketches.) It was at Ráibanián, which is seven miles from Jellasore, on the opposite or western side of the Subarnarekhá, that Mukund Dev the Telinga, the last independent sovereign of Orissa, made a determined but ineffectual stand against the Musulman invaders. The memory of this fact may have caused the entry “on the borders of Orissa,” for the Subarnarekhá was practically the northern boundary, though the power of Mukund had for a time extended to the Bhágirathi.

Ráepur, a large city with a strong fortress. The only place of this name known to me is in South Bánkurah, some forty miles north-west of Midnapore. It is now a small town, but it is said to have been much larger in ancient times. I.O. 1114 has ادیپور, probably to be read Udayapúr, which is in Chutia Nágpúr, 200 miles away.

Sabang. A parganah in Central Midnapore, some twenty miles south-east of the town.

Siyári. A parganah on the Subarnarekhá, sixteen miles south-east of Jellasore.
Kásijorá. A large parganah in East Midnapore.
Kharaksúr. Should be Khargpúr. The “strong fort in the wooded hills” seems to point to some other place, as there is neither fort nor hill in Khargpúr, which is level country on the south of the Kasáí river opposite Midnapore town.
Kédárkhánd. A parganah in Central Midnapore.
Karáí. This reading is doubtful. Many MSS. have كيری. I.O. 6 and 1114 both have كراي. The place meant is, I think, Kasiári, on the Subarnarekhá, twenty miles south-west of Midnapore, an ancient and famous place.
Gagnápúr. Probably the parganah now called Gagneswar. I.O. 1114 has a word which may be read Gagnasápúr. I.O. 6 has Kalnápúr, which is evidently incorrect. Gagneswar adjoins Kasiári in South-west Midnapore.
Karohi. Some MSS. have كرولي, which should be read Kuráli. This seems correct; parganah Kurúl Chaur in South Midnapore, fifteen miles from Jellasore, is apparently the place intended.
Málchattá. Should be Máljhattá. This is the name given to the tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore from the mouth of the Rasúlpúr river to the Rúpnaráyan. It included the well-known station of Hijlí (vulgo Hidgellee): see Grant, 246, 527.
Mednápúr. The large town and capital of a very extensive district, which is better known by the European corruption of Midnapore. Of the two forts, one is still partially extant. It has been enlarged and built upon to form the old district jail. This is probably the newer of the two forts mentioned in the Ain. The older one is also, I believe, still traceable, but I have not seen it.
There is a sentence attached to this entry in some MSS. which seems to have puzzled Blochmann, and is pronounced unintelligible by Jarrett. It varies considerably in different MSS., the copyists,
according to their custom, having written carelessly whatever they did not understand.

In Blochmann's text the passage runs—

کهندیت و بکسر خویش بکند و دیو ان

In a footnote he gives the variant—

وسيلة خویشی دیو ان میکند

Neither of these readings is intelligible.

Mr. Beveridge has pointed out that the words occur in the column headed "Zamindár," which gives the caste of the landed proprietors. By omitting this distinction, both Blochmann and Jarrett have obscured the meaning of these entries throughout the lists in the Aín.

Of the B.M. MSS. 7652 Addl. reads—

ازقوم کهندیت و تلنه خویش مکند دیو ان

MS. 16872 Addl. reads the same, substituting تلنه for سلسله.

I.O. 6 has the same as the last but one, with this difference, that it inserts و and omits the markaz of the ک in کهندیت. I.O. 1114 has بلبله, which is nonsense!

The difficulty seems to have been mainly caused by reading مکند, as if it were the Persian word mi-kunad 'he does,' and combining دیو with the following word into the Persian دیو ان 'insane.' As Mr. Beveridge now points out, and as I find I suggested to Prof. Blochmann years ago, what we have here is really the name of Mukund Dev, the last king of Orissa. The final word in the sentence is not ان, but 'they are.' The passage should therefore run—

ازقوم کهندیت و تلنه خویش مکند دیو ان

i.e. "They (the Zamindárs) are of the castes of
Khandait and Telinga, kinsmen of Mukund Dev."

Mukund Dev, as we know, was a Telinga, that is, he came from the Telinga, or Telugu, country, the land on the banks of the Godávari, which gave so many kings to Orissa, and what more natural than that he should entrust the important frontier fortress of Midnapore to his own kinsmen, on whose fidelity he could rely? The Khandaites are not, strictly speaking, a caste, in the Hindu sense of that term. The word means 'swordsman' (from khanḍá, Skr. khaḍga 'a sword'), and they were the fyrde, landwehr, or militia of the kingdom, called out when war arose, going back to their fields in time of peace. In the present day large numbers of peasants call themselves Khandaites, either because the title is respectable or because some remote ancestor served in the fyrde, and so the word has become a quasi-caste title. Mukund Dev's Telinga kinsmen appear to be called Khandaites because of the military duties they discharged in guarding the fort.

Mahákánghát, alias Kutbápur, a fortress of great strength. The village is now called Máníghátí, and the parganah Kutbápur. It lies about twenty-five miles north-west of Midnapore.

Naráyanpur, alias Khandár. Two separate parganahs a few miles to the south of Midnapore. One is now known as Naráyangárh, the other as Khandár.

**Sarkár BhadraK.**

This Sarkár, much smaller than Jalesar, comprises in general the country between the Kánsbáns and Baitarni rivers and a few tracts to the south of the latter river. The tracts on the sea-coast are, however, included in Sarkár Kaţak (Cuttack).

Barwá. Now called Birwá (spelt Beerooa in A. of I., sheet 115). It is a parganah lying between the
Brâhminí and Kharsúá rivers in North Cuttack. The two strong forts are given as Bánk and Riskóoi; for the latter, I.O. 6 has Riskúrí, I.O. 6 دین بوي with no dots to the fourth letter. The places meant are probably Bánksáhi on the Brâhminí and Rispúr (i.e. Rishipúra) on the Kharsúá.

Jaukajri. The proper name is Jogjúri. It is a large and well-known village on the southern slope of the Nilgiri hills in the tributary state of that name.

Haveli Bhadrak. A town on the river Sálindi, headquarters of a subdivision. Dhámnagar is also an important place twelve miles south of Bhadrak, or Bhadrakh, as it should be written with final kh. It is said to be from (Balá)bhadrkshetra, the field or tract sacred to Balabhadra. Dhámnagar is noticeable as containing a considerable settlement of Muhammadans, rather a rare thing in Orissa, but explained by the note in the Aín that it was the residence of a—presumably Muhammadan—governor.

Sahansú: Now called Sohso, an extensive parganah on the west frontier of Balasore, fifteen miles west of Bhadrakh.

Káimán. Now divided into three parganahs called Káimá, Kismat Káimá, and Kila’a Káimá (in A. of I., Kymah), lying on both sides of the Baitarní below Jájpúr. The name of the last retains a remembrance of a fort, though no traces of it now remain.

Kadsu. A variant is Garšú. No place with any name at all resembling either word is known to me. The names given for this Sarkár in the Aín do not cover the whole area, and there are probably many omissions, as large tracts of country remain unaccounted for. I am inclined to think that part of the name has dropped out by negligence of copyists, and that the place meant is Gaṛ Sokindah, a large tributary estate in North-west Cuttack. In Oriya, Gaṛ is used for a fort, not Gaṛh.
Independent ta'ulkdárs. Entered as Mazkúrin; with three forts.

1. Pachhim Donk. I.O. 6 reads دوئنک. I.O. 1114 something illegible, of which the first two letters are دو; the others look like مل. I know of no Donk, but Pachhimkot, a large village in parganah Ragađí (Rugree in A. of I.) in Northwest Cuttack, near the Bráhminí, is probably the place meant.

2. Khandait. This is not the name of a place. Khanditar on the Kharsúa (not marked in A. of I.), ten miles west of Jájpúr, where the Orissa Trunk Road crosses it, is probably the place meant.

3. Majori. Manjúri, as it is now called, is a parganah on the north bank of the Baitarní, four miles above Jájpúr.

SARKÁR KAṬAK (CUTTACK).

The spelling Cuttack, being more familiar to Europeans than Kaṭak, will be used in the following remarks. The Sarkár includes the whole of the Cuttack and Puri districts, with the exception of the tracts already mentioned under Bhadrakh. But here also many important places, which are known to have been in existence in Todar Mal's time, are omitted, proving that his lists must have been incomplete. Nearly all the places mentioned are easily recognizable.

Al (A. of I. Aul; the town is shown as Rajbari). A well-known town and parganah on the Kharsúa in Northeast Cuttack. The ancient fort and palace is the residence of a Mahárájá who is linéally descended from the kings of Orissa.

Asakah. Aská, a town in the Ganjám district on the Rasákuliá river, the extreme southern boundary of Orissa proper.
Aṭhgarh. One of the tributary estates, on the north bank of the Mahánadi, about ten miles above Cuttack.

Púrb Dikh. The latter word is evidently for Dig = 'quarter,' 'region,' which is the reading of I.O. 1114. The four forts on the eastern side of Orissa lying along the sea-coast are Kaniká, Kujang, Harishpur, and Mirichpur. They lie in the above order from north to south, and the territory attached to each is extensive, as will be seen from the A. of I., sheet 115.

Pachchhim Dikh. 'Western quarter.' The list of forts on the western frontier of the Cuttack district is not given, but it must be meant to include the kildaś of Darpan, Madhupur (A. of I., Mudpoor!), Balrampur, and Chausathpura between the Bráhminí and Mahánadi, and probably also Dompára and Patiá, south of the latter river.

Bahár. There is no place of this name in Cuttack. B.M. 7652 Addl. has بazar Baház, so has I.O. 6, but this also is an unknown name. Mr. Beveridge points out a passage in Grant 528 in which he includes in the province of Orissa "a mountainous, unproductive region on the western frontier, making part of the wilds of Jharkund, or jungly country, towards the relayt of Behar." The Muhammadans seem to have thought in their ignorance of the geography of these hitherto unconquered provinces that Orissa stretched back through the hills and jungles till it touched the southern frontier of Bihár; and Grant repeats this mistake. Probably by the entry Bahár, with its large revenue of fifty-one lakhs, Todar Mal meant to designate all the extensive tract of country now known as the Tributary Mahals, administered by a number of semi-independent Rájás who pay a small tribute to the British Government. But their country does not reach as far west as Bihár by a long way.
Basáí Diwarmár. The copyists have got into great confusion over this name. Blochmann gives the variants بسائی دیورپور and بسائی پوریا. The B.M. MSS. have دیورپار and دیورپاری; I.O. 6 has دیوربار; and I.O. 1114 apparently دیورنا، though the letters are so jumbled together that it is difficult to decide in which order to take them. I conjecture that these variants are an attempt to represent the name Básudebpúr Arang, i.e. the salterns of Básudebpúr. This place was for long, and is still, one of the chief seats of the salt-making industry. The Oriya word for a saltern, or place where salt is made, is Arang. In crushing up the letters to get them into the small space allowed for them in the table, some have been omitted and others transposed. Básudebpúr is in the Balasore district, about fourteen miles north-east of Bhadrakh, near the sea, in parganah Ankurá.

Bárang. No place of this name is known to me. But the description of the "nine forts in hill and jungle" corresponds precisely to the celebrated fortress of Sárang Gar, which, with its nine (or even more) subordinate forts, guards the entrance to Khurdhá, the mountain fastness where the kings of Orissa sought refuge on the overthrow of their independence, and where they maintained themselves down to modern times. Sárang Gar lies some four miles south-west of the city of Cuttack, across the Kátjorí river. The Engineers of the Public Works Department—with their usual good taste and reverence for things ancient—have driven a road right through it, and pounded the stones to metal the road. The same enlightened officials sold me some exquisitely carved images of Buddha and some of Krishna as "stone ballast" at "one rupee the running foot"! Sárang was too important a place to be omitted from the Ain, but unless this is it, it nowhere occurs. It is not shown in the A. of I., but a number of
villages with the prefix Gaṛ (A. of I., Gurr)—Gaṛ Dārutāng, Gaṛ Andharúá, and others—represent the nine forts of the Aín.

Bhijnagar. Should be Bhanjnagar, which is the reading both of I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114, the old name of Gumsur, the capital of a state the semi-independent Rájás of which were of the Bhanj caste. Upendro Bhanj, one of the Rájás of this place, is the most celebrated of the poets of Orissa. Gumsur is in the Ganjám District, some twenty miles north of Aská.

Banjú. I.O. 1114 has باکسو. This must, I think, be meant for Banchás in Central Puri. There is no other place, as far as I know, having any name resembling this.

Parsottam. Should be Purushottam; the full name of the town of Puri, where the celebrated temple of Jagannáth is situated, is Purushottama Kshetra, 'the field or tract sacred to Vishnu, the Purushottama or Highest Being.' The note attached to this entry, which J. renders 'detailed in each Sarkár,' means that the revenue recorded against it is made up of lands lying in all parts of the province. Even in the present day there is hardly a single parganah, perhaps not even one, in which there are not revenue-free lands belonging to the great temple of Jagannáth.

Chaubiskot, now called Chaubiskúá, a large parganah lying between the town of Puri and the Chilká lake. The four forts of great strength are now no longer traceable.

Jash, commonly called Tájpúr. The last word is a misprint for Jájpúr, which is distinctly the reading both in Blochmann's text and in all the MSS. The ancient, celebrated, and sacred city of Jájpúr on the

---

1 A long list of his poems will be found in Hunter's "Orissa," vol. ii, p. 208. He lived in the sixteenth century.

2 The word should therefore be written with short ū and i; not Púri 'city,' as it is often erroneously written by Europeans.
Baitarni has been a noted place of pilgrimage from remote antiquity. I.O. 1114 reads Jashpur 'urf Jáj. The form Jash should, I think, be read Jashn, and appears to be an attempt to reproduce the word Jajna, of the Sanskrit यज्ञपुरः yajnapūra 'city of sacrifice,' the original name of this city.

Dakhan Dikh. For dikh we should read dig. The four forts of the southern region are Párikúd, Málúd, Bajrakot, and Andhári, all of which lie between the Chilká lake and the sea, and are shown in the A. of I.

Sirán. Should be Siráín, a parganah in Central Puri, on the north-east shore of the Chilká lake.

Shergarh. A large parganah in the north-west corner of the Cuttack district.

Kotdes. A large parganah in the northern and central part of Puri. The entry against this parganah regarding the forts varies in the different MSS. I.O. 6 has دو inserted (erroneously, I think) before أصل. I.O. 1114 has قلعة أصل قصبه. The meaning apparently is that the original fort is a kasbah or town. The variant kusabah means a small town. The kot or fort, from which the parganah received its name of Kotdes, or the 'country of the fort,' was, in fact, a fortified town, and not, as most of the Orissa forts were, merely a castle or fortified house.

Kaṭak Banáras. The city of Cuttack, capital of the ancient kingdom and of the modern province. The name Banáras, so persistently attached to it by Muhammadan writers, has nothing to do with the famous sacred city on the Ganges, but is a mispronunciation of Béránsá (Bírá=a kind of millet, and násti=a headland), the name of a village a mile from the fort on a point jutting out into the river Kátjorí. The "stone fort of great strength," or so much of it as the Public Works Department has not sold at "one
rupee the running foot," still stands to the north of the city. When yet uninjured, it must have been an imposing edifice, and covers a large area, surrounded by a broad moat with strong stone walls. Nothing but a huge mound remains of the palace of Mukund Dev.

Khatra. I.O. 6 reads كَوْنِد هِمْ، I.O. 1114 كِهْتِرِي، but the most probable reading is that given in a note by Blochmann, كَرَبَر. The real word is, I think, Khetra, meaning the sacred area round the city of Puri, the revenues of which were devoted to the service of the temple of Jagannáth.

Mánikpatan. Mánikpatan is at the point where the Chilká lake opens into the Bay of Bengal. There are still numerous salt-making stations round about it.

Sarkár Kaling Dandpát.
Sarkár Rájmahindra.

These two names cover the whole tract of country from the Rasákuliá to the Godávari. Though occasionally for short periods subject to the kings of Orissa, this country never really formed part of their kingdom, and was never at any time subject to the rule of Akbar or his successors. No details are given concerning it, and the entries regarding revenue and contingents of troops are purely imaginary.

This concludes the notice in the Aín concerning Orissa. It is worthy of note, as showing the incompleteness of the lists compiled by Todar Mal, that although many places both on the eastern and western frontiers are mentioned, hardly a single name of any of the wide and fertile territories in the central plain of Cuttack occurs. This plain, the heart of the Mughalbandi, in the delta of the Mahánádi and Bráhmií rivers, is the richest, most cultivated, and most populous part of the whole of Orissa.
Yet Asureswar, Kalamatia, Pindy, Tisani, Hariharpur, Deogon, Sailo, Saibit, and a dozen other large and productive parganahs are omitted from the list, and there is no one of the names in the list which can be stretched so as to cover them. The same remark applies to the Puri District, where Limbai, Kotrang, Antarud, and many other populous and well-cultivated areas, are entirely omitted. Kotdes, Chaubisko, and Sirain can hardly have been so much larger than they are at present as to include all this territory.

It is true that under the head of Purb Dig or eastern quarter a revenue of 22,881,580 dam (—Rs. 572,014) is recorded, which is far more than can ever have been realized from the four jungly tracts on the sea-coast—Kanika, Kujang, and the two other kila's. So also the territory of the Maharajas of Ail is known to have been more extensive formerly than now, and the Dakhan Dig or southern quarter is recorded as assessed at 22,065,770 dam (—Rs. 526,644), which is much in excess of anything that can possibly have been levied from the four poor little kila's between the Chilk and the sea. But even after making allowances for the area covered by these names extending over a far larger tract than at present, there must remain a great extent of country in the Cuttack and Puri Districts unaccounted for. The truth seems to be that Todar Mal's inquiries into the land revenue of Orissa were of a very superficial nature, and the province was not really surveyed, divided into parganahs, and assessed till the reign of Shah Jahân.

No. III. Subah Bihar.

As I have already published my reconstruction of this Subah in J.A.S.B., vol. liv, p. 162, it will suffice to refer to that article for the identification of the parganahs, all but a very few of which are still extant under the same names as those given in the Ain, and are shown, more or less disguised by incorrect spelling, in the Atlas of India.
It is not therefore necessary to collate and compare MSS., as in those Súbahs (such as Bengal) where the old parganah names have fallen out of use and memory. The corrections necessary in Colonel Jarrett’s spelling may be ascertained by reference to my article and the Atlas of India. It is not, on the whole, difficult to restore the spelling, by which that monumental work, the Atlas, is so often disfigured, to a scientific system.

With regard to the note 1 to Pandág (read Pundág) at p. 154 of J., my identification of the mysterious word جھرود as خروه, the name of the widespread and powerful aboriginal tribe of Cheros, who for centuries held all that large area of hill-country bounding Bihár on the south, is supported by Blochmann’s article in J.A.S.B., vol. xi, p. 111, which seems not to have been consulted by J.

For Jai Chanpa, in the same Sarkár, should be read Chái Champá, now two separate parganahs. I.O. 6 reads جی جنیا. As both Chái and Champá are still in existence, there can be no doubt as to the spelling.

Other corrections may be made from the article referred to above, and the situation of all the parganahs will be seen from the map accompanying it.

Erratum.—Page 757, line 3: for the second ‘I.O. 6’ substitute ‘I.O. 1114.’

While travelling in Khorāsān, in 1874, Colonel (then Captain) the Honourable G. Napier reported having passed an inscription cut upon a rock near the village of Panj-Mana, seven or eight miles north of Kārdeh, on the road leading from Meshed to Kelāt-i-Nādiri. The rock was described as a block of crystalline limestone fallen from an overhanging cliff, while the writing it bore was said to be the record of a victory gained by “Muhammad Shaibāni, the Usbeg conqueror of Bokhārā, over the unbelievers.” The languages in which it was cut were Arabic and Persian, and the date 916 of the Hijra, or 1510 A.D.

This was all that was known of the inscription, but pointing, as it did, to an interesting historical period, it seemed to merit further investigation. Being unable to visit the spot myself last summer, an exact copy of the writing on the stone was made, at my request, by an accomplished calligraphist named Mirza Abdulla, of Kandahār. The English translation that accompanies it was kindly made for me by Khān Bahādur Maula Bakhsh, the Indian Government Attaché at the Meshed Consulate General.

At first sight, this record of the Usbeg chief would appear to contain nothing of greater interest than a memoir of one of his many victories; for his career had been one of almost uniform success since about 1505. By the year 1509 he had conquered Transoxiana, a great part of Turkistān, Ferghāna, and Khiva, as well as some of the districts of Khorāsān. He had defeated some of the best military leaders of the times among the Timuris, the
Moghuls, and others; and if one more victory had been added to his score, no surprise would have been felt by readers of the history of his life. The curiosity, however, of this boastful inscription lies in the fact that the event it perpetuates the memory of was not a victory, but a defeat—the first of a series which, within a few months of its date, brought Shaibāni’s empire and life to an end. But as a statement of this kind, which impugns the veracity of a great historical character, may appear rather a bold one to make, it is necessary to go briefly into the occurrences of the times in order to show that no misconception has taken place; and also that the inscription may just as probably have been set up with Shaibāni’s sanction, and while he was present on the spot, as by any partisan or successor.

In the first place, as to the lines themselves. Although Shaibāni Khān is known to have been a writer of verses (his enemy Bāber calls them tasteless verses), the composition is perhaps unlikely to have been dictated by him. Most probably it is that of a courtier whose chief object was to flatter the vanity of his master, for its obscure and pompous style is that usually adopted by Oriental panegyrists. The only historical information that it is intended to convey is contained in the Persian sentences forming the middle section, but even these are made the vehicle for rhetorical extravagances, so that the writer has been unable to descend to such commonplace detail as always to call the towns he mentions by their right names, or to give his hero’s movements in explicit language. Plainly put, he tells us that, on a certain date, Shaibāni Khān marched from Marv-i-Shāhijān, and that at a place called Kindilik (Kinderlik), in the Ulugh Hills of the Dasht-i-Qipchāk, he gained a great victory over certain infidels whose tribe, or nationality, it is not thought worth while to name. Further, that the captives taken on the occasion were sent off to the capital of Islām, and there

1 Nowadays frequently, though incorrectly, written “Marr-i-Shāh-Jahān.”
converted; while Shaibānī himself on a certain subsequent
date arrived at a town styled "the Memorial of the Khān,"
which he himself had built. For the erection of the
inscription no date is given.

If a complete history of Shaibānī Khān were in existence,
it might be feasible to trace his operations during the period
in question, and to show what the writer of the inscription
really meant to set forth. But we have no complete account
of the Usbeg leader's life, though portions of it are noticed
in many Oriental histories—some original, some mere
abstracts of others. The only book which professes to
contain the story of his reign and deeds is the Turki epic
poem called the "Shaibānī Nāma," translated by Professor
Vambéry into German under the title of "Scheibaniade."
This is a panegyric in the usual florid style—a few grains
of historical fact scattered among tons of fulsome adulation
—and it carries us down only to the year 911 of the
Hijra, or some four years previous to the events alluded
to on the stone at Panj-Mana, closing abruptly with the
account of Shaibānī's return from his conquest of Khiva.

More light is to be derived from Khwāndamīr's general
history known as the "Habīb-us-Siyar" (vol. iii), where
the period including the events in question is summed up
as follows:—

"After conquering the province of Jurjān (Gurgān)
and its dependencies, Muhammad Khān Shaibānī used to
pitch his summer camp at the Ulang of Rādkān, and used
to pass the winter in Māvara-un-Nahr. Sometimes he led
expeditions to the Dasht-i-Qipchāk for the purpose of
attacking the Kazāks; and at the end of the year 915 he
was defeated by Qāsim Sultān, who was the most powerful
chief in Dasht-i-Qipchāk at that time. During the battle
a large number of the leaders of the Khān's troops were
killed. Muhammad Khān returned in distress to Khorāsān
in the spring, and led an expedition against the Hazāra

1 Dating about 927-35 Hijra, or 1621-2.
2 This was in 914 Hijra.
and Nikudār, who were in the Kohistān of Zamindāwar. As the sun of his fortune was setting, he could accomplish nothing in that expedition either."

The only other original author I am able to consult here, who gives an account of Shaibānī's transactions about this time, is Mirza Haidar Dughlāt, the historian of the Moghuls. He was, in part, a contemporary of Shaibānī Khān, and, in his "Tārikh-i-Rashidi," relates at some length several episodes of the Usbeg campaigns; thus, in regard to the expedition against the Kazāks, to which our inscription evidently refers, he writes as follows (p. 230 of translation):

"In the year 915, he [Shaibānī] proceeded against the Kazāks. At that time, although Baranduk was Khān, yet all the business of government was conducted by Qāsim Khān. In spite of his great power, Shāhi Beg Khān had not force enough to withstand Qāsim Beg. At that period the number of his army exceeded 20,000. In winter-time everyone stayed in some place where there was fodder for the cattle. In the middle of the winter Shāhi Beg Khān was engaged in plundering on every side, but he soon returned, his object being not to remain too far from his own country. About the time above mentioned he made his last expedition, but the strength of his horses and soldiers was quite exhausted; he himself remained in the district of Kuk Kāshāna, and having detached a force whose horses had some strength left, sent them forward. This party fell in with a few men whom they despoiled and made prisoners.

"One day they had halted for the sake of feeding their horses, when news came that Qāsim Khān was close at hand. This news alarmed them. Buyun Pīr Hasan, one of Qāsim Khān's Amirs, having heard of the invasion of the Shaibān, advanced against them with his own followers;"

1 So Mirza Haidar, and some other writers, always style Shaibānī Khān; while others, again, write of him as "Shaibak Khān," or "Shāh-bakht."
2 Meaning, probably, that they were scattered as the necessity for fodder dictated.
he spread the report that Qāsim Khān was approaching, and that he had let himself be seen in the distance. Shāhi Beg Khān’s people, being fully persuaded that Qāsim Khān’s men were really upon them, abandoned all they had seized—nay, even all they had brought with them—and retreated, in the utmost disorder and confusion, to Shāhi Beg Khān, bearing the news of Qāsim Khān’s approach. Shāhi Beg Khān at once ordered them to sound the drum of departure, without paying attention to anything [but getting away]. Those who liked, stayed; those who wished to go, went. Broken and in disorder, they reached Samarkand at the end of winter. Shāhi Beg Khān himself went on to Khorāsān, where he spent the spring.¹

“...In the beginning of autumn [tiiri māh] he led an army against the Hazara ...”

Here, then, is the testimony of two altogether independent, and nearly contemporary, authorities that the expedition alluded to in the inscription was against the Kazakhs, under their chief Qāsim Khān (or Qāsim Sultān), and that the result was not a victory, as there recorded, but a defeat—perhaps rather a rout—of the Usbeg troops.

But in order to verify, as far as possible, Shaibani’s movements, and to trace him to the spot where the inscribed rock stands, it is necessary to compare the brief and obscure indications there vouchsafed by his memorialist with the plainer accounts of the historians. The first four place-names mentioned on the stone offer no difficulty. In the Dasht-i-Qipchak, or the locality now known as the “Kirghiz Steppe,” the Kazakhs flourished in the sixteenth century, as they do now, though they have acquired, among the Russians, the name of “Kirghiz.” The range of hills called Ulugh Tāgh (or “great mountains”) occupies a position towards the centre of the steppe, while there are two or more spots marked “Kinderlik” on our maps, to

¹ The word may also mean “summer,” or “early summer,” according to common usage.
² Tir is the Persian month nearly corresponding to June.—H. B.
the south-east of the hills, and between them and the lower course of the river Chū. There may also be others in the same region, for it is a common name in Central Asia. Thus Shaibānī would appear, from the inscription, to have fought a battle a short distance to the south-east of the Ulugh Tāgh, and thence to have sent his prisoners to Khiva, for this I take to be the place meant by Dār-ul-Islām or "the capital of Islām." It is possible that other cities in or about Māvara-un-Nahr, and very likely Samarkand itself, may also have been called, occasionally, by this title, but Khiva was certainly honoured with it very generally during the later Middle Ages; and no better evidence of this is needed than the coinage of the Khāns of Khiva during the latter part of the thirteenth century.\(^1\)

After disposing of his prisoners, Shaibānī himself is said to have gone on to the suburbs of the town of Yādgār-i-Khānī. What town is intended to be represented by this title, rather than name, it is not easy to determine. No book accessible to me here shows that any place was so styled during Shaibānī's or, indeed, any other period; and I have met with no inhabitant of these regions, possessing local knowledge (though I have questioned many), who has been able to recognize the term. The place where the inscription stands cannot be indicated, for it can never have been a town with suburbs at any time so recent as the sixteenth century, while I know of nothing to point to any existing town in the near neighbourhood, such as Rādkān for instance,\(^2\) ever having borne such a name, or of having been built or rebuilt by Shaibānī Khān.

According to the inscription, it would appear that Shaibānī's "arrival" at Yādgār-i-Khānī is intended to be connected with his final "return" from the expedition, mentioned in the succeeding sentence. If this be the case, and the return is meant to be to the point whence he set

---

2 Meshed is, for many reasons, out of the question.
out, it would be in Marv that we should seek for an identification of Yādgār-i-Khānī. The city which has borne the name of Marv for many centuries has several times been destroyed, during the Musulman era, and each time restored on a different site, while on each occasion the new town has received a fresh name, by which it has been known to the inhabitants of the region, if not to strangers. Yet, in no account that I am acquainted with does Yādgār-i-Khānī occur as one of them; nor, indeed, has any name been handed down which would connect the city of any period with Shaibānī Khān. Mr. O’Donovan, it is true, mentions the existence of an ancient mound called Marma Khān Tepe, some five miles to the north-east of the present Marv (Konshid Khān Kala), where the local Turkomans told him that “a town of large dimensions” had once existed, but they gave, apparently, no indication of a date. I cannot find (from Turkomans in Meshed) that these remains are in any way connected with Muhammad Shaibānī, but the name Marma is said to be a Turkoman corruption of Muḥammad; so that there is just an odd chance that it is after Muhammad Shaibānī Khān that they are called. This, however, is mere conjecture; but it may be remarked that it would be considered good style, by the writer of an inscription, to indicate a town named after his hero by some pseudonym or flattering figure of speech rather than by his personal name. Thus, Yādgār-i-Khānī, or “Memorial of the Khān,” would be regarded as more graceful than (in this instance) Muḥammadābād, or Qala-i-Muḥammad Khān, etc.—its obscurity notwithstanding.

Mirza Haidar is distinct in telling us that Shaibānī’s force returned from the place where they were routed to Samarkand, and I take the statement to mean that Shaibānī retired with them to the capital, and thence went on to Khorāsān. It is, however, just possible to read that he himself went on to Khorāsān, while his men fled to

Samarkand. I prefer the former reading: and in that case Yādgār-i-Khānī should either be some local or temporary designation for Samarkand, or it might represent some suburb of it, or some group of buildings which Shaibānī, during his few years of power, had caused to be erected, or had become identified with.¹ From here it is quite probable that he may have gone on to the hills near Panj-Mana. As against this view, all we have is the record of the inscription that on returning from Ulugh Tāgh, its hero marched his captives to some capital which may have been Khiva, and afterwards “arrived at the suburbs of Yādgār-i-Khānī.” It is most unlikely that he should have travelled first to Khiva and afterwards to Samarkand, but it is quite permissible to read that he “caused his prisoners to be marched”² to Dār-ul-Islām, while he may not have accompanied them. Still, as we know that, being in full flight before his enemy, he could have had no prisoners, and that the whole tenour of the story in the inscription is misleading, it seems scarcely necessary to give much heed to any particular statement it contains, unless perhaps the mere movements and dates. The plain story of the Moghul author is, it seems to me, far more likely to be correct.

Khwāndamīr’s brief account affords no help in identifying Yādgār-i-Khānī. It points only to Shaibānī having returned, after his disastrous expedition against Qāsim Sultān, to some place in Khorāsān. But Khorāsān in those days extended much farther eastward than its present limits, and included Herat (which was the capital) and Marv, besides the hill ranges among which Rādkān and Panj-Mana are situated. Nothing is said as to whether he returned direct to Khorāsān or not.

Neither does Mirza Haidar give any indication of the particular locality in Khorāsān to which Shaibānī betook himself after passing on from Samarkand. He is, however,

¹ If this were so, the “Shaibānī Nāma” might be supposed to contain the name, but it does not.
² The verb used is kuchānīdan.
somewhat more explicit in another way than the author of the Habīb-us-Siyar, for he records certain dates which may be usefully compared with those in the inscription. He tells us that when the Usbëgs went forward to invade the Kazūk territory, Shaibăni himself remained at a spot called Kuk Kashāna, not far from which the rout of his troops would seem to have occurred, but it is a place, which, unfortunately, I can find no means of identifying. The name would mean, in Turki, "Blue house" or "Blue palace," and it must, to judge from the context, have lain somewhere between the southern extremity of the Ulugh Tāgh and Samarkand. He also relates, as we have seen, that Shaibăni passed on from the latter place to Khorāsān, where he spent the spring or summer. From this last indication, and from Khwāndamīr's statement that the Usbëg chief was in the habit of passing the spring in the pastures near Rādkān, it seems probable that he retired after his defeat to the Ulang, or "hill grazing ground," near the spot where the inscription was cut, and that its date would then be the spring, or early summer, of 1510. The small town of Rādkān is some forty miles from the site of the inscription, but it is the nearest place of any importance, while the grazing grounds for many miles around might easily be alluded to by a general historian, like Khwāndamīr, under the name of the nearest known town.

For the rest, we may infer from the dates that the movements here ascribed to the Usbëg chief are possible ones, and it may be imagined with reason that during his leisure in his hill retreat he sought to obliterate the memory of his defeat by erecting a monument which should hand down the event to posterity in the light of a victory. The dates in the inscription are the one thing contained in it that have the appearance of accuracy, and they agree fairly with Mirza Haidar's indications of seasons. The day of departure, 2 Shawwāl 915, fell on the 12th January, 1510, and the date of return, 22 Safar 916, occurred on the 30th May, 1510; while the Mirza tells us that Shaibăni started
for the Kazāk country in the winter, that the retreat to
Samarkand took place at the end of the winter, and that
the chief himself then went on to Khorāsān to spend the
spring (or summer) before setting out anew against the
Hazāras. As movements were carried out in those days,
there would have been ample time to execute those assumed
between the dates mentioned; and the late spring would
naturally be the season when an inhabitant of Central Asia
would seek the hills—both for his own sake and for that
of his cattle.

It is perhaps strange that no very definite tradition is
current among the inhabitants of Panj-Mana and the
neighbouring villages to account for the inscribed rock,
which must have been familiar to them and their ancestors
for generations past. No one round about seems to be
acquainted with the purport of the inscription, and the
only legend they are in the habit of attaching to it is
that an unknown king, on advancing to fight the "infidels,"
while a certain star was facing him, sustained a defeat, and
returned to this spot, where he caused the inscription to
be cut as a warning to others not to start on any expedition
with this particular star in front.

P.S.—Since the above was in type Mr. Ney Elias has
sent a photograph of the hill-side where the inscription was
found, with the following note:

"It is taken by Dr. A. L. Duke. The stone itself is
too far off and too high up from the camera to show the
inscription properly, but it can be vaguely made out on
the face of the stone. The block, Duke tells me, is about
seven feet high, nearly as broad, and very thick; in fact,
quite immovable without appliances. It is in a deep glen
with sides so steep that the camera could only be set up
at the bottom."
Inscription.

كَأَوْ تَوْفِيقَاتِ يَزِينُونِ وَتَأْثِيدَاتِ سَبِيحَةِ حَضَرَت صَاحِب قَرَان
وَخَافِقَانِ كَيْشَرِ سَتَانِ المُسْتَنْصِرِ مِن النَّصِيرِ المُسْتَنْصِرِ ابْوَ النَّجَمِ مُحَقَّد
الشيَابَانِيِّ خَلَائِلِ الْعَالَمِ وَخَليْفَةِ الرَّحْمَانِ خَلََّد إِيَامَ جَلَالِهِ وَابْد
رَالِسِ [؟] مَقَطُّنِي كَرَمَهُ فَضِلَ اللَّهُ العَظَّامَيْنِ بَأَوْلِيَاءِهِمْ وَنَفْسِهِمْ عَلَى
القَاعِدِينَ دُرِّجَهُ دَرْجَةً دَرْجَةً دَوَّرَ شَهْرَ شِوَالِ سَنَةٌ خَمْسِ عَشْرِ وتَسْعَمَةٌ
عَنْانُ شَرْكَتِ مَرَازِ [؟] اَزْمِرُ شَاهِجَانِ بِصُوْبَ ذِكْرِ قَبَائِلِ مَعَوْفِ
كَرْدَانِيَّ وَدَرْ شَمْلَ كَنْدِيْكُ تَعْنِى اَلْعِلُّ [؟] اَلْأَوْلِيَّةَ زَمَرَ اَهْلَ كَفَر
وَتَغَلَّتُ وَأَعْدُهَا دَيْنُ مَلِتُ رَأَيْتُهُ دَادَ جَمِيعَ كَشْيَرَةِ اَزْ
اَجْمَاعَةٌ اِسْمِرَ كَرَدَانِيَّ بِدَارِ الْإِسْلَامِ كَوْجَانِيَّةِ بِدَابِتِ طَرِيقٍ دَارِ الْبَلاَم
مُشْرِفُ كَرْدَانِيَّ وَدَرْ تَارِخُ بِبِبَتُ دَوَمَ شَهْرَ صَفَرِ سَنَةٌ سَتَةٌ عَشْرِ و
تَسْعَمَةٌ دَرْ نَوْاحِيِ شَهْرِ يَادَگَارِ خَانِيَ كَه مَعْمَارِ كَمِلَ هَمْامِيْنَ
تَعْمِيرِ نَزُولِ فُرْمُودْ وَأَرْبَى ذِهَابِ نَهَایَتِ اِيَّابِ كَه
مَدَتُ جَيْهَارِ مَدَدَ اَبْسَت رُؤِيَ اَتْ آَمِنَ مَقْدَرَ مِنْزِلَ وَمَرَاحِلٍ طَيِّ
فُرْمُودُ كَه طَائِيرُ عَقْلَ تَنْزِرَ وَتَوْسَعُ هَ [؟] رَوْا تَصْرُونَ اَنْدِشْهُ سَيْرَان
عاَجِزَوَ قَاَسَرَ إِسْلَامِ اللُّهَ اَبْدَ عَلََٰلَ خَالِفَةَ عَلَى مَفَارِقِ اَهْلِ الْبَلاَم
وَأَيْدُ لَوَاتِ نَصّرَتِهِ بَعْقِدَ مُحَقَّد عَلَى الْعَلْوَةِ وَالْبَلاَم
By divine favour and grace, and by providential assistance, His Majesty, Lord of the happy conjunction, and the Khāqān, the conqueror of countries, the improver of aid from the Helper of helpers, Abul Fath Muhammad Shaibānī Khān, the learned of the Age, and Vicegerent of the Merciful (may the days of his glory be perpetuated, and may the skirts of the exigencies of his generosity be prolonged!—God has given precedence to warriors [in the cause of religion who sacrifice] their riches and lives, over people who go not to war), on the second day of the month of Shawwāl, in the year nine hundred and fifteen (Hijra), turned [his] glorious reins from Marv-i-Shāhījān towards Dasht-i-Qipchāk, and at the station of Kindilik [in the district of Ulughṭāgh] defeated a multitude of infidels and deviators [from] and enemies of the faith [and] religion, and having taken a large number of that community as captives, marched them to Dār-ul-Islām, and honoured them by leading them into the road of paradise; and on the twenty-second day of the month of Safar, in the year nine hundred and sixteen, [His Majesty] arrived in the suburbs of the town of Yūdgār-i-Khānī, which has been built by the architect of his Imperial magnanimity; and from the beginning of [his] departure to the end of his return, which is a period of four months and twenty days, [His Majesty] traversed so many stages and marches, that the quick-flying bird of conception and the swift-paced steed of imagination are impotent and powerless to conceive or imagine their being passed.

1 A word partially illegible, but probably manṣūṭt.
2 Literally "House of Islām."
3 Dār-us-Salām—literally "Mansion of peace."
4 Literally "Memorial of the Khān."
May God perpetuate the shadow of his Vice-gerency over the heads of true believers, and strengthen the standard of his victory by the truth of Muhammad, upon whom be blessing and peace.
ART. XIX.—Note on the Panjmana Inscription sent by Mr. Ney Elias. By H. Beveridge, M.R.A.S.

The inscription is an interesting one, and well deserves publication in our Journal. It records a march by Shaibānī to the Kirghiz Steppe, and a victory which he gained over the inhabitants at Kindilik in the Ulugh Tāgh country. He began his march from Merv-Shāhijān on 2 Shawwāl, 915 (13 January, 1510), and returned after four months and twenty days on 22 Safar, 916 (1 June, 1510). Mr. Elias considers that the inscription is false and that the so-called victory was a defeat, and he quotes in support of this view the Habīb-as-Siyar and the Tārikh-i-Rashidi. But surely a contemporary inscription is better authority than two books—one by a compiler and the other by an enemy—and, moreover, the latter are not, I think, absolutely contradictory of the inscription. Shaibānī was apparently at first successful over the people of the Dasht-i-Kipchāk, though he, or at least his son, was eventually defeated by them, and I take the inscription to refer to the initial victory. That some such victory did occur, seems to be admitted by Haidar Mirza. At p. 230 (Ross's translation) we read: "In the middle of the winter, Shāhi Beg Khan was engaged in plundering on every side, but he soon returned, his object being not to remain too far from his own country." I think this must be the expedition commemorated in the inscription. That began in the middle of winter (13 January, 1510), and was characterized by wondrous rapidity of movement, as the inscription tells us. It was thus soon over, as Haidar tells us, and had the natural effect of knocking up Shaibānī's men and horses, and so leading to the
subsequent crushing defeat. It must be remembered that Haidar Mirza was an enemy of Shaibānī, who put his father to death and sent orders for the killing of Haidar, though the latter was but a boy—"had only just passed the half of my childhood" (p. 210). It is natural, therefore, that Haidar should represent all Shaibānī's acts in the worst light. Moreover, though Haidar was a contemporary, he was far away from Shaibānī and Dasht-i-Kipchāk at the time, being with his cousin Babar in Kabul. Accounts of Shaibānī may be read in Erskine's "Babar," p. 238, and Khāfi Khan, "Brit. Ind.," ed. i, 39. In his "History of India," i, 296, Erskine follows the Tārikh-i-Rashidi and gives the passage quoted by Mr. Elias. But the best account that I have seen of Shaibānī is in Vambéry's "History of Bokhara." He mentions the defeat described in the Ḥabīb-as-Siyar and Tārikh-i-Rashidi, but he puts it later than they do, making it contemporary with Shah Ismail of Persia's advance on Meshed. At p. 268 he says: "Shaibānī was prevented from continuing his march southwards by the revolt of the Firozkuhi, a people haunting the peaks of steep rocks, and was making vain efforts to subdue them, when he received the intelligence that Shah Ismail was actually advancing on Meshed with a large army. To his great disgust and alarm news arrived at the same time from Transoxiana that his son, Muhammad Timur, had been surprised on his march against the Kirghiz on the Yaxartes by Buyunsoz Hasan, and terribly defeated. Thus the brave arm and searching eye of Shaibānī were needed in three places at once. In addition to this, his own troops were exhausted and worn out by long marches." If this be correct, the defeat of Shaibānī's troops by the Kirghiz was in October or November, 1510, and so several months after the expedition referred to in the Panjmana inscription; for Shah Ismail's march upon Merv and his defeat of Shaibānī occurred in Shabān and Ramgān, 916, or November-December, 1510. This appears from the continuation of the passage from the Ḥabīb-as-Siyar quoted by Mr. Ney Elias. After saying that Shaibānī could do nothing against
the Hazāras, the Ḥabīb ¹ goes on to say that Shaibānī went to Herat in the beginning of Shabān (about 4th November), and was recruiting himself from his fatigues in the gardens there when he heard of Shah Ismail's approach. And at p. 234 of Mr. Denison Ross's translation of the Tārikh-i-Rashidi we learn that it was in the following month of Ramzān that Shaibānī marched out to encounter Shah Ismail. The exact date of his defeat and death is not given by Vambéry, but he says the day was a Friday; being in Ramzān, the month must have been December.²

It will be noticed that the Tārikh-i-Rashidi does not speak of Shaibānī having been personally defeated by the Kirghizes. This agrees with Vambéry’s statement that it was Shaibānī’s son, and not Shaibānī himself, who was defeated, and also differentiates the affair from the expedition recorded in the Panjmana inscription. I submit, too, that Vambéry’s account agrees much better with probabilities than do the two statements quoted by Mr. Elias. If Shaibānī were really defeated and routed by the Kirghizes in the spring of 915, it is not likely that he would have inclination or strength immediately to set about another expedition, viz. that against the Hazāras or Firuzkohis.

As regards the Yādgār Khānī mentioned in the inscription, it was perhaps some palace or pleasure-house erected by Shaibānī, rather than a town, though called a shahr in the inscription. It may, as Mr. Elias suggests, be a synonym for some such town as Muhammadābad, which Shaibānī may have founded. In Reclus’s Map of Western Asia, “Geog.,” vol. ix, we find a Muhammadābad north of Rādkān, but according to Colonel Napier (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1876, p. 166) the proper name of it is Muhammadbāgh. This title agrees better with the idea of a pleasure-house, and

¹ The passage may be seen in two MSS. in the British Museum, Add. 17,925, p. 4636, and Add. 16,679, p. 3663; also in the Teheran lithograph of 1271 a.h., vol. iii, p. 316, near top, and in lithograph of Rażat-as-Safa, vol. vii, p. 96.
² Erskine gives 2 December as the date.—“History,” i, 306. See also Tārikh-i-Rashidi, p. 226.
it is just possible that the word *shahr* may not refer to Yādgār Khānī, and that the preposition *ba* has slipped out before the latter word. We might then read that Shaibānī arrived at the environs of the city (Rādkān?) at the Yādgār Khānī, which had been constructed by the genius of his architect. It may thus be that Yādgār Khānī is a synonym for the Kuk Kāshāna of Haidar Mirza. This does not appear to be a town, and Mr. Elias suggests that it may mean Blue Palace (or Heavenly Palace). One of the B.M. MSS. has Kuruk Kāshāna, and Mr. Erskine has read it so, and translated it as “winter-quarters” (*vide* B.M. MS. Add. 26,612, p. 208). This, no doubt, may be one of the meanings of Kāshāna, but etymologically it means, according to Vullers, a house furnished with mirrors. That the place Shaibānī returned to from his expedition was Rādkān, or Raikān, and not Merv, seems suggested by the site of the inscription, and also by the statement in the Ḥabib-as-Siyar that Shaibānī used to make Rādkān his summer-quarters. This is corroborated by the Tūrīkh-i-Rashīdī, which states, p. 162, that in 914 (1509) Shaibānī was at Ulung-Rādkān, *i.e.* the pasturage grounds of Rādkān. (Mr. Ross has written this name as Ulung-Zādagān, in accordance, apparently, with B.M. MS. Or. 157, p. 114; but in 24,090, p. 1006, it is clearly Ulung-Rādkān, and there can be little doubt this is the correct reading.)

It is, however, quite possible that the place meant is Merv, as suggested by Mr. Elias, and certainly the epithet Shahr, or city, is more appropriate to Merv than to a small town like Rādkān, which, moreover, is forty miles from the site of the inscription. We know that there was a Muhammadābād near Merv, for it was there that Shaibānī was defeated and killed (Erskine’s History, i, 303). Another possibility is that Yādgār Khānī may be a synonym for

---

1 While on the subject of readings, I may note that the number of Shaibānī’s soldiers given at p. 230 of Ross's translation as 20,000 is 200,000 in all the MSS., and has been so stated by Erskine. The expedition, then, was on a very large scale.
Herat, or be some place in its neighbourhood. There was a Yādgār Khan or Mirza, a great-grandson of Shahrākh, who killed Abu Sa‘īd, and used to live in great luxury at the Bāgh-i-Zāghān, or Raven’s Garden at Herat, and was put to death there in August, 1470. Herat, or some place in its neighbourhood, may have been styled Yādgār Khānī in compliment to him. We know also from the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, p. 231, and the Hābīb-as-Siyar, that it was to Herat that Shaibānī retired after the Hazāra expedition, but was obliged to leave it soon afterwards on account of the approach of Shah Ismail.

I think that we are all much indebted to Colonel Napier for the discovery of this important inscription, and to Mr. Ney Elias for his obtaining a copy of it and sending it to us, and also for his valuable and interesting note. I do not think, however, that we need take the extreme view of supposing that Shaibānī was so false as to represent a defeat as a victory. It is not likely that after his son had been defeated by the Kirghizes he would be in the mood for engraving inscriptions. My point is that there were two campaigns in 915-6 against the Kirghizes—one in the winter or spring, and another at the end of autumn. In the first Shaibānī was successful. He had a large army of 200,000 men, and he marched with great rapidity. In the second, his son was in command and was defeated. Muhammad Haidar has, I think, to some extent mixed up these two campaigns in his narration. Even his own account shows that Shaibānī was at first victorious, and that on the second occasion, too, there was some plunder obtained and some prisoners taken. These may be the prisoners referred to in the inscription.

The following extract from Curzon’s “Persia” will be found interesting:—“On the way we pass a mighty lump of sheer rock, perched upon the top of a thousand-feet slope, and known as the Kuh-i-Panjmana or Five-man (=about 32lb.) Mountain, from a story about a facetious monarch who invited one of his courtiers to weigh the airy trifle. A little further, on the left hand, is an Arabic and Persian
inscription upon the smoothed surface of a big limestone block, some twenty feet above the path, which records a victory of Shaibānī Mohammed Khan, the Usbeg conqueror of Bokhara, over the Persian unbelievers in the year of the Hejra 916. We then came to a little village, the name of which was pronounced to me as Hark (or Whark), where I found an agreeable shade in an orchard sloping down to the stream.” (Vol. i, 141.)

Curzon was then marching to Kārdeh, on his way back from Kelāt-i-Nadiri to Meshed. The stone is on the way from Vardeh to Kārdeh, which two places are seven farsakhs, or about twenty-six miles, apart. Curzon saw the inscription on 20th October, 1889.
ART. XX.—An Inscription of Madanapáladeva of Kanauj.
By C. Bendall.

A copper-plate, closely similar to one existing at Calcutta, and successively published by Dr. F. Hall (J.A.S.B., xxvii, 220) and Prof. Kielhorn (Ind. Ant., xviii, 9), has recently come under my notice. It measures 1' 4" high by 1' 6" broad, and has a hole for a ring at the top and the raised rim described by Dr. Kielhorn, &c. The plate is at present at Messrs. Terry and Co.'s, of 29, Glasshouse Street, London, W. It is for sale, and I understand from them that it has previously been in the hands of a family in the South of England for about a century.

The language of the grant follows closely that of the above-mentioned grant. The date is thus expressed (l. 12):

Tri-śaṭy-adhikāśataikādaśa-saṃvatsare pauṣe māsi kṛṣṇa-
pakṣe amāvāsyāṁ somadine sūryagrahaṇe.

This eclipse will not work out correctly, and Prof. Kielhorn, to whom the difficulty was referred by Mr. Sewell (who had received it from me), writes—

"There can be no doubt whatever that 1163 is a mistake for 1164, and the date regularly corresponds to Monday, 16 Dec., A.D. 1107, with a sol. eclipse, visible at Kanauj; greatest phase 11 digits."

The person who performed the ceremonial bathing was the Mahārājī Śrī Pṛthvi-śrīkā at Ādikeśava-ghāṭa, Benares. This is recorded in the words immediately following the date given above: Vārāṇasyāṁ deca-śrī-Ādikeśava-ghāṭe Mahārājī-Śrī-Pṛthviśrīkāya asmadiyasammatyā Śrī-Gaṅgā-
"yāṁ nāṭvā. The grantees are the purohita Śrī Deevacara, and other Brahmans (Gotras specified); the village granted is Bahuvarā in the Bhāilavata-paṭṭala (these places I cannot
identify); and the writer (as in the other plate) is Sahadeva. For the curious ā ... hūḥkāntam yācā of the Calcutta plate (l. 15), our inscription reads simply acandrārrkam yācā. After the end of the imprecations the subscription, likhitam karaṇikā, immediately follows. The grant is therefore one of Madanapāla himself (presumably after his father’s death), executed through his queen.
Art. XXI.—On a system of Letter-numerals used in South India. By Cecil Bendall.

I trust that English readers will have before them ere long a full account of the very important “Encyclopaedia of Indian Research” (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie), at present in course of publication by K. Trübner of Strassburg, under the editorship of Dr. Bühler. A copy of the editor’s own extremely weighty contribution on “Indische Paläographie” has, together with its accompanying set of excellent plates, reached me by the author’s kindness. At his request I now draw attention to an omission in his chapter on the denotation of numerals (VI. Zahlenbezeichnung, pp. 73–83).

One of the systems for numeration in India is syllabic (aṅṣarapalli), as contrasted with the ordinary decimal system (aṅkapalli). The main features of these systems have been often explained (Ind. Ant., vi, pp. 42, 143; Burnell, “South Indian Palaeography,” ed. ii, p. 65; and an article by the late Sir E. C. Bayley in our own Journal, n.s., vols. xiv, xv), but the origin of the syllabic notation still remains obscure, as Dr. Bühler (who has changed his views on the general subject) admits (op. cit., p. 78). He traces it (p. 74) down to the sixteenth century only. This being so, it is well worth pointing out that in Malabar, a part of India already identified with curious survivals of ancient usage, the syllabic system has been used within the present century, and possibly is still known.

The silence of the writers of Malayalam grammars for Europeans, from R. Drummond (1799) to L. J. Frohnmeyer (1889), need not surprise us. They are mere practical manuals, the last-named writer (pref., p. v) expressly disclaiming any provision for the needs of
"students of Comparative Philology." What is curious is, that Burnell knew nothing of the system; for in his great work already cited, after discussing the syllabic system, he observes (p. 67) that he has not met with any examples in South India later than the fifth century A.D. In the "Grammar of the Malayalam Language," however, by H. Gundert (2nd ed., Mangalore, 1868), written for native students in Malayalam, with section-headings only in English, the following list is given (§ 148a, pp. 41–2):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>σα nα.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nna</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>(200, 300, etc., not indicated.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>να</td>
<td>nya</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ஸ்கிரா</td>
<td>skra</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>pta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>jhra</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>σα (σα MS.)</td>
<td>hā (ha)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>tra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>gra</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>σα (σα MS.)</td>
<td>rā (tru)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>pra</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>dre (?)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>σα</td>
<td>nα.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The British Museum (Add. 7,134) possesses a Sanskrit MS. (of the drama Anaragharāghava) written in Malayalam character, and bearing leaf-numbering on the above system. It is undated, but from its appearance it may well have been written shortly before the year it was presented to the Museum, 1829.

The forms for 1–3 (na, nna, nya) are peculiar to this system. They are not, however, borrowed from the ordinary decimal figures.

4 is not ukanā, but śkra. Compare Bhagavanūlā in Ind. Ant., vi, p. 44, col. 9, and p. 46 (śka). There is perhaps an r-sign in Bühler's Tafel ix, col. 9, No. 4.
For $j=$ $jhra$, a curious combination, it is not so easy to find a parallel, owing to the rarity of $jha$ even as a simple letter. The resemblance, however, between some of the $Ka$trapa forms of $j$ and the contemporary forms of $jha$ (Bühler, Tafel iii, line 14) is enough to account for the confusion or misreading.

For $h=$ $hā$ (Gundert) our MS. has simply $ha$. Both are doubtless derived from a form $pha$, the characters of these letters being very similar in Malayalam ($♀♀ pha$, $♀♀ ha$).

$7=gra$; agrees with the results given by Bühler, p. 75.

$8=pra$. Here $♀♀$ is doubtless a misreading for $hra$ ($♀♀$). In many of the early alphabets the resemblance between $pa$ and $ha$ is considerable.

9. I take this to be an old form of $a$, though at present it looks like $dre$. I am not sure that some of the Nepalese forms of $9$ given in my Cambridge Catalogue ("Table of Letter-numerals") do not show an analogous corruption.

10=$m$ is somewhat difficult to explain. Bühler explains the earlier forms as $=$ $thū$. The modern Mal. forms of $thu$ $thū$ ($♀♀$ $♀♀$) are not specially like $ma$ $♀♀$. Is it possible that the $ma$ arose from an identification of the early forms $♀♀$, etc., with an $m$ ($♀♀ X$, etc.) laid on its side?

20 $tha$, 30 $la$, 40 $pta$ present no difficulty.

50=$ba$. I cannot suggest an explanation.

60 $tra$ and 70 $tru$ (MS. form) are also obscure. They may rest on a misreading of some of the earlier cursive signs (Bühler, Tafel ix, cols. 3-11). Compare also some of the $Ka$trapa symbols (Bhagavanlál in Ind. Ant., l.c.), in which the mutual relation of the two signs is much like that of the two before us. Gundert’s $♀♀ ru$ is doubtless a secondary confusion from the form in the MS.
The signs for 80 (ca) and 90 (na) could probably be explained if we knew how the pândits of Malabar write Upadhmāṇīya (the labial sibilant disused in literature, but often found in inscriptions). It will be interesting to note whether any reader in the "Benighted" Presidency takes enough interest in the matter to obtain for us this information. It may be noted that signs for ca, not only in Mal. (ca), but also in some of the earlier Grantha alphabets (Burnell, "South Indian Palaeography," plates xiii, xiv), bear some resemblance to the "80" of Bühler's Table, cols. 17, 18.

100 = na. The character ṇa somewhat resembles ṇ A.

I may note in conclusion that the ordinary leaf-numbering of MSS. from Malabar is in accordance with a system also unknown to Burnell as regards that country, but described by him ("South Indian Palaeography," p. 68) for Tamil documents only. As he notes, the system is interesting as forming a middle stage between the akṣara-palli and the ordinary decimal notation. Gundert (supra cit.) gives all three systems. J. Peet, in his grammar written in 1860, gives the two last, stating (p. 95) that the decimal system was "introduced by Europeans"; but in the "Outlines of Grammar," published by F. Spring in 1839, only the decimal system is given.

The Sinhalese, as my friend Vikramasimha reminds me, have also an akṣara-system. This might, no doubt, be easily worked out from the earlier Sinhalese epigraphy. I note, in passing, the forms of 4, 7, and 30, which appear to correspond to forms of ṇka, gra, and la respectively.
1. "Shah Daulah’s Rats."

Rugby,

July 24, 1896.

Dear Sir,—“Shah Daulah’s Rats” are alluded to in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v, §311. “Shah Daulah cures barrenness. . . . When he gives children, the first is always a sort of dwarf, or mannikin, with a small head, like a rat. Such children are called Shah Daulah’s Rats, and are devoted to the shrine. These rats of Shah Daulah now form a special class of beggars. Each of them is said to have on his head the marks of the five fingers of the saint who brought him into the world.” (Note by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.)—The editor refers to *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii, 27; iii, 27.

This note, if correct, explains the objection of Mr. Muhammed Latif. The parents expect to get more than one child; and the first is the saint’s due, as Samuel was Jehovah’s.

It is not stated that they are idiots.—Yours faithfully,

W. H. D. Rouse.

2. “Antiquity of Eastern Falconry.”

Sir,—I should be much obliged to any member or correspondent who can inform me of any Oriental authority for the use of trained falcons in the East before the first century A.D. The modern falconers are apparently inclined
to claim a great antiquity for that diversion; and certainly
the stage of civilization favourable to falconry is very
ancient; and there is no "antecedent improbability" in
the matter. But the positive evidence seems to be poor.

That most commonly quoted is a very doubtful note
of the late Sir Austen Layard's, in "Nineveh and Babylon"
(p. 483, note, ed. 1853). It is not repeated in the
abridgment of 1882, and he does not seem to have attached
much importance to it, though an amateur of falconry
himself, and holding it as "probably of the highest
antiquity" (loc. cit.). He says, "A falconer bearing a hawk
on his wrist appeared to be represented in a bas-relief which
I saw at Khorsabad." Bonomi ("Nineveh and its Palaces,"
3rd edition, p. 202) has an equally doubtful identification
of a falcon on the wing, in a hunting scene from the same
place. But there seems to be no reference to falconry in
that region in any ancient writer, though one would expect
it, if practised, to have been mentioned by the Hebrews
of the Captivity, by Herodotus, Xenophon (himself a
sportsman), Aristotle, or some of the subsequent Greek
and Roman writers—people whose nations knew more of
Mesopotamia than our grandfathers did of the Panjâb
and Sind.

Aristotle, indeed, mentions wild hawks (or what he
supposed to be such) as assisting fowlers in Thrace
("History of Animals," book ix, chap. xxiv). And this
story is borrowed from him in the first century A.D. by
Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," x, 8), and from one or both of them
by Aelian in the second ("De Nat. Animal," ii, 42), who
also mentions tame sacred hawks in a temple "of Apollo
in Egypt." Neither speaks on his own authority. But,
after Pliny and before Aelian, Martial undoubtedly
mentions the use of a hawk, which had been caught wild,
in the 216th Epigram of the fourteenth book, which was
written—or, at least, published—in Spain, very early in the
second century A.D. He must have observed the practice
in Spain, for he travelled only to Italy, where it could
not have escaped Pliny and Aelian.
The next notice is said to be in the writings of Julius Firmicus (fourth century A.D.), which are not available to me.

In the sixth verse of the fifth Sura of the Kurān, "The Table," there is a passage authorizing, as it is read by Musalmans to-day, the use of prey taken by "wild creatures ("jawarih") which ye have trained like dogs, teaching them as God hath taught you." A Musalman scholar whom I have consulted assures me that the inclusion of falconry in this permission is universally admitted to be based on a tradition of the Prophet himself, which brings it back, in Arabia, to the early years of the Hijra (the fifth Sura was revealed at Medina), and by implication to the end of the sixth century, as the practice must have been general and well known to require notice.²

"E. D. R.," writing in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (1879), speaks of falconry as recorded by "very ancient Egyptian carvings and paintings," as "known in China some 2,000 years B.C."; and in high favour in the days of "Wen Wang, who reigned over a province of that country in 689 B.C." This writer is known as a past master in modern falconry, but hardly as an authority on Egyptian or Chinese archaeology, and I beg for a reference from any of our members skilled in those branches of history. Search in the Assyrian rooms at the British Museum has brought nothing to light, though I was favoured by the courteous assistance of Mr. Wallis Budge. I need only add that positive evidence would be as welcome to me as negative.

¹ Rodwell translates "wild beasts"; Sale, and my friend, "animals of prey." My friend adds that chitās are also classed, on the same authority, under the passage quoted, and that the Shah Nama contains many references to falconry. Firdusi, however, is not an admissible witness for days much older than his own, any more than Shakspere for firearms in Hamlet's Denmark and Macbeth's Scotland.

² Since the above was written, one of our own members has favoured me with some references to mention of Falconry (śraynāngātā) by Pāṇini (vi, s. 71), and later Sanskrit authority; and a distinguished Hindu scholar with a quotation from Manus. The true date of the Dharma-shastra has been so much disputed that I do not feel entitled to rely on it in this case. But I suppose one is pretty safe in taking Pāṇini for older authority than Aristotle; if not than "Wen Wang's" historian.
I have not a thesis to prove, and there is no reason why any race of men who had learnt to train the horse and hound, and to use metals, should not have learnt falconry next (the condition of modern savages seems to show that these are earlier stages in civilization). Meanwhile, "Amicus Falco, magis amica veritas."

W. F. Sinclair.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1896.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

   Band I, Heft 2.
   Steinschneider (M.). Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen.
   Jensen (P.). Die philologische und die historische Methode in der Assyriologie.
   Baunack (Th.). Ueber einige Wunderthaten der Ašvin.
   Bondi (J. H.). Etymologisches.
   Meissner (B.). Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Purimfestes.

   Schuchardt (H.). Karthwelische Sprachwissenschaft.
   Müller (Fr.). Nicht-mesropische Schriftzeichen bei den Armeniern.
   Löw (J.). Bemerkungen zu Schwally’s Idioticicon.
   Bühler (G.). The Sohgaurū Copper-plate.
   Mordtmann (J. H.). Sabäische Miscellen.
II. Notes and News.

*History of Mongolia.*—Dr. Huth has now published his translation of the Tibetan text of Jigs-med-nam 'mka's work, the text of which he published in 1893. We hope to review this in our next number.

*The Abbé Dubois.*—Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp, of Madras, will see through the Press his complete translation of the historical writings of the Abbé Dubois, whose condensed works, though bristling with faults, have enjoyed a great popularity among English students of Hinduism. Dubois was a French missionary, who laboured for upwards of thirty years in Southern India. On reaching India shortly before the close of the last century, he was attached to the Pondicherry Mission; and for the first few years he seems to have laboured in Mysore, and in what are now the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. He must have quickly made for himself a name, for on the fall of Seringapatam he was specially invited, on the recommendation, it is said, of Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, to come to the capital of Mysore to reconvert and reorganize the Christian community, who had been forcibly perverted to Mahomedanism by Tipū Sultan. So enthusiastic was he in his work that he lived in close
and familiar intercourse with persons of every caste and condition of life. What they said he noted down, and when he placed his writings in the hands of a representative of the Government of Fort St. George it was pronounced to be the most correct, comprehensive, and minute account extant in any European language of the customs and manners of the Hindus. Sixteen years later the Abbé wrote a second edition of his work, but notwithstanding its immeasurable superiority to the first it had lain among the records in Fort St. George for three-quarters of a century, until three years ago Mr. Beauchamp, when looking through the French MSS. in the Madras Government records, discovered it. According to Mr. Beauchamp, when the first MS. was revised in 1815 the Abbé put into it all the corrections and additions suggested by additional study and investigation; and when he returned the work to the Government of Madras it was, practically speaking, a different work altogether. On receipt of the revised MS., the Government of Madras decided that the only course open to them was to send it to the Court of Directors in England, as the original MS. had been. Unfortunately, however, before the revised MS. could reach England the original MS. had been translated and published; and it is this edition which has been sold ever since, and upon which the Abbé’s reputation has rested. If the faulty edition has been so widely consulted and so frequently extolled, how infinitely more valuable, remarks Mr. Beauchamp, a correct edition would be. And this desideratum he set himself to supply. As a result of much patient labour, Mr. Beauchamp has it now ready for publication.

Derivation of Sabbath.—In the April number of the Journal, p. 353, Dr. Hirschfeld said that Professor Ed. König, in the “Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache,” Bd. ii, 1895, p. 180 sq., derived the word נבש from חרב sibbat-t. But Professor Ed. König draws our attention to the fact that he, like Kimhi and Olshausen, has derived the word נבש from Sabbath-t.
**Buddhist Theory of the Nidānas.**—M. Émile Senart has devoted an article in the “Mélanges Charles de Harlez,” pp. 281–97, to the discussion of this question, wherein he makes special reference to the article in our Journal for 1894. The discussion is characterized by the author’s well-known acumen, and arrives at the conclusions that the theory of the Wheel of Life, though ancient, does not belong, in its present form, to the original Buddhism; that throughout, in Buddhism, philosophy is only secondary to ethics, and that this so-called chain of causes grew up gradually, not as the outcome of well thought-out speculation, but by the confused re-grouping of terms originally ethical; that it is borrowed in part from other classifications, now only to be traced in the Sānkhya and Yoga systems; and that the phraseology in which we now have it has also suffered confusion from the various dialects in which the technical terms have been handed down. But it is impossible, without quoting the whole article, to do justice to the arguments by which these conclusions are reached. Members interested in Dr. Waddell’s 1894 article should consult this very suggestive brochure by our distinguished Honorary Member.

**Muhammadan Religion.**—Under the title of “The Preaching of Islam,” Mr. T. W. Arnold will publish immediately a work on the history of the spread of this religion by missionary methods. The book is intended as a contribution to this neglected department of Muhammadan religious history, and ranges over the whole field of Muhammadan history so far as the missionary activity of Islam is concerned, in all the countries into which this faith has penetrated.

**Rosaries in Ceylon.**—The Ceylon Observer of August 10 reprints Dr. Waddell’s article on this subject from our last number, and adds the following note:—

“The chronicler of Spilbergen’s visit to Ceylon in 1602, in describing the town of Vintane (Bintenna or Alutnawara), says:

‘‘There are yet other pagodes, and also a monastery,
wherein are monks clad in yellow cloths, who go along the streets with great sombareros; some have slaves with them who carry the sombareros and serve them. They are clean-shaven in the manner of the monks in this country, only that one sees no corona there. They also go with paternosters in the hand muttering or reading.

"Baldaeus, in his work on Ceylon, has taken over Spilbergen's chronicler's description; and the English translator of Baldaeus renders paternosters by 'beads.' The veracious Captain Robert Knox, writing some eighty years later, says, in his 'Historical Relation' (p. 86), in describing the religious practices of the Sinhalese:—'They carry beads in their hands on strings, and say so many prayers as they go, which custom in all probability they borrowed of the Portuguese.'—D. F." The inference is, of course, erroneous, as shown by the statements in Dr. Waddell's letter.

Professor Deussen, of Kiel, having published two years ago the first volume of his "Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie" (containing the General Introduction and the Philosophy of the Veda to the Upanishads), will, in a month or two, issue his "Translation of the Upanishads," each chapter of which will be preceded by a short introduction and accompanied by explanatory notes. The work will contain all the Upanishads of the three older Vedas, and all those of the Atharva Upanishads, which appear regularly in the chief collections and lists of the Upanishads, and thus seem entitled to a certain canonical authority. The volume will contain, in all, sixty Upanishads. The introductions aim, for the first time, at giving for each Upanishad, or part of it, a short critical analysis, showing the tendency of the author, the growth of his ideas from preceding, and their influence on succeeding, texts. Many passages which hitherto seemed paradoxical, or even unintelligible, appearing now in their natural light, become quite clear, and show at once their connection with, and their place in, the general development of Vedantic thought.
On the other hand, these analyses raise a great number of problems hitherto unnoticed and needing further discussion, so that a wide field of attractive and fruitful labour will be open to those interested in the growth of the religious and philosophical ideas of India.

---

**Philology Notes for 1896.**

A. * Asiatic Languages.*
B. * African Languages.*
C. * Oceanic Languages.*

---

A. * Asiatic.*

I. "Vedische Beiträge": Journal of Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1896, xiii. Prof. Albrecht Weber in his old age has made this contribution to our knowledge of the Veda, and dedicated it to his life friend, Dr. Reinhold Rost, whose loss is deplored by us all. The treatise is highly scientific, and beyond the understanding of the ordinary reader, but to those, who study the Veda, it will prove of great value.

II. On the occasion of his assuming the office of Rector of the University of Leipzig, Prof. Windisch delivered a luminous oration on "The Importance of the Study of Ancient India." He passed under review the results of the study in late years of Indian Literature and Archaeology, not only from the point of view of its own intrinsic value, but also of its influence on the culture of the Human Race. It is a contribution of unsurpassed value.

III. A very full Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic, as spoken in Egypt, from the pen of S. Spiro, has lately appeared at Cairo: it comprises official and technical expressions, idioms, and common phrases of the lower classes.

IV. At Leipzig has appeared a seventh fascicule of the valuable work of Prof. Radloff, of St. Petersburg, "Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turki Dialecete."
V. The Rev. A. J. Maclean, who has been for several years employed in a Mission of the Anglican Church to the members of the Eastern Syrian Church at Urûmia, has published a valuable Grammar of the modern Dialects of Syria, as spoken in Kurdistan, N.W. Persia, and in the basin of the Euphrates at Mosul.

VI. The second volume has appeared of the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie," to which the two leading scholars of that branch of Linguistic Science, Prof. Nöldeke and Mr. West, have contributed: the former discusses the Persian Shahnamah, and the latter has written an essay analyzing Pahlavi texts. Dr. Weisebach, of Leipzig, contributes a full list of old Persian Inscriptions, with notes, and an account of their decipherment and interpretation.

VII. Mr. Browne, of the Asiatic Society, has published a Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library. In the course of his methodical arrangement he has come on a commentary of the Koran, of about the fifth century after the Hijrah, and other papers of interest.

VIII. The Clarendon Press has issued vol. xxxviii of the "Sacred Books of the East," the concluding moiety of Dr. Thibaut's translation of the Vedanta-Sutra and Sankara's Commentary: the usefulness of this book is increased by careful indices prepared by Dr. Winternitz.

IX. The Rev. Anton Tien has published a Grammar of the Osmanli-Turki Language, commonly called Turkish. In the appendix are Dialogues, and a list of professional and technical terms.

X. The second volume of "The Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography" consists of the Unādīgama-sutra of Hemachandra, edited by Prof. Kirste, of Graz. There are nine hundred words not included in the Sanskrit Dictionary of St. Petersburg.

XI. Dr. Hultzsch has published his result of a search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency: upwards of 700 MSS. are described. Six MSS. are in the Grantha written character; the remainder in the Telugu written character.
XII. Mr. Sturdy has published a translation of the Nārada-sutra, a short treatise on the subject of Bhakti, or Faith, with an original Commentary.

XIII. At length a third edition of the Arabic Grammar by the late Professor W. Wright, of Cambridge, has appeared. The first portion was edited by the lamented Professor Robertson Smith, and the remainder by Professor De Goeje, of Leiden, and Professor Bevan, of Cambridge. The latest results obtained from recent study have been incorporated. It is unnecessary to add a word to the high praise to which this book is entitled.

XIV. A Jesuit Father, J. B. Belot, has published a "Cours pratique de langue Arabe": he has noticed the peculiarities of the Dialect spoken in Egypt, and has added a list of the technical terms of native Grammarians.

B. African.

I. Mr. Crabtree, Missionary, has published an elementary Vocabulary of the Soga Language, and a few verses of the New Testament: hitherto we had no knowledge of this Language, which is spoken by a Bantu population in the Region North of the Victoria Nyanza in Eastern Equatorial Africa.

II. Mr. Caldwell, the Secretary of the Zambézi Industrial Mission, has published a simplified Grammar of the Nyanja Language spoken in the Region South of the Nyasa Lake, of the Bantu Family.

III. The French Missionary Jacotet has published a volume of "Contes Populaires des Ba-Suto" in the Suto Language of the Bantu Family in South Africa.

In the Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen, vol. ii, Nos. 1 and 2, we have several interesting notices:

IV. Beiträge zur Kenntniss of the Kami Language in German East Africa: by Seidel.

V. Legends of the Pokómo tribe: by Bockling.

VI. The Language of Kilimáni: by J. Torrend.
VII. Ashanti-words: by J. G. Christaller.
VIII. Grammar of the Pokómo: by F. Wurtz.
IX. Words and Phrases of the People of the Nyasa Lake: by A. Werner.
X. Collection of Tunis Songs, etc., in Arabic and Kabaili: by H. Stumme.
XI. The importance of the Suto Language for the study of the Bantu Family of Languages: by C. Meinhoff.

C. Oceanic.

In the Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen we find the following:
Communications on the Languages of the Solomon Islands in Melanesia: by Sidney H. Ray.

June, 1896. R. N. Cust, Hon. Sec.

OCEANIA. A COMPARISON OF THE LANGUAGES OF PONAPÉ AND HAWAII. By the late Rev. E. T. Doane, with additional notes and illustrations by Sidney H. Ray, Esq. Read before the Royal Society of New South Wales, September, 1894.

The deceased author was a Missionary of the American Congregational Foreign Missions in the Caroline and Marshall Islands. Ponapé is an important island in Mikronesia, one of the four sub-regions of Oceania; its word-store is the fullest, and the grammar most developed, of the sister-languages spoken in the different Islands. Hawaii is the vernacular name of the Sandwich Islands. A comparative study is most important. Mr. Sidney Ray has added to its value by his notes.

NEW TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN NON-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, actually published or in the Press.
A. (6) Asia: Japan. The language of the Ainu, a tribe in a low state of culture, the aborigines of the Island of Yezo. Roman Character.
China. The language spoken at Kien Ning, near Fuh Chow. Roman Character.

— The language spoken at Tai Chow. Roman Character.

— The language spoken in the Province of Kashgar, in Chihese Tartary. Roman Character.

India. The language spoken by the Garhwáli, a non-Aryan tribe settled in the Dehra Dún, near the River Jamna. Roman Character.

— The language spoken by the Jaunsári, a non-Aryan tribe settled in the slopes of the Himaláya, near Dehra Dún. Roman Character.

B. (2) Oceania: Melanesia. The language spoken by the Northern branch of the Essi tribe, in the New Hebrides. Roman Character.

— The language spoken by the Weasisi tribe, in the Island of Tanna. Roman Character.


South. The language spoken by the Ronga branch of the Gwamba tribe, near Delagoa Bay. Roman Character.

— The language spoken by the Kuanyáma, a tribe in South Africa. Roman Character.

East. The language spoken by the Wa-Sukúma, in Speke Gulf, South of Victoria Nyanza. Roman Character.

— The language spoken by the Mochi branch of the Wa-Chagga, westward of Mombása. Roman Character.

— The language spoken in the country of U-Nyamwézi, in the region betwixt Zanzibár and Tanganýika Nyanza. Roman Character.

In all there are translations made on the spot, and tested by immediate use, in fourteen previously unknown languages, and the Roman Character is made use of, because the very
conception of a written Character was previously unknown. And this is but the average out-turn of a single year, and the difference of Grammatical structure is so great, that the idea of a common seedplot cannot be entertained; and the fact that vast tribes have flourished for centuries without any written Character, renders it necessary to inquire very carefully how it happened that some tribes acquired that art Centuries ago.

R. N. C.

III. Notices of Books.

Some Assamese Proverbs. Compiled and annotated by Captain P. R. Gurdon, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Goalpara. (Published at Assam Secretariat Press: Shillong, 1896.)

The local Government of the Assam Province in British India has this year published a very interesting little volume with the above title, compiled by one of the district officers of the Province, and collected from the lips of a population in a low state of culture, but settled there in a corner of the world for many centuries, and speaking a Language of their own. The volume does not pretend to be exhaustive of the whole Province, but contains only a gleaning from the subdivisions of Sibságar, Nowgong, and Gaukáti. In transliterating the words from the Nágari alphabet to the Roman the compiler has been guided by Sir W. Hunter’s "Practical Guide to Transliteration." "The Proverbs have been classified according to objects, not subjects, this being thought the best method after consideration."

The Government of Assam deserves our best thanks for this publication, thus encouraging the literary industry of its subordinates in out-of-the-way regions, and contributing a valuable addition to knowledge of Language, Folklore, and Religious Conceptions.

J.B.A.S. 1896.
A Proverb picked up from the mouth of an old woman in an out-of-the-way corner of Great Britain is not to be despised. It is beyond the power of the clever fabricator of conundrums to make a Proverb: Solomon is credited with the honour of collecting Proverbs 1000 B.C.: it is not suggested that he invented them, for they are not the production of the learned: they existed long before the earliest period of writing, and were transmitted orally. Wit is said to be the thoughts of many, but the words of one. A Proverb may be described as a condensed parable, or wisdom boiled down into an essence, and presented to the public in the form of a lozenge, so as to be carried about in every pocket and laid on every tongue: no one can say who was the original inventor. They have floated down on the lips of men like literary waifs, clinging to rural districts and isolated corners, while trodden down in the busy town and frequented market-place. There is little doubt that the idea of an ancient Proverb is put into a new dress after its import in a distinct environment of customs: the Proverbs of "carrying coals to Newcastle" and "taking the breeks off an Highlander" are merely reinstating with a new impression of old metal. Some Proverbs are disgustingly coarse, and, as in all human affairs, there is a current of evil running parallel to a current of evil.

Captain Gurdon divides his collection into six classes, with full details of subclasses:

(1) Relating to human failings, foibles, and vices.
(2) Relating to worldly wisdom and maxims, expediency and cunning, warnings and advice.
(3) Relating to peculiarities and traits characteristic of certain castes and classes.
(4) Relating to social and moral subjects, religious customs, and popular superstitions.
(5) Agriculture and seasons.
(6) Cattle, animals, and insects.

There is great truth in some Proverbs taken at random, showing that they are drawn from the common fount
of human conception, and that in very deed all men are brothers. I have only space for a few:

I. Love of false display.
   (a) There are many rosaries, the beads of which are not told in devotion.
   (b) A turban on his head, and with nothing on the lower parts of the body.

II. Ingratitude.
    When in distress a man calls on his god.

III. The mother-in-law.
    If the mother-in-law gets a chance, she comes three times a day to her daughter's house.

IV. The contrary wife.
    If I ask for chutney, she gives me salt: who can stand a wife who is so contrary?

and so on.

The compilation is a very creditable one, and a positive contribution to knowledge. I wish that other district officers would follow the example.

R. N. CUST,

*Hon. Sec. to R.A.S.*

June 14, 1896.

The Indian Calendar, with Tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. dates, and vice versa. By R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit. With Tables of eclipses visible in India, by Dr. R. Schram. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, 1896.)

Although during the last ten years several excellent essays have been published on the subject,¹ the verification of Hindu dates is often still considered a task of great intricacy, to be approached only by people who possess an intimate knowledge of Indian astronomy. If those who

hold such an opinion will devote a few hours' study to the work which we now owe to the painstaking industry of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit, they will see how greatly they are mistaken, or will, at any rate, admit that the two authors have removed whatever difficulty hitherto has seemed to surround the matter of which the work treats.

This new work naturally divides itself into two parts. The first part gives a clear account of the Hindu and Muhammadan calendars, and of the various eras and cycles which have been, or are still, used in different parts of India, interspersed with some valuable remarks on the astronomical writings of the Hindus. The second, more extensive part contains 136 pages of tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan dates into the corresponding European dates, and vice versa, and for the calculation of the nakṣatras, yogas, and other items, sometimes quoted in Indian dates. It also fully explains the construction of the tables, and gives examples to show the working of them. In an appendix the well-known astronomer, Dr. R. Schram, of Vienna, besides, furnishes a list of the solar eclipses likely to have been visible in India during the period to which the work refers (i.e. from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1900), with tables by which it is extremely easy to ascertain whether (the greatest phase of) a solar eclipse was visible at a given place in India, and at what time of the day it took place there. The additions and corrections, among other things, contain Mr. Dikshit's rules and tables for calculating Jupiter's apparent (or true) place, the necessity for which has probably been suggested by a number of South Indian dates, lately published.

That this work is the outcome of an immense amount of patient labour, is self-evident; and, judging from the tests which I have applied, it may well be trusted for the accuracy of its statements. To convey to the reader some idea of the great ease with which the object for which it is designed is really attained by it, I shall show the practical working of its rules and tables by using them for the verification of two or three dates of Indian inscriptions.
But to make my calculations generally intelligible, I must premise some trite remarks on the Hindu calendar, and say a few words about the tables of our authors.

The first month of the ordinary Hindu solar year theoretically commences at the instant of the sun's entrance into the sign Aries, *i.e.* at the Meṣa-saṃkrānti, and each succeeding saṃkrānti (or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac) marks the theoretical beginning of a new solar month. The civil beginning of a solar month, *i.e.* whether in every-day life the month commences on the day of the saṃkrānti or on the following (or third) day, depends on the exact time of the day when the saṃkrānti takes place, and is regulated by rules which differ in different parts of India. The first month of the luni-solar year, on the other hand, commonly commences at the new moon which immediately precedes the commencement of the solar year, and each succeeding new moon forms the commencement of a new lunar month. The year ordinarily contains 12 such months, but to keep the luni-solar year in accord with the solar year another lunar month (homonymous with one of the 12 ordinary months) is added every third or, more rarely, every second year; and sometimes we have two homonymous lunar months in a year, while at the same time the name of another month is expunged. Each lunar month has two halves (*pakṣa*)—the bright half from new moon to full moon, and the dark half from full moon to new moon. Either *pakṣa*, again, contains 15 *tithis* which (since a *tithi* is the variable time occupied by the moon in increasing her distance from the sun by 12° degrees) are of variable length, and the calculation of the exact length of which is of the utmost importance, because a civil day receives the number of the *tithi* which ends in it or is wholly occupied by it. Thus, "the 1st of the bright half of Caitra" (*Caitra-sūdi 1*) would ordinarily denote that civil day on which ends the first *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra (the first lunar month of the luni-solar year); and "the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna," that civil day on which ends the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (*i.e.*, counting from new moon, the 26th *tithi*)
of Phālguna. In general, 60 *tithis* (the collective number of *tithis* of two lunar months) are approximately equivalent to 59 civil days. Subject to the modification that a civil day is reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the weekdays of the Hindus agree with our own; and the most ordinary (though not always sufficient) way of testing the correctness of the date of an Indian inscription, is to ascertain whether the *tithi* of the date did really end on the weekday which is joined with it in the original record, or whether a given solar day really fell on the given weekday.

Now our authors have furnished us with tables for both the approximate and the accurate conversion of Hindu solar and luni-solar dates. To the tables for the approximate conversion of dates—they are two "eye-tables," constructed on methods invented by two native scholars of Madras—they themselves apparently do not attach any very great importance, and in my opinion these tables should never be used for the verification of dates.\(^1\) The tables for the accurate conversion of Hindu dates are to a considerable extent based on, and some of them are identical or nearly identical with, the tables published by Prof. Jacobi in the *Indian Antiquary*. But the principal Table I, which comprises no less than one hundred pages, contains a great amount of independent work, inasmuch as it furnishes ready to hand, for each of the 1601 years from Kaliyuga 3402 current\(^2\) to Kaliyuga 5002 current (i.e. A.D. 300 to

---

\(^1\) Regarding the approximate method, the authors, on p. 65, say: "Results found by this method may be inaccurate by as much as two days, but not more. If the era and bases of calculation of the given Hindu date are clearly known, and if the given date mentions a weekday, the day found by the tables may be altered to suit it." But "the bases of calculation" of a given date can never be known until a date has been accurately verified; and that one should alter the day found by the tables so as to suit a given weekday, I consider rather dangerous advice.

\(^2\) Although the dates which employ the principal Hindu eras commonly give expired years—dates of the Vikrama era do so nearly always, and for every Saka date with a current year we have about four Saka dates with expired years—the authors in their tables throughout have given current years. How, from a practical point of view, they may justify this, I do not know; but I am the more surprised at their procedure because, judging from the notes on pp. 40 and 42, they are inclined to look on the Vikrama years of the dates and on the "so-called expired Saka years" as current years (not the current years of their tables).
1900), a number of important data which a person engaged in the examination of Hindu dates formerly in many cases had to calculate for himself, often at no small expense of time and labour. Thus, Table I gives us for each year not merely the concurrent Jovian year according to both the northern and southern systems, but also the added lunar month (both mean and true) and the suppressed month when there is one, the moment of the Meṣa-saṁkrānti according to the Ārya- and Śūrya-siddhāntas, and the European equivalent of the first civil day of the luni-solar year, with certain sets of figures from which the end of the first tithi (Cañtra-sudi 1) on that day may be ascertained, etc. These data in Table I form the basis of all calculations; and the conversion or verification of a date, as I shall now show, consists in the simple addition to them of the interval in time between the commencement of the year and the given date, which is found by the help of one of the minor tables.

(1) In _Ind. Ant._, vol. xix, p. 25, No. 12, I have shown that the date "Tuesday, the 3rd of the bright half of Pauṣa of Vikrama 1280 expired, at the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti," correctly corresponds to _Tuesday_, the 26th December, A.D. 1223 (when, by Prof. Jacobi's tables, the 3rd _tithi_ of the bright half ended approximately 14 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise), and that the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti did take place on that day. By the work under notice the calculation would be made thus:—

From Table I we see that Vikrama (1280 expired =) 1281 current corresponds to A.D. 1223-4, and that Bhādrapada (the 6th month of the year) was repeated in that year. Pauṣa, ordinarily the 10th month of the luni-solar year (Table III), therefore, was here the 11th month, and the number of _tithis_ from (but exclusive of) the first _tithi_ of the year (the equivalent of which is given in

1 Our authors on p. 27 say that the change from the mean to the true system of intercalation took place about A.D. 1040. But my examination of dates has shown to me that in practice the change had taken place already in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.
Table I) to the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha was $30 \times 10 = 300 + 3 = 303 - 1$ (for the first *tithi* of the year) = 302, approximately equivalent, according to what has been said above, to 297 civil days. All we have to do now is to take from columns 19, 20, and 23-25 of Table I (p. lix) the figures given for the commencement of the luni-solar year Vikrama 1281 current, and to add from Table IV (p. cx) the increase for 297 civil days, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d.</th>
<th>w.</th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. I.</td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9916</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ T. IV.</td>
<td>(297)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(360)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equation for 328 by T. VI. 264
" " 34 by T. VII. 47

$t=801$

Now, one complete *tithi* ($t$) being equal to 333, the result, $t=801$ (which is between 667 and 1000), shows (Table VIII) that on the 360th day of A.D. 1223-4, which by Table IX was the 26th December, A.D. 1223, and which was 3 = *Tuesday*, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half was current at mean sunrise; and the difference between 801 and 1000 (the end of the 3rd *tithi*) = 199 by Table X shows further that 3rd *tithi* ended approximately 14h. 6m. after mean sunrise, exactly as found by Prof. Jacobi's tables.

Similarly, to find the exact moment of the *Uttarāyana*- (or Makara-) *saṃkrānti*, we only have to take from columns 13-17a of Table I (p. lix) the time of the *Masa*-saṃkrānti for the year of the date, and to add from columns 6-9 of Table III (p. cxi) the increase for the Makara-saṃkrānti. Proceeding thus, according to the Sūrya-siddhānta, we find—

1 The number 63 under $d$ denotes the 63rd day of A.D. 1223; the 0 under $w$ denotes the weekday Saturday (Sunday being counted as 1, Monday as 2, etc., and Saturday as 7 or 0). The figures under $a$, $b$, and $c$ give certain quantities from which the condition of the *tithi* at sunrise is ascertained, $a$ being corrected by the equations for $b$ and $c$, taken from Tables VI and VII. In adding up the numbers under $b$ and $c$, thousands are omitted; in adding up those under $a$, ten-thousands.
T. I.  (84)  0  10 h. 37 m.
+ T. III, col. 9.  (275)  2  15 h. 17 m.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
(359) 2 25 h. 54 m. \\
= (360) 3 1 h. 54 m.
\end{array} \]

which means that the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place on the same day which above we have found for the tihti of the date, by the Sūrya-siddhānta 1h. 54m. after mean sunrise. The original date is therefore shown to be correct in every particular.

(2) In Ind. Ant., vol. xxiii, p. 129, No. 99, I have stated that the date "Thursday, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna of Śaka 1042 current, the year Vikārin," regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

From Table I (p. lii) we see that Śaka 1042 current—A.D. 1119–20 by the southern luni-solar cycle was the year Vikārin, and that there was no added month in that year. Phālguna, therefore (by Table III), was the 12th lunar month, and the 11th tihti of the dark half being the \(15 + 11 = 26\) tihti of the month, we have \(30 \times 11 = 330 + 26 = 356 - 1 = 355\) tithis, approximately = 349 civil days. Accordingly we have—

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T. I (p. liii). & (73) & 6 & 30 & 340 & 251 \\
+ T. III (p. ex). & (349) & 6 & 8183 & 666 & 955 \\
\hline
(422) & 5 & 8213 & 6 & 206^1 \\
\end{array}
\]

Equation for 6 by T. VI. 145
,, ,, 206 by T. VII. 2

\[ t = 8360. \]

\( T = 8360, \) being between 8333 and 8667 (Table VIII), the result is that the 11th tihti of the dark half was current at mean sunrise\(^2\) of 5 = Thursday, the day 422 of

\(^1\) These figures for \( a, b, \) and \( c, \) again, are exactly the same as those found by Prof. Jacobi’s tables for the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

\(^2\) The exact time of the end of the tihti, calculated according to the new tables, was 19 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise, but for ordinary purposes it is unnecessary to calculate this, because \( t = 8360 \) sufficiently shows that the 26th February, A.D. 1120, under any circumstances was the 11th of the dark half.
A.D. 1119–20, which by Table IX (p. cxvii) was the 26th February, A.D. 1120.

(3) In Ind. Ant., vol. xxiii, p. 132, No. 113, we have a date which gives us "Wednesday, the 3rd of the month of Paṅguni of Śaka 1347 expired, the year Viśvāvasu."

From Table II, Part II (p. cv), we see that Paṅguni is the solar month of Mīna, the commencement of which is marked by the Mīna-saṃkrānti. We therefore must find the time of that saṃkrānti for Śaka 1347 expired=1348 current, which by Table I (p. lxxii), according to the southern luni-solar cycle, was the Jovian year Viśvāvasu, and which corresponds to A.D. 1425–6. Using the figures for the Ārya-siddhānta, we find from columns 13, 14, and 17 of

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
T. I (p. lxxiii) & \text{(85)} & \text{2} & \text{15} \; \text{h.} \; \text{22} \; \text{m.} \\
T. III (p. cvii) & \text{(334)} & \text{5} & \text{22} \; \text{h.} \; \text{5} \; \text{m.} \\
\hline
\text{(419)} & \text{7}=0 & \text{37} \; \text{h.} \; \text{27} \; \text{m.} \\
\text{(420)} & \text{1} & & \text{13} \; \text{h.} \; \text{27} \; \text{m.} \\
\end{array}
\]

Accordingly, the Mīna-saṃkrānti of the given year took place 13 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of 1=Sunday of the day 420 of A.D. 1425–6, which by Table IX (p. cxvii) was the 24th February, A.D. 1426. And since the saṃkrānti took place here more than 12 hours after mean sunrise, the month of Mīna or Paṅguni commenced (p. 12) on the following day, Monday the 25th February, and the 3rd of Paṅguni was the 27th February, A.D. 1426, which was a Wednesday.

The great advantage of the addition of Dr. Schram's tables for solar eclipses I would exemplify by the date of an inscription at Saundatti (Ind. Ant., vol. xxiii, p. 130, No. 103), which mentions a total eclipse of the sun on Monday, the new-moon tihiti of Āṣāḍha of Śaka 1151 current, the year Sarvabhārīna. By the tables of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit the date is found to correspond regularly to Monday, the 3rd July, A.D. 1228, and we know that on that
day there was a solar eclipse. The question is whether the eclipse was visible at Saundatti, and if so, whether for that place it was a total eclipse.

The latitude, \( \phi \), of Saundatti is \( 15^\circ 46' \text{ N.} = 16^\circ \), and its longitude, \( \lambda \), is \( 75^\circ 10' \text{ E.} = 75^\circ \).

Dr. Schram's Table A for a.d. 1228, VII, 3, gives—

\[
\begin{align*}
L &= 508 \quad \mu = 269^\circ \\
\text{Saundatti has} & \quad \lambda = 75^\circ \\
\lambda + \mu &= 344^\circ \\
\text{With} \quad \phi = 16^\circ \text{ and } \lambda + \mu &= 344^\circ \\
\text{Table B, } L &= 500 \text{ gives } \phi'' = 1.15 \\
\text{and Table B, } L &= 510 \text{ gives } \phi'' = 1.17 \\
\text{therefore } L &= 508 \\
\phi' + \phi'' &= 56.02
\end{align*}
\]

Now Table C, with \( \phi' + \phi'' = 56.00 \) gives total, and with \( \phi' + \phi'' = 56.04 \text{ eleven digits} \); with \( \phi' + \phi'' = 56.02 \); therefore, the eclipse at Saundatti was one of 11.5 digits or an almost total eclipse.

Proceeding in the same simple manner by Table D, we further find that the moment of the greatest phase of the eclipse at Saundatti was 11.7 ghaṭi-kās or 4 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

As I merely wish to indicate the way in which the new tables are used, I have given here only dates which at once work out quite satisfactorily. The cases we meet with are not always so simple, and in practice we have to consider various possibilities. A tithi sometimes may or must be joined with the civil day on which it commences. A lunar month, instead of commencing with the new moon, often commences with the full moon. A luni-solar year, instead of beginning with the month Caitra, may commence with Karthika or other months, and a solar year, e.g., with the Simha- instead of the Meṣa-samkrānti. Besides, we rarely know beforehand whether the year of a date is current
or expired, and sometimes only regnal or Jovian years are given to us. But the manner of calculation is the same everywhere, and the work before us contains ample information as to how most of these difficulties should be dealt with.

In a note on p. 109 Mr. Sewell informs us that in a second edition he proposes to add a list of the lunar eclipses visible in India. A list of lunar eclipses is indeed necessary, but in my opinion the lists of both solar and lunar eclipses should give all eclipses for the period of which the work treats, because in the verification of dates we also meet with eclipses that were not visible in India. In a new edition a few paragraphs might also be added about the calculation of the lagna, sometimes quoted in dates, and of the ahargana for a given day; and lists should be given of the deities of the tithis, nakṣatras, etc., so as to explain such expressions as “the tithi of Madana” and “the Maitra nakṣatra.” I would also suggest the addition of a list of the words used to express numbers, and an explanation of the so-called kaṭapayādi method of denoting numbers.

Our authors have acknowledged their indebtedness to Prof. Jacobi, and, for the solution of some problems, have referred us to that scholar’s Special Tables, published in Ep. Ind., vol. i, p. 450 ff. Highly as I appreciate the new work of Mr. Sewell and Mr. Dikshit, I should be wanting in gratitude if, on my part, I did not acknowledge here the great benefit which I myself have derived from Prof. Jacobi’s unpretending General Tables, ibid., pp. 443–445, the design of which has always appeared to me a marvel of ingenuity.

Göttingen.

F. Kielhorn.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Professor Hilprecht, of Pennsylvania, has just given to the world the second part of vol. i of the work he is
issuing under the above title, and every student of the ancient East will appreciate it as one of the most notable additions to our knowledge. The work consists of 68 pages of descriptive letterpress (including the list of contents) and 50 lithographed plates, consisting of inscriptions, mostly from Niffer, some votive tablets with incised designs (in limestone), bas-reliefs, views of the excavations at Niffer, etc.

Prof. Hilprecht brings further arguments that Šargani, or Šargani-šar-āli, is identical with Sargon of Agade—arguments almost amounting to absolute proof, and especially gratifying to the writer of the present notice. He publishes also (pl. xxii) an inscribed bas-relief of his son, Naram-sin, from Diarbekir. The date of Šargani-šar-āli, it will be remembered, is given, upon the basis of Nabonidos’ statement, as being 3800 B.C.; but Mr. Haynes’ excavations at Niffer prove that he was not by any means the earliest ruler in Babylonia, for both Dr. J. P. Peters and Prof. Hilprecht estimate that the foundations of the city go back to 6000 or 7000 B.C. Somewhere in this gap Hilprecht puts (1) -šag-sag-ana, En-šāgsag-ana, “Lord of Kengi” (Babylonia); (2) -šag-sag, En-šāgsag, Esne-umun, king of Kēš; (3) -šag-sag, Ur-Sulpaaddu, also king of Kēš; (4) -šag-sag, Lugal-zag-gi-si, king of Erech, son of Ukuš. Lugal-zag-gi-si was a great conqueror, but, notwithstanding this, “his very name had been forgotten by later generations.” Somewhat later than the foregoing the author places (5) -šag-sag, Lugal-kigub-nidudu, and (6) -šag-sag, Lugal-si-kisal, of the first dynasty of Ur, and he has been able to give a number of historical details concerning these rulers.

1 The existence of records of earlier rulers was to be expected from the royal lists found at Nineveh.

2 Prof. Hilprecht doubtless has some good reason for transcribing the name thus. I have always regarded the second component part as being Dun-šig-ē.
Especially important are the tablets giving events of the regnal years of Ine-Sin, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, which were compiled on account of the system of dating contracts in Babylonia. The discovery of other tablets in that country may be looked forward to to place the early chronology and history of the country on a really firm basis.

T. G. P.

Assyrisches Handwörterbuch. By Fr. Delitzsch.
(Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: Luzac.)

At last we have a complete Assyrian dictionary, that is, complete as far as the material available to the author went—and even that is a great boon. It is, naturally, a great advance upon the dictionary of Norris, the last volume of which was published in 1872 (letter N), and which the learned and talented author did not live to finish. Delitzsch's work contains 730 pages, and has one disadvantage which Norris's does not possess, namely the absence of cuneiform characters, except in the cases of certain ideographs quoted. The work, nevertheless, is excellent, and, in fact, indispensable to all Assyriologists. One sometimes wonders, it is true, if certain roots are not split up too much, like יבכ, I. "to do away with"; II. ?; III. "to cover with pitch"; but this is a defect which will doubtless be remedied in a future edition. We miss, here and there, certain well-known and many rare words, such as קינאטוו (or קינאטוו), apparently meaning "dues" (Strassmaier, "Inscr. von Nabonidus," No. 9, 1. 9; Sir Henry Peek's Tablets, No. 16, 1. 10), sakatu, in Puul (=II. 1), "to be silent" (tablet 82-3-23, 925, 1. 15), etc. Every scholar will, nevertheless, appreciate the completion of this long-promised work, and the industry of the scholar—now to be classed among the veterans—who has produced it; and the Assyriological world will doubtless look forward with great interest to such supplements as the author of this first complete Assyrian dictionary will doubtless from time to time publish.

T. G. P.
NOTICES OF BOOKS.

KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK. (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1896.)

This publication is still continued under the able editorship of Professor Schrader, the last volume issued (the fourth) being devoted to Juridical and Business documents, translated by Dr. Peiser. It is very complete, the texts given ranging from the time of the second dynasty of Ur to the dynasty of the Arsacidae, a period of over 2000 years, and covering every class of document. Dr. Peiser gives many corrections of tablets published before his work appeared, but in some cases the old Babylonian texts might have been improved by revision. In his transcription of names Dr. Peiser gives rightly nunu instead of ili (e.g. Kišnunu for Kišili), du-gu-ul for du-gu-mi (?) (in Sin¹-dugul), etc. Improvements can be made here and there, as in the case of p. 34, II, 15–17, where I read "Year (when) Ammi-satana named Dūr-Iskun-Marduk on the bank of the river (or canal) Amzilaku." (ΜU Αμμισατάνα ΛΥΓΑΛ-Ε ΜU Δῦρ-Ησκο-Μαρδουκ GI TIG ΙΔΑ Αm-zi-la-ku.) The work of Dr. Peiser is very good, however, and well worthy of the attention of students. Nine Cappadocian tablets are included in the number translated.

T. G. P.

One or two articles in periodicals worthy of notice may be here mentioned. The interest in the important inscription published by the Rev. P. Scheil will probably continue for some time longer, there being considerable difference of opinion as to who or what the words Ξ Π ν Ι Κ Μ Θ, i-ri-ba tuk-te-e, may be. As they are followed by the phrase šar Umman-manda, "king of the barbarians" or "the Medes," iriba-tuktē seems to be the name of the Median king, and Dr. Lehmann identifies it with Arbaces. Others, however, maintain that iriba

¹ Not Bel, as Strassmaier gives.
tuklē are two words, part of the remainder of the sentence. It is noteworthy that, as Scheil now recognizes, the name of Assyria is written with the characters 𒉺agina, Su-edina (ki), a fact that throws new light on the geography of that region.

A tablet containing a record of two transactions referring to the same property, published by Dr. Peiser in his "Keilinschrifliche Aktenstücke," and again in his book above referred to, p. 94, has attracted the attention of Prof. Oppert, who gives a translation of it in the Mélanges Charles de Harlez, with a very interesting commentary in which the words and measures are discussed, and remarks made upon the deities Lagamal, Adad (Addu), and Ramman(u) (Laomer, Hadad, and Rimmon). Prof. Oppert places the city 𒉺agina (generally read Dilbat) on the western bank of the Euphrates. Whilst in Babylonia, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam excavated at a site called دايلم Dailen, which, from the dates of the contracts found there, I at once identified with the 𒉺agina of the inscriptions. This city, Mr. Rassam tells me, lies on the western bank of the Euphrates, as conjectured by Prof. Oppert. With regard to the name, the late Geo. Bertin told me many years ago that he had found the form Dilmu (better read, perhaps, Dēlmu), which would agree with the present Arabic name exactly. This is a geographical identification which is worthy of notice, and the question naturally arises whether Dilmu (or Dēlmu) has, after all, anything to do with the name of the planet 𒉺agina, Dilbat (better Delebat) = Venus, especially as the god of the city, according to the inscriptions, seems to have been 𒉺agina, Uraš.

T. G. P.

1 This form really does exist, however, and will be found in the British Museum, tablet K 2566, line 19 (S. A. Smith, Miscellaneous Texts, pl. xvii).
Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, von Ignaz Goldziher. Erster Theil. (Leiden, Brill, 1896.)

The three essays contained in this volume deal with the origins of Arabic poetry, the development of taste among the Mohammedan critics, and the uses of the loan-word sakinah. Arabic scholars are accustomed to find in Dr. Goldziher's writings an acquaintance with Arabic literature that is unsurpassed for width and depth, a rare talent for combination, and an attractive style. The new volume falls short of none of its predecessors in these qualities, and the skill with which the author utilizes passages of no obvious significance makes the book a discipline in careful reading.

Part of the first essay was communicated to the Congress of Orientalists that met at Geneva in 1894. It traces the idea which meets us in Mohammedan authors, that the poetic effluxus is due to the inspiration of the Jinn, to a period when that superstition referred not to the poet's art, but to the mystical powers he possessed; and according to the author the Arabic words for poet and poetry, which literally mean 'knower' and 'knowledge,' are to be compared with words like 'wizard'; in Hebrew yid'oni from yada' 'to know,' where the knowledge signified is also of a mysterious nature. The poet's supernatural gift was of use to his tribe in many ways; but chiefly because he could abuse the tribes with which his own was at war; and of this war of words, which developed into the classical hija, or satire, we have an early illustration in the oracles of Balaam, an illustration which, it may be observed, had already been noticed by M. Renan in his "Histoire du peuple Israel." Dr. Goldziher collects notices of various superstitious practices connected with the hija, and ingeniously shows that their abolition was the real object of several of the enactments about dress introduced by Islam. The form of the hija was originally, like that of other oracular utterances, rhymed prose, and not the least valuable part of the essay is the demonstration that the employment of
this form of composition as the natural vehicle of oratory was comparatively late, not having been generally adopted till the time of the Buyids. From rhymed prose satire was advanced to _rejez_, a sort of intermediate style between prose and verse, and afterwards to the regular metres.

In the second essay the reaction from the taste of the earliest critics, who would admire none but pre-Islamic poetry, is traced historically, and acute suggestions are made about its causes. European taste, with which no Arabic poetry has ever found much favour, probably agrees with that of native critics in assigning the palm to Mutanabbi, whose claim to have surpassed the poets of pagan times would, it seems, have been regarded as outrageous a century before his time, but has been justified by the honour paid him in succeeding ages; of the two poets who are ordinarily coupled with him, Abu Tammam and Al-Buhturi, most readers will agree with Dr. Goldziher in regarding the second as greatly overrated. When Dr. Goldziher says (p. 145) that the great poets of the Abbasid period "burst the bonds in which tradition had bound Arabic poetry," is not this putting the matter rather too strongly? Mutanabbi does, indeed, ridicule the practice of commencing every encomium with erotic verses, but how often does he regard it as safe to abandon it? And how many of his night journeys and other heroic exploits bear any relation to facts?

The third essay is an interesting and ingenious analysis of the uses of the word _sukinah_, in which the author traces three elements—one got from the Jews, a second from the commentators on the Koran, and a third from Pagan reminiscences.

There are some important excursuses appended to the text, especially on fancies connected with the Jinn.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.
The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta Psalter: Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia College. By J. Frederic Berg. (New York, 1895.)

The subject chosen by Mr. Berg for his dissertation is one of great interest, and it may be hoped that this, like so many dissertations, may be the forerunner of a more exhaustive treatise. In its present form the amount of Mr. Berg's work which is concerned with its ostensible subject is very disproportionate to the whole; for while the dissertation consists of 160 pages, we cannot find more than six that deal with the influence of the LXX on the Peshitto Psalter; the remainder being occupied with general questions connected with both versions, with a table of variants of MSS. and editions from the text of Lee, and with a list of various interpretations collected from the Greek, Syriac, and Chaldee versions of the Psalms. In the first of these sections the statement that "unlike the Peshitto the LXX is guilty of no errors which may be ascribed to ignorance" astounds us. The purpose of these general discussions is to establish an a priori probability that the Syriac translators would have consulted the Greek version; but the grounds on which Mr. Berg adopts the view that the Peshitto emanated from Jewish Christians seem so very slight that the chain of evidence would support no great weight. More important, therefore, is the internal evidence of imitation obtained from a study of the version itself; and we could wish that Mr. Berg had collected this fully and arranged it under heads, instead of restricting himself to occasional observations appended to this table of variants; which, it may be observed, is far less useful than Nestle's Psalterium Tetratriglotton. However, it must be confessed that the dissertation gives evidence of many scholarly qualities, and
since such works should be judged rather by their promise than their performance, this new collaborateur will be welcomed by all those whose studies bring them into contact with the Peshitto.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE ZAND-I JAVĪT-SHĒDĀ-DĀD; OR, PAHLAVI VERSION OF THE AVESTA VENDIDAD. EDITED BY DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. (Harrassowitz: Leipzig.)

This new edition of two-thirds of the Pahlavi Vendidad (Fargards i–ix and xix) is specially intended for the use of Pahlavi students in the University of Bombay, where this portion of the text is prescribed for the Parsi B.A. and M.A. examinations.

The Pahlavi version of the Vendidad, the Levitical law of the Parsis, was first edited by Spiegel in 1853, and two of the MSS. he used, which were written in 1323–4, are still the chief authorities for so much of the text as they contain; but he had to rely upon much more modern MSS. for nearly one-third of the text. The present editor has trusted to Spiegel for the readings of the Copenhagen MS. of 1324, and has used collations of two copies of that MS. which were written three centuries ago; he has also consulted a collation of the London MS. of 1323, and has constantly referred to a MS. in his father’s library, which was written in 1788, and is a descendant of that London MS. These five MSS. are the best authorities for the Vendidad text, when judiciously used. The two old MSS. of 1323–4 were copied from the same original, written in 1269; that was transcribed from another written in 1205, and that from a third whose writer’s name is recorded.

So far as yet ascertained, all Pahlavi Vendidads in India belong to this family of MSS.; but whether any such MSS. of independent descent exist in Persia appears to be still doubtful. Darab certainly states (p. xxxv) that “it has now been ascertained that the Zoroastrians in Persia possess
no older copies of the Pahlavi Vendidad," but this is not the whole of the question. We should no doubt be glad to have collations of older MSS., but if these do not exist we still want to know whence their more modern MSS. are descended. If they are not of Indian descent, they must form an independent family of MSS., branching off somewhere from the Iranian ancestors of the Indian family; and a collation of any such MS. would be valuable. The Parsi Punchayat in Bombay might do much to settle this question, if they would obtain copies of the colophons of several Pahlavi Vendidads in Persia which have not been copied from Indian MSS., and then submit the copies to some competent scholar for report.

The colophons of four old MSS. of 1323–4, two Vendidads and two Yasnas, state that they were written by the same copyist, Mihrbân Kai-Khusro (a Parsi priest who had recently come from Persia), as a good work done at the expense of a Parsi layman of Cambay, named Châhil Sangan, of whom no other record than such colophons is known to survive. He must have been a wealthy man, and his genealogy is given, for four or five generations back. In two Sanskrit colophons both his name and that of his father, Sangan, are preceded by an epithet which has been read *thava*, but which Ervad Tehmuras proposes to read *vyava*, as an abbreviation of *vyavagata* in the sense of "deceased." If this be correct, as seems very likely, it would imply that Châhil was already dead, and that the good work of providing these MSS. was done on his behalf by means of funds bequeathed by him for that purpose.

The editor of this edition is son of the high priest of the Shâhanshâhi Parsis of Bombay, and is well acquainted with Parsi tradition as well as with the views of European scholarship. His collation of the MSS. has been carefully made, and the various readings given in footnotes will be very useful to scholars, as soon as they fully understand the relative value of the MSS. in various parts of the text. This can be ascertained from the detailed description of the MSS. given in the introduction, from which it will be seen
that nearly all of them have lost many of their original folios, and the modern folios which often replace them are of little critical value. Besides his account of the MSS., the editor has included in his introduction a short summary of the contents of the twenty-one Nasks, or sacred books of the Parsis, abridged from the Dinkard, with a full translation of its analysis of the portion of the Vendidad he has edited. And the Pahlavi text of the passages he has translated from the Dinkard is given at the end of the book; the translations themselves being his revisions of some of those contained in "The Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxvii.

If no independent MSS. of the Pahlavi Vendidad be hereafter found in Persia, this edition may be considered very nearly equivalent to a critical edition of the text as it stood in the thirteenth century.

From the Academy of August 15.

E. W. West.

IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the Author.


Dutt (Kedar Nath). Bhagavadgita, with the Commentary of Baladeva Vidyabushan in Sanskrit, followed by the editor's Commentary in Bengali. 8vo. Calcutta.


——— *Zand ī Javīt Shēda Dād, or the Pahlavi version of the Avesta Vendīdād.* Roy. 8vo. *Bombay,* 1895.


*Presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

Presented by the Madras Government Museum.


Presented by the Bombay Government.


Presented by the Publishers.


Presented by the India Office.

INDEX FOR 1896.

A.

Abrîk, identification with Arabkîr negativised, 733.

—— identified with Tephrîkê, the modern Divrîgî, 733 et seq.

Abrîk, Tephrîkê, the capital of the Paulicians, 733.

Aden, Mahuan’s account of, 348.

Akbar’s Sûbahs, pt. i, 83; pt. ii, 743.

—— authorities on, 84 et seq.


Anjâ river, 757.

an-Nâsîr, Sultan, 141.

Aornos situated on Mahaban, 673.

Arabic inscriptions in Egypt, pt. ii, 137.

Aristâhaka Stone, 199.

Army of Indian Mohguls, full account, 509.

B.

Badshah Dheri stûpa, 658.

Bakhtîâri dialect, 557.

Baybars, Sultan, 140.


Bendall, Prof. C., an inscription of Madanapâledeva of Kanauj, 787.

—— on a system of letter-numerals used in South India, 789.

—— note on al-Berânî’s Indica, 216.

—— Sûrvasataka, 215.

Beveridge, H., note on the Panjmana inscription sent by Mr. Ney Elia, 781.

Bhadârak, Akbar’s sarkâr, 756.

Bhima Devi figure not discovered, 672.

Bihâr, Akbar’s Sûbah, 764.

Buddhism, Vidhûra Jâtaka, 441.

Buddhist theory of the Nidânas, 809.

Bûhle, G., epigraphical discoveries in Mathurâ, 978.

Burmân-Tibetan linguistic palaeontology, 23.

—— witchcraft, 39.

C.

Calicut, Mahuan’s account of, 345.

Canton as mediaeval trade centre, 66.

Carrier-pigeons introduced to China through Persia, 68.

Ceylon Buddhism, rosaries, 575.

Châkhâra, stûpa near, 657.

Chânâí, ruins near Peshawar, 657.

Chang-chou in Amoy, proposed identification with Zaitun, 72.

Chao Ju-kua, 57.

—— scanty notice of life, 64.

—— family details, 76.

—— ethnography, 477.

Charsadda, the ancient Pushkalavati and Penkelaotis, 667.

Chelâs, in Indian Mohgul Army, 517.

Chinese mediaeval trade, 64 et seq.

—— trade penalties, 70.

—— translation of Millinda Pañha, 1.

—— Millinda Pañha, date of, 12.

Chü-an-chou, trading centre, 72.

Chu-fan-chih, 58, 477.

—— source of knowledge on Oriental sea-trade, 60 et seq.

—— date, 62.

Chûha Shâh Daula, 574.

Chu-lien = Orissa, Chinese account of, 489.

Cochin, Mahuan’s account of, 341.

Coptic Church, Nile festivals, 692.

Cuar, R. N., Chûha Shâh Daula, 574.

—— philology notes for 1896, 802.
INDEX.

D.

Dem, value of, 513.
Danto-īkā, mountain, 673.
Deane, H. A., notes on Udyāna and Gandhāra, 655.
Dede Mūhammad, darvish, 328.
Densen, Prof., his "Translation of the Upanishads," 801.
Dhammakāti, 200.
Dharma Śāstras, 371.
Drago Lake, 661.
Dubois, Abbé, 798.

E.

Elias, Nek, an apocryphal inscription in Khorāsān, 767.
Epigraphical discoveries in Mathurā, 678.

F.

Falconry, antiquity of Eastern, 793.
Fenn, L., Aruṭhaka Stone, 199.
Fīrūz Shāh, 251.

G.

Gāndhāra, 655.
Gaster, M., "The Sword of Moses," 149.
Ghori clan, 663.
Graeco-Buddhist sculptures, 622.
Gujars, notes concerning, 662.
Guzerat, Chinese account of, 487.

H.

Habib-ūs-Siyar, 249, 769, 785.
Hadath, site of, 740.
Hainan, description of island, 477.
Hirschfeld, H., remarks on the etymology of Sabbath, 353.
Hirth, F., Chao Ju-kua, a new source of mediaeval geography, 57.

Indian Moghul Army, 509.
Indian Moghul Army, ranks, 510.
Indian Moghul Army, pay, 518.
Indian Moghul Army, pay, deductions from, 524.
Indian Moghul Army, fines, 527.
Indian Moghul Army, awards and distinctions, 532.
Indian Moghul Army, procedure on entering, 538.
Indian Moghul Army, branding of horses, 547.
Indian Moghul Army, classes of horses, 552.
Indian Moghul Army, branches of the service, 556.
Indian Moghul Army, equipment, 560.

Indian Moghul Army, 509.
Indian Moghul Army, ranks, 510.
Indian Moghul Army, pay, 518.
Indian Moghul Army, pay, deductions from, 524.
Indian Moghul Army, fines, 527.
Indian Moghul Army, awards and distinctions, 532.
Indian Moghul Army, procedure on entering, 538.
Indian Moghul Army, branding of horses, 547.
Indian Moghul Army, classes of horses, 552.
Indian Moghul Army, branches of the service, 556.

Inscription in Khorāsān, 767.
Inscription in Udyāna, 663.

Kanauj, 787.

Irvine, W., the Army of Indian Moghuls, 509.

J.

Jalesar (Jelasore), Akbar's sarkār, 746.
Jandol Valley, 663.
Jins, 661.

K.

Kāūt-Bay, Sultan, 148.
Kalām junction of Utrot and Laapur, 656.
Kālā Pahār, 743.
Kaling Daṇḍpāt, Akbar's sarkār, 763.
Kanauj, inscriptions of Madanapāladeva, 787.
Karakīs river, 740.
Karshana identified with Alaja Khan, 735.

Kashmir Smats, cave, 668.
Katak (Cuttaek), Akbar's sarkār, 758.
Kattigara, the great mediaeval port of China, 66.


Khans of Behburs, 137.
Khorāsān, apocryphal inscription in, 767.
Khūraḵ-i-dawāḥb, meaning of, 514.
Kings, Major J. S., Taj or red cap of Shi'ahs, 671.
Kizilbâsk, 255.
Kuraṇḍa, 364, 673.
INDEX.

L.
Lam-wu-li, account of, 480.
Latip, M., Chahâ Shâh Daula, 574.
Le Strange, Gyt, al-Abrîk, Tephrîkê, the capital of the Paulicians, 733.
Letter-numerals, a system used in South India, 789.
Liturgy of the Nile, 677.
Lûkiya river, 737.

M.
Madanapâladeva of Kanauj, inscription of, 787.
Magic, ancient, 149.
Mahâbhârata, 372.
Mahâvâna Sanghârâma, 656.
Mahason's account of Bengal, note on, 203.
— Cochin, Calicut, and Aden, 341.
Malabar, Chinese account of, 482.
— identified with Nan-p'i, 75.
— survival of syllabic notation in, 789.
Malkiâh Church services, 679.
Ma-lo-hun = Malwa, Chinese account of, 488.
Malwa, Chinese account of, 488.
Mâmây, Amir, 148.
Manu, caste rules in, 371.
Margoliouth, Rev. G., liturgy of the Nile, 677.
Mathurâ, epigraphic discoveries, 578.
Matriarchate in ancient Burma, 47.
McDouall, W., Bakhtiâri dialect, 577.
Miûinda, 4.
Miûinda Panho, Chinese translation, 1.
Minglaur, the ancient Mungali, 556.
Meghulu, Army of Indian, full account, 509.
Morris MSS., catalogue, 212.
Muhammad Shaibânî, victory of, 767.
— Muhammadan religion, Mr. Arnold's book on, 800.
— Nile observances, 693.
— book on, 800.
Mukund Dev, 743.
Mungali, or Mung Kie-li, old capital of Swat, 655.

N.
Nâgasena, 1.
Nan-p'i = Malabar, 75.
— Chinese account of, 482.
Nâ-Sien, the Bhîksû, 5.
Nidânas, Buddhist theory, 800.
Notices of Books—
Amalnerkar, T. R., priority of the Vedânta Sutra over the Bhagavadgitâ, 224.
Barlam and Josaphat, 383.
Barnstein, H., the Targum of Onkelos, 649.
Berg, F., influence of the Septuagint on the Psalitsa Psalter, 826.
Blonay, G. de, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la deesse bouddhique Târâ, 241.
Browne, E. G., catalogue of Persian MSS. in Cambridge University Library, 404.
Budge, E. A. W., life and exploits of Alexander the Great, 647.
Budh Gâyâ Temple case, 225.
Chavannes, E., Mémoire historique de Semat-sien, 221.
— fragments d'une histoire des études chinoises au xviiie siècle, 236.
Davids, T. W., Rhys, Buddhism, its history and literature, 641.
Delitzsch, Fr., Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, 820.
D'Oldenbourg, S., notes on Buddhist bas-reliefs, 623.
Drîvedî, M., imitation of Sânkara, 636.
Finot, L., Lapidaires Indiens, 637.
Goldziher, I., Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, 823.
Gray, J., Jiualankara, 385.
Green, Lieut.-Col. A. O., practical Hindustani grammar, 224.
Grube, W., Sprache und Schrift der Juûen, 630.
Gurdon, Capt. P. R., some Assamese proverbs, 807.
Guru-pûjâ-kaumudi, 628.
Hewitt, J. F., ruling races of prehistoric times, 228.
Hilprecht, Professor, Babylonian expedition, 618.
Holden, E. S., Mogul emperors of Hindustan, 230.
Hopkins, E. W., religions of India, 400.
Juvnboll, Th. W., le livre de l'impôt foncier de Yahyâ ibn Adam, 646.
Kellinschriftliche Bibliothek, 821.
INDEX.

Notices of Books (continued)—
Kühnert, Fr., die Chinesische Sprache zu Nanking, 237.
— die Philosophie des König-Duy auf Grund des Urtextes, 238.
Māṇḍūkya Upanishad, 636.
Mead, G. R. S., Upanishads, 636.
Merx, A., documens de paléographie hebraique et Arabe, 640.
Neubauer, A., mediaeval Jewish chronicles, 398.
Payne-Smith, R., Thesaurus Syriacus, 386.
Pope, Rev. G. U., first catechism of Tamil grammar, 375.
Poussein, L. de la V., Pañčacakrama, 384.
Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of Kathiyawar, 391.
— Zand-i Javit-shēdā-dād, 826.
Sevell, R., Indian calendar, 809.
Straalen, S. v., catalogue of the Hebrew books in British Museum, 382.
Theology of the Upanishads, 636.
Thomsen, V., inscriptions de l’Orkhon déchifrées, 632.
Windisch, E., Māra und Buddha, 377.

O.
Obituary Notices—
Hovelacque, A., 309.
Mitra, Trailoky Nath, 209.
Rost, R., 367.
Sauvage, H., 617.
Tunk, H. N. van der, 209.
Odigram, inscriptions near, 640.
Orissa in time of Akbar, 743.
— boundaries, 743.
— Chinese account of, 489.

P.
Palaeontology, Tibeto-Burman linguistic, 23.
Pali and Sanskrit in Japan, 620.
Panjkora valley, 663.
Panj-Mana, 767.
— inscription, note on, 781.
Parsee Punchayet, letter from, 572.
Paul of Sameasata, 734.
Paulicians, 733.
Phillips, G., Mahān’s account of Cochin, Calicut, and Aden, 341.
— note on Mahān’s account of Bengal, 203.
Philology notes for 1896, 802.
Po-lu-sha-po-lo the modern Peshawar, 696.
Pushkalavatī the modern Charṣadda, 667.

R.
Radkān, town, 775.
Rājmahindra, Akbar’s sarkār, 763.
Report for the year 1895, 583.
Rosaries in Ceylon Buddhism, 575.
— note on Dr. Waddell’s letter, 800.
Ross, E. D., early years of Shāh Isma‘īl, founder of the Safavi dynasty, 249.
Rouxe, W. H. D., Kurnāda, 573.
— Shah Daula’s Rats, 793.

S.
Śabbāth, remarks on the etymology of, 353.
— derivation of, note by Prof. Ed. König, 799.
Sado, ruins near, 659.
Śadr-ud-Din, Shaik, 251.
Safi-ud-Din Ishāk, 251.
Śaidgai lake, 661.
— haunted by Jins, 661.
Śamyukta-ratna-piṭaka sūtra, 17.
Śaritāchchek Su, river, 737.
Śarkār—
Aujlambar, 92.
Bāktl, 130.
Bārbakābād, 115.
Bazūhā, 127.
Bhadra, 755.
Chātgaūn, 134.
Fathābād, 128.
Ghorāgāh, 124.
Jalesar (Jellasore), 746.
Kaling Dānpāt, 763.
Katak (Cuttaek), 758.
Khalitfātābād, 121.
Lakhmāt, 110.
Madārān, 105.
Məmədābād, 118.
Sarkārī (continued)—
Panjrā, 122.
Purniah, 90.
Rājmahindran, 763.
Śāhīnshāhī, 102.
Sharīfābād, 96.
Sihat, 131.
Sonārī, 132.
Sulaimānābād, 99.
Tājpur, 107.
Shāh Āna’s Rats, 793.
Shāh Isma’īl, founder of the Šafavī dynasty, 249.
— journeys into Gilān, 283.
— stay in Lāhijān, 288.
Shāhibānī, 767, 781.
Shāh-ni-lo-shi valley identified with
Adūn valley, 657.
Shīh-po, office of, 68 et seq.
Simpson, W., pillars of the Thu-
pārāma and Lankārāma dāgabas,
361.
Singh, W. F., antiquity of Eastern
falconry, 793.
— Kuraḍa, 573.
— Vidhūra Jātaka, 441.
Sūbah Bangalā (Bengal), 87.
— settlement under Todar
Mal, 87.
— Sultān Shujā,
87.
— Nawāb Ja’far
Khān, 87.
Sulaimān Karārānī, viceroy of Bengal,
743.
Sūma stūpa, 657.
Su-po-fa-sutu river, 656.
Sārṣapatakā, 215.
Sūwār, rank in Indian Moghul Army,
515.
Swāt, inscriptions in, 212.
Sword of Moses, 149.

T.
Tāhīnān, rank in Indian Moghul Army,
515.
Taḥmāsp Mirzā, Sultan, 250.
Tāj or red cap of Shi’ahs, 571.
Tāj-i-Haidari, 255.
Takakusu, J., Chinese translations of
the Milinda Pañho, 1.

Tephrīkā, the modern Divrigi, identified
with al-Abrik, 733.
Thupārāma and Lankārāma dāgabas,
pillars of, 361.
Tibeto-Burman linguistic paleon-
tology, 23.
T’ien-chu = part of India, Chinese
account of, 496.
Todar Mal, 744.
— Revenue Administration, 88
et seq.
Trade, Chinese mediaeval, with Western
nations, 64 et seq.
— Chinese, with Arabia, Malay
Peninsula, Java, Cochīn, Borneo,
Philippines, Sumatra, 69.
— Chinese trade penalties, 79.
Transliteration Report, after p. 835.

U.
Udyāna and Gandhāra, 655.
U-lo-kia-han-cah, probable identification
with Khunda, 673.

V.
Velasai, ruins at, 660.
Vidhūra Jātaka, 441.

W.
Waddell, L. A., Rosaries in Ceylon
Buddhism, 577.
Wickremasinghe, D. M. de S., the
everal authors known as Dhamma-
kitti, 200.

Y.
Yādgār-i-Khānī = Samarkand, 774.

Z.
Zaitua, identification, 72.
Zamra river, 737.
Zibātra, site of, 740.
TRANSLITERATION.

The subject of a uniform system of transliteration of Oriental characters has for a long time occupied the attention of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. In May, 1890, a Committee was formed, on the motion of Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., to prepare a scheme, in conjunction with other learned societies, to be brought before the International Congress of Orientalists.

After long deliberation and careful consideration of the scheme propounded by Professor the Right Hon. F. Max Müller, and accepted by the Oxford University Press, of the scheme adopted by the Government of India, on the recommendation of Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., of the papers contributed by Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., to this Society's Journal in 1890, and to the proceedings of the Berlin Congress, and of the schemes adopted by the Société Asiatique, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the Pāli Text Society, this Committee presented their Report to the Council held on the 8th of May, 1894. That report was adopted by the Council, and published in the Society's Journal for July, 1894.

In the autumn of that year the Tenth Oriental Congress was held at Geneva; and, on the motion of Lord Reay on behalf of the Society, a representative Commission was appointed to consider the subject. The Report of this Commission was presented to the Congress before it separated, and was adopted by the Congress. The scheme prepared by the Commission (containing two systems—one for Sanskrit and the other for Arabic) was ordered to be incorporated in the Proceedings of the Congress, and was recommended for adoption by all Orientalists. A translation of this scheme was published, with the Report, in the Society's Journal for October, 1895.
This Report states that—"The Commission took as a basis for its work the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society's Special Committee, and the systems of transliteration usually adopted in France, in Germany, and by the Bengal Asiatic Society. The Commission does not pretend to have discovered a perfectly scientific system."

The Council is of opinion that it is advisable to take this opportunity of recommending the system thus placed before the world. Much care and pains have been taken over the subject, and there does not seem any probability of further steps being taken, at all events for some years to come. It has come to the decision, therefore, to recommend those Oriental scholars over whom it has influence to endeavour to adopt the system proposed by the Oriental Congress at Geneva. It observes, however, that there are some slight diversities between the scheme for Sanskrit and that for Arabic, and a few emendations have been suggested to bring them more fully into harmony. The Council, therefore, now republishes, together with its own resolution on the subject, the two systems suggested by the Geneva Congress; and adds a few suggestions (chiefly by way of harmonizing them), together with specimens of transliteration in various languages, so that all Oriental scholars may clearly understand what is recommended.

The following is the resolution that has consequently been passed:—"Resolved that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, having given the most careful consideration to the Report on Transliteration prepared by the representative Commission appointed by the Oriental Congress at Geneva, while not entirely agreeing in all the details, gives the entire scheme its general approval; and earnestly recommends all connected with this country who are engaged in Oriental studies to set aside their own individual feelings and predilections, and, as far as possible, to employ this method of transliteration, in order that the very great benefit of a uniform system may be gradually adopted, and Oriental studies may thereby be facilitated."
| अ   | आ   | इ   | ई   | उ   | ऊ   | ए   | ऐ   | ओ   | औ   | ज   | झ   | ञ   | ठ   | ड   | ढ   | ण   | त   | थ   | द   | ध   | न   | प   | फ   | फ़   | भ   | ब   | भ   | म   | म   | म   | य   | र   | ल   |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| व   | \(v\) | \((\text{Visarga})\) | \(h\) |
| श   | \(\hat{s}\) | \((\text{Jihvāmūliya})\) | \(\hat{h}\) |
| ष   | \(\hat{s}\) | \((\text{Upadhmaniya})\) | \(\hat{h}\) |
| स   | \(\hat{h}\) | \(\hat{s}\) | \((\text{Avagraha})\) | \(\hat{\gamma}\) |
| ह   | \(\hat{\gamma}\) | \((\text{Udatta})\) | \(\hat{\gamma}\) |
| क   | \(l\) | \((\text{Anusvāra, Niggahita})\) | \(\tilde{m}\) |
| (in Pali \(\Uparrow\)) | \(\tilde{m}\) | \(\text{Svarita}\) | \(\tilde{\gamma}\) |
| 👈 (Anunāsika) | \(\tilde{m}\) | \(\text{Anudatta}\) | \(\tilde{\gamma}\) |
TABLE II.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARABIC ALPHABET ADOPTED BY THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

[Notes in square brackets refer to pp. 6, 7.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Letter</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>permissible ٍh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>permissible ٢h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>permissible ٦h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>permissible ٩h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>permissible ١h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>permissible ٢h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>permissible ٦h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>permissible ٩h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>permissible ١h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>permissible ٢h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>permissible ٦h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>permissible ٩h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>permissible ١h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>permissible ٢h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>permissible ٦h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>permissible ٩h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>permissible ١h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>permissible ٢h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥</td>
<td>permissible ٦h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٨</td>
<td>permissible ٩h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٩</td>
<td>permissible ١h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

at beginning of word, omit; hamza elsewhere [١ or ١, Note 8]

Notes:

- ١ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٢ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٣ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٤ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٥ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٦ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٧ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٨ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ٩ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.
- ١ is permissible only at the beginning of a word. Hamza may be used elsewhere.

Vowels: َ - ِ - ُ - ُ

Lengthened: ََ - ِِ - ُُ - ُُ

Diphthongs: ََ - ِِ - ُُ - ُُ [ai and au, Note 4]

E and o may be used in place of i and u.

Also ِ and ُ in Indian dialects, ُ and ُ in Turkish.

١ of article ١ to be always ١.
The above scheme contains, it will be seen, two schemes—one for the transliteration of Sanskrit, Pāli, and the allied alphabets, and one for the transliteration of Arabic and the allied alphabets. These two tables are inconsistent with one another on several points. In applying the Congress scheme, therefore, to the transliteration of Hindi (which is written both with Sanskrit and Arabic letters) the same word would have to be transliterated differently according to the alphabet before the transliterator. These points are as follows:

(1) The sound represented in English by \( sh \) is represented in the first table by \( sh \), and in the second by \( z \) (\( sh \) being permissible). On the other hand, the \( z \) is used in the first table for the Sanskrit \( झ \) (\( sh \)) and in the second for \( झ \) (\( z \)). The practical difficulties arising from this discrepancy are, however, so small that the Council would merely point out the discrepancy.

(2) The sign \( ā \) is used in the Sanskrit table for \( आ \) (the cerebral \( ā \)), and in the Arabic table for \( ض \) (\( dād \)). This discrepancy could be avoided by selecting \( ā \) for the \( dād \).
(3) The alternative transliteration ṭ allowed for ḫ in the second table clashes with the use of the same sign in the first table. This alternative transliteration might be dropped out of Table II.

(4) The diphthongs ai and au in the first table are replaced by ay and aw in the second. It would be better to adhere to the first table.

(5) The transliteration w for the چ in the Arabic table clashes with that proposed for the फ in the Sanskrit table. Both v and w might be allowed for each of these letters.

(6) The sound represented by ch in the English orthography is transliterated c in the Sanskrit table, and ḍ (ch being permissible) in the second table. It would be more consistent to adopt c throughout.

There are also one or two other matters which are worthy of notice.

(7) The signs ṭ and ṭ, and ḍ and ḍ are each of them used in Table II as the transliteration of two different letters.

(8) No sign has been suggested in the Arabic table for the transliteration of the wasla. The comma above the line ṭ used in the table to represent the hamsa might be used for the wasla, and either a stroke or a circle above the line (‘ or  ꕊ) might be used for the hamsa.

(9) No sign has been suggested in the Arabic table for the silent ḫ. The sign ḫ might be used to represent this letter.

(10) A stroke beneath the line (thus ḫ or ḫ) might be suggested to signify that a letter written in any alphabet to be transliterated is not to be pronounced.
Subject to the suggestions above made, which will, the Council hopes, meet with the approval of Continental scholars, the following passages would illustrate the scheme as adopted by the Congress.

**SANSKRIT.**

*Rg Veda*: opening lines—

चतुमीठी पुरोहितं यज्ञश्रृवम मूलिकम् ।
होतारं रत्रपांतमम् ॥
चरव: पूर्वभिर्मिभिरिच्छिन्नं नूतनिन्न्तः ।
स देवाः प्रह वंचति ॥

Agnim ile puróhitam yajñasya devām rtvijam
hōtāraṁ ratnadhātamam.
agnih pûrvebhir śhishibir īdyo nūtanair úta
sā devām ēhá vakṣati.

*Nalopākhyāna*: opening lines—

ऋषीः राजा नलो नाम बीरसेनसुतो वचो ।
उपपन्नो युजीरंद्रे रुपवान् चश्कोविदः ॥
ऋतिलन् मनुभेद्वां मूर्धिं देवपतिर् वचा ।
उपपुर्वपरि सर्वेष्मां जाद्यत्व द्व सेवता ॥

Āsīd rājā Nalo nāma Vurasenasuto bali
upapanno guṇair iṣṭair rūpavān aśvakovidaḥ
atiṣṭhan manujendrānāṁ mūrdhni devapatir yathā
uparyupari sarvesām āditya iva tejasā.
PÀLI.

Dīgha: opening words—
Evāṁ me sutaṁ. Ekaṁ samayaṁ bhagavā antarā ca Rājagāhāṁ antarā ca Nālandāṁ addhānamaggapātipanno hoti mahātā bhikkhusaṁghena saddhiṁ pañca mattehi bhikkhusatehi.

ARABIC.

Opening chapter of the Qur'ān—
Bismi'llāhi'l-raḥmāni'l-raḥimī. Al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi-
'l-ʿalamīna'l-raḥmāni'l-raḥimi mālikī yaumi 'l-dīnī. ʿĪyāka
na'budu wa ʿīyāka nastā'īnu. Iḥdinā 'l-ṣirāṭa'l-mustaʿqīma
ṣirāṭa'lladīna an'amta 'alaihim gairī 'l-magdūbi 'alaihim
wa lā 'l-dallīna.

Ch. ix, v. 1. — Barā'atun mina'llāhi wa rasūlihi ila
'lladīna ʿahadtum mina 'l-muṣrikīna.

Ch. x, v. 14. — Wa jā'athum rusuluhum bi'l-baiyināti wa
mā kānū liyuʿmīnū.
Notes—

Hamza at the beginning of a word is omitted, as prescribed on p. 5. Only the vowel is written. Ex. asad, a lion; plur. usd. Insan, a human being.

Hamza elsewhere—a stroke ' or circle °.

Wasla is represented by an apostrophe. See Note 8, p. 7.

The diphthongs have been written ai and au, not ay and auc. See Note 4, p. 7.

PERSIAN.

Opening words of the Gulistān—

مندت خدا ارا عنتر و جل که طاعتیش واجب قربتست و بشکر
اندش مزید نعمت هر نفسی که فرو میرود ممکن حیاتست و جوین
بر نیاید مافرک ذات پس در هر نفسی دو نعمت موجودست و بر
هر نعمتی شکری واجب

Minnat ḥudāirā 'azza wa jalla kih tā'atas mūjib-i-qurbatast. Wa bisūkr andaras mazīd-i-nī'mat. Har nafasī kih farū mīravad munidd-i-ḥiyātast. Wa cūn bar niyād mufarriq-i-zāt. Pas dar har nafasī dū ni'mat maujūdast. Wa bar har ni'matī sukri wājib.
The Council would take this opportunity of suggesting the following scheme for the transliteration of Hebrew.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>צ</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נ</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ד</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ח</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>כ</td>
<td>oref (or rr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>כ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ל</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ז</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נ</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ס</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ש</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ת</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יו</td>
<td>=o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>=o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dagges forte=double letter

ערכ ויהי-ברק ים אלהים:

בראשית ברא אלהים את השמיים ו創造 하אאראס. והאואר יאוה שוחם והוהשף 'אל פנui ת'הום. וריעה 'elahim מראהשף 'אל פנui hammayim. Vayye'omer elahim יishi 'ור ויאי'הו 'ור. Vayyar 'elahim 'et האאור כי-סוב ויאי'בדל 'elahim bein האאור ubein ההושף Vayyiqrə 'elahim לאר יומ וlahosek qarə' laylah. Vayhi 'ereb ויאי'הו 'ורא יומ 'םהד.
APPENDIX E.

A VAULT
B SQUARE MASONRY BUILDING
C FRAGMENT OF WALL
D WATER TANK
E STAIRCASE
F MASONRY CHAMBER
G STAIRCASE TO NARROW UPPER GALLERIES
H SQUARE MASONRY BUILDING
I APERTURE IN ROOF WHICH LETS IN LIGHT AND AIR

HEIGHT OF INNER HALL ABOUT 100 FT.
HEIGHT OF CENTRAL HALL OVER 100 FT.
HEIGHT OF VESTIBULE ABOUT 60 FT.
HEIGHT OF ENTRANCE ABOUT 50 FT.

ENTRANCE
LIST OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

FOUNDED, March, 1823.

CORRECTED TO 1st JANUARY, 1896.

22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PATRON:
HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

VICE-PATRONS:
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

PRESIDENT:
THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD REAY, G.C.S.I., LL.D.

DIRECTOR:

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
1903
PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL.
93 THE RIGHT HON. SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.
93 MAJOR-GEN. SIR FREDERIC J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.
95 SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., LL.D.
95 THE REV. PROFESSOR LEGGE, D.D.
94 SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D.
95 THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

COUNCIL:
92 ARBUTHNOT, F. F., Esq.
93 ASHBURNER, L. R., Esq., C.S.I.
94 BENDALL, CECIL, PROFESSOR.
95 BEVERIDGE, H., Esq.
95 BRANDRETH, E. L., Esq., Treasurer.
95 CUST, ROBERT N., Esq., LL.D., Hon. Sec.
94 DOUGLAS, R. K., PROFESSOR.
93 GASTER, M., Esq., Ph.D.
93 KAY, HENRY C., Esq.
95 MORGAN, E. DELMAR, Esq.
95 MORRIS, H., Esq.
94 RAPSON, E. J., Esq.
92 ROST, REINHOLD, C.I.E., Ph.D.
95 SEWELL, R., Esq.
94 STRONG, S. A., Esq.
93 THORNTON, T. H., Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.
95 WEST, SIR RAYMOND, K.C.I.E., LL.D.
95 AND
PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, PH.D., LL.D., Secretary and Librarian.

TRUSTEES:
95 F. F. ARBUTHNOT, Esq.
95 PROFESSOR R. K. DOUGLAS.
95 H. L. THOMSON LYON, Esq.

HONORARY LIBRARIAN:
1892 OLIVER CODRINGTON, M.D.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN:
1892 MISS HUGHES.

HONORARY SOLICITOR:
ALEXANDER HAYMAN WILSON, Esq., Westminster Chambers, 5, Victoria St., S.W.
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND COMMITTEE:

F. F. ARBUTHNOT, Esq., Guildford.
PROF. MACDONELL, Ph.D., Oxford.
H. C. KAY, Esq., London.
M. GASTER, Ph.D.
PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D., London.

LECTURE COMMITTEE:

H. C. KAY, Esq. (Chairman).
F. F. ARBUTHNOT, Esq.
E. DELMAR MORGAN, Esq.
J. KENNEDY, Esq.
PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D., AND
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY.

HONORARY AUDITORS, 1895:

H. C. KAY, Esq. (for the Council).
R. CHALMERS, Esq. { for the Society.
H. T. LYON, Esq.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE:

PROFESSOR BENDALL.
E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq.
DR. M. GASTER.
H. C. KAY, Esq.
DR. R. ROST.
S. A. STRONG, Esq.
T. H. THORNTON, Esq.
PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D.
Members.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT.

N.B.—The marks prefixed to the names signify—
* Non-resident Members.
† Members who have compounded for their Subscriptions.
‡ Members who, having compounded, have again renewed their Subscriptions or given
Donations.
§ Members who have served on the Council.

1863 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.
1882 His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

1876 Abbott, Major-General Sir James, K.C.B., Ellasy, Swanmore, Ryde.
1890 Adler, Elkan Nathan, M.A., 9, Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, E.C.
1874 *† Akamatz, R., Honganji, Kioto, Japan.
10 1884 * Allen, Clement F. A., H.B.M. Consul, Pakhoo, China.
1880 Amherst of Hackney, The Right Hon. Lord, 8, Grosvenor Square; Didlington Park, Brandon, Suffolk.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1882  Anderson, John, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., 71, Harrington Gardens, S.W.

1886  *Angria, Jai Singh Rao, Baroda.

1868  Arrh, Dr. Enrico, 5, Craven Hill, W.

1882  †A. B. Rutherfurd, Foster Fitzgerald, 18, Park Lane, W.


1888  *Arnold, T. W., Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, N.W.P. India.

1883  §Ashburner, L. R., C.S.I., 9a, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.

20 1879  *Aston, W. G., C.M.G., Woodlands, Seaton, Devon.

Hon.  Aufrecht, Professor T., Rohobather Strasse, 39, Heidelberg.

1867  †Barbage, Maj.-Gen. H. P., Mayfield, Lansdowne Place, Cheltenham.

1889  Baillie, Alexander Francis, 20, Ladbrooke Square, London, W.


1895  *Baksh, Salah-ud-din Khuda.

1883  §Ball, James Dyer, H.M.C.S., Fernside, Mount Kellett, The Peak, Hong Kong.

1895  *Bambridge, Rev. J. J., St. Mary Breadin Vicarage, Canterbury.

1893  *Banerji, Dr. Guru Das, The Hon. Mr. Justice, High Court, Calcutta, Navi Keldanga, Calcutta.

1893  *Banerji, Hem Chandra, 1, Puddopooker Street, Kidderpur, Calcutta.

30 1894  *Banerji, K. (Kālipada Bandypadhyaya), Principal Sanskrit College and Director of Public Instruction, Jaipur.

1890  *Bang, W., 11, Rue Comte, Louvain.

1886  *Barber, J. H., Blackstone Estate, Nāvalapiṭiya, Ceylon.

1878  †Barkey, David Graham, Annadale Avenue, Belfast.

1890  *Bahoda, His Highness, the Mahārāja, Gaikwar of, G.C.S.I.

Hon.  Barth, Auguste, 6, Rue du Vieux Colombier, Paris.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1881 Bate, The Rev. J. Drew, Allahabad, India.
1873 Baynes, A. E., 19, Castle Street, Holborn.
1885 Baynes, Herbert, 8, Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.
40 1894 Beames, J., I.C.S. (retired), Netherclay House, Bishop's Hull, Taunton.
1883 Beckett, Professor Cecil, British Museum, W.C.
1888 Bernard, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., India Office, S.W.;
44, Bramham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
1880 Best, J. W., Mangalore, Madras.
1892 Bevan, A. A., M.A., Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic,
Trinity College, Cambridge.
1893 Beveridge, H., Pitfolds, Shottermill, Surrey.
1882 Bharra, Shapurje D., M.D., 8, Drakefield Road, St.
Catherine's Park, S.E.
Hon. Bhandarkar, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal, C.I.E.,
Ph.D., Deccan College, Pune, Bombay.
1892 Bhunagar, H. H. the Mahārājā of, G.C.S.I.
1870 Bickford-Smith, W., Trevarno, Helston, Cornwall.
50 1891 Biddulph, Cuthbert Edward, c/o Messrs. King & Co.,
65, Cornhill, E.C.
1888 Bilgrami, Syed Ali, Director-General of Mines, H.H.
Nizam's Service. Haidarabad, Deccan.
1895 Blagden, C. Otto, Straits Civil Service.
1861 Blunt, John E., C.B., H.B.M. Consul General,
Salonica.
1882 Blunt, Wilfred S.
1895 Bode, Mts. M., 22, Chenies Street Chambers.
Hon. Böhtlingk, Professor Otto von, Professor of Sanskrit,
The University, St. Petersburg (7, Soeburg Strasse,
Leipzig).
1893 Borovah, B., Sibsagar, Assam.
1893 Bose, P. N., B.Sc., Museum, Calcutta.
60 1895 Bowker, Capt., 17th Bengal Cavalry, Intelligence Branch, Simla.
1857 Brandreth, E. L., Treasurer, 32, Easton Place,
Queen's Gate.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1895 *Brooke, Lady, Rani of Sarawak.
1889†‡Browne, Edward Granville, M.A., Pembroke College, Lecturer on Persian at the University, Cambridge.
1884 †Buchanan, J. Beaumont, C.E., Hyderabad, Dekkan.
Hon. Bühlcr, Hofrath Professor Dr. J. G., C.I.E., 8, Auer Strasse, Vienna, IX.
1866 †Burgess, James, C.I.E., LL.D., 22, Seton Place, Edinburgh.
1880 *Bushell, S. W., M.D., H.B.M. Consulate General, Shanghai.

1881 †Cain, The Rev. John, care of Church Missionary Society, Dummagaden, South India.
70 1885 †Cam, Jehangir K. R., 12, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
1867 †Cam, K. R., C.I.E., 12, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
1885 *Campbell, James McNabb, C.I.E., LL.D., Bombay Civil Service, Bombay Presidency, India.
1887 †Campbell, The Rev. W., Tainwanfoo, Formosa, China.
1887 Capper, William C., Grassington Road, Eastbourne.
1890 *Carpenter, J. Estlin, 109, Banbury Road, Oxford.
1888 *Casartelli, The Rev. L. C., St. Bede's College, Manchester.
1891 Chalmers, Robert, Homestead, Barnes.
1891 *Chamberlain, Basil Hall, Professor of Japanese, The University, Tokio, Japan.
1895 *Chand, Diwan Tek.
80 1893 *Chatterjea, Bankim Chandra, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E., Protop Chunder Chatterjea's Lane, Calcutta.
1885 †Churchill, Sidney, H.B.M. Consulate Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana.
1850 †Clarke, Gordon, 10, James Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Mickleham Hall, Dorking.
1881 †Clarke, Lieut.-Col. Wilberforce, R.E., Fort House, Sidmouth, Devon.
1879 Clendinning, Miss, 29, Dorset Square, N.W.
1892 *Clifford, Hugh, Magistrate and Collector, Ulu Panang, Malay Peninsula.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1885 *Corham, Claude Delaval, Commissioner, Larnaca, Cyprus.

1877 §Codrington, Oliver, M.D., Hon. Librarian, 71, Victoria Road, Clapham.

1888 *Coleman, William Emmette, Chief Quartermaster’s Office, San Francisco, California.

90 1894 *Coleridge, F. A., Madras C.S., Bellary.

1891 *Conder, Major C. R., R.E., LL.D.

1892 †*Constant, S. Victor, c/o Messrs. Coghill & Constant, 120, Broadway, New York, U.S.


1891 *Corry, Eustace K., Cairo.

1890 Corbet, Frederick H. M., 9, Addison Mansions, Blythe Road, W.

Hon. 1893 Cordier, Prof. Henri, 3, Place Vintimille, Paris.

1888 *Cousens, Henry, Archaeological Surveyor for Western India, 57, Neutral Lines, Poona.

1866 *Cowell, Edward B., Vice-President, Professor of Sanskrit, 10, Scrope Terrace, Cambridge.

1879 *Craig, W., Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.

100 1882 Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., Haigh, Wigan.

1852 †Crawford, R. W., 71, Old Broad Street.

1880 †Crawshay, G., Haughton Castle, Humshaugh-on-Tyne; 6, Adelphi Terrace, Strand.

1883 *Cumine, Alexander, Ratnagiri, Bombay.


1892 Cust, Miss M. E. V., 127, Victoria Street, S.W.

1852 §Cust, Robert N., LL.D., Hon. Secretary, Travellers’ Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; 63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.

1888 *Dadarbhia, Rustamji, Civil Surgeon, Chaaerghaut, Haidarabad, Dekkan.

1891 †D’Alviella, Goblet, M. le Comte, Rue Faidher 10, Bruzelles.
DAMES, M. Longworth, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan, Panjab.

†Davies, T. Witton, Principal, Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.

*DÉ, B., I.C.S., Hoogly, Bengal.


*De Morgan, W. C., Rushikulya Division, Madras.


*Devi Prasad, Munshi, Jodhpur.

Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., LL.D., Devonshire House, Piccadilly.

†Dehra, H. H., LL.B., Rao Bahadur, District Judge, Navsari, Baroda State.

Dickins, F. V., Assistant Registrar, London University, Burlington Gardens.

*Oldenburg, Serge, Professor of Sanskrit, The University, St. Petersburg.

Hon. Donner, Professor O., Helsingfors.

Douglas, R. K., Professor of Chinese, King's College; British Museum, W.C.; 3, College Gardens, Dulwich.

Douie, J. McCrone, Revenue Secretary to Panjab Government, Lahore.

Doyle, The Rev. James, Roman Catholic Cathedral, Madras.


*Driver, W. H., Ranchi, Cults, Aberdeenshire.

*Drouin, Edouard, 11, Rue de Verneuil, Paris.


Duka, Theodore, M.D., F.R.C.S., 55, Nevern Square, Earl's Court, S.W.

Duke, Surgeon-Major Joshua, M.D., Malwa Bheel Corps, Sirdarpur (Messrs. Grindlay & Co.).

*Duemegue, J. Willoughby F., c/o King & Co.

Dutt, K. B., Barrister-at-Law, Midnapur, Bengal.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1894 *Dutt, M. N., Rector, Keshub Academy, 65/2, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
1893 *Dutt, R. C., C.I.E., 30, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
1888 *Dyliadas Datta, Lecturer, Bethune College, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

1894 *Eliau, Ney, C.I.E., Consul General, Khorassan.
1891 Eveits, B. A., Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.

140 1881 †Fargues, J., Indian Telegraph Department, Teheran.
1879 †Faulkner, Surgeon-Major Alexander S., 19th Bombay Infantry (Messrs. Grindlay & Co.).
Hon. Faussöll, V., 37, Nordre Fasanvej, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen.
1877 †Ferguson, A. M., jun., 14, Ellerdaie Road, Hampstead.
1877 †Ferguson, Donald W., Colombo.
1883 †Ferguson, The Right Hon. Sir James, Bart., K.C.M.G., G.C.S.I.
1895 *Fernando, C. M., Barrister-at-Law, Colombo, care of Ceylon R.A.S.
1881 *Finn, Alexander, H.B.M. Consul, Malaga, Spain.
1887 Finn, Mrs., The Elms, Brook Green.

150 1877 §Fleet, J. F., C.I.E., Members Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
1888 *Floyd, Ernest A., Helwan, Egypt.
1894 *Fraser, E. D. H., China Consular Service, H.B.M. Consulate, Shanghai.
1886 Frazer, R. W., I.C.S. (retired), London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
1880 †Furdoonji, Jamshedji, Aurungabad, Dekkan.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1892  Gaikwad, S. Sampatrao, National Liberal Club.
160 1895  *Gandhi, Virchand R., Secretary of the Jain Association of India, Love Lane, Bombay.
1894  *Ganguli, Sanjiban, Head Master, The Maharaja's College, Jeypore.
1881  *Gardner, Christopher T., H.B.M. Consul, Amoy.
1890  Gaster, M., Ph.D., Principal of Montefiore College, Ramsgate; 37, Maida Vale.
Hon.  Gayangos, Don Pascual de, Madrid.
1865  †Gaynor, C., M.D., F.R.S.E., Oxford.
1895  *Gazafer Ali Khan, 23, Victoria Street, Cambridge.
1885  *Geisler, Theodor, Friederichselderseite, Berlin, O. 17.
1895  *Gerini, Captain G. E., Bangkok, Siam.
1893  *Ghose, Hon. Dr. Rashbehary, C.I.E., 56, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.
170 1880  §†Gibb, E. J. W., 15, Chepistow Villas, Bayswater, W.
1893  †*Gibson, Mrs. J. Young, Castlebrae, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
Hon.  Goede, Professor Dr, Leiden.
Hon.  1893 Goldzinner, Professor, Ignaz, Buda Pest.
1884  †*Gorparshad, Thakur, Talookdar of Baiswan, Aligarh.
1885  *Gossett, Brigadier-General M. W. Edward, Bangalore, Madras.
1884  *Gour, Adhar Singh, B.A., L.L.B. (Cantab), Extra Assistant Commissioner, Hoshangabad, India.
1894  *Gray, J., Professor of Pali, Rangoon College.
180 1893  *Greenup, Rev. Albert W., Seven Hills Parsonage, Culford Heath, Bury St. Edmunds.
1884  *Grierson, George A., Bengal C.S., C.I.E., Ph.D., Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
1852  †*Griffith, R. T. H., C.I.E., Kotagiri, Nilgiri.
1891  *Griggsby, W. E., Judge, Cyprus.
1890  *Grosset, J., 4, Rue Cuvier, Lyons, France.
Hon.  1890 Gubernatis, Conte Comm. Angelo De, Florence, Italy.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1887 *Guiraudon, Capt. Th. de, 134, Bishop's Road, Fulham.
1893 *Gupta, B. L., I.C.S., Cuttack, Bengal.
1894 *Gurdon, Capt. Philip R. T., Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Assam.

190 1883 *Haggard, W. H. D., H.B.M. Minister Resident and Consul General to the Republic of the Equator.
1880 *Haig, Major-General Malcolm R., Rossweide, Davos Platz, Switzerland.
1884 *Harkhamji, Prince of Morvi, B.A., LL.M., Rajkumar College, Rajkote, Kathiawad, India.
1895 *Hardy, Dr. E., Professor of Oriental Languages, Fribourg, Switzerland.
1884 †Harlez, Monseigneur C. de, Professor of Oriental Languages, Louvain, Belgium.
1883 †Hatfield, Captain C. T., late Dragoon Guards, Harts Down, Margate.
1888 †Heap, Ralph, 1, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
1834 *Heming, Lient.-Col. Dempster, Deputy Commissioner, Police Force, Madras.
1885 †Henderson, George, 7, Mining Lane, E.C.
1884 *Hendley, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel T. Holbein, C.I.E.
1888 *Hewitt, J. Francis K., 14, Rue Veydt, Brussels.
1846 †Heywood, James, F.R.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens.
1885 †Hippisley, Alfred E., Commissioner of Chinese Customs, and Chinese Secretary to the Inspector General of Customs, Peking; 26, Old Queen Street, Westminster.
1891 *Hira Lai, Officiating Inspector P.O., Bhakkar, Dera Ismail Khan, Punjab.
1891 *Hirschfeld, H., 3, Montefiore College, Ramsgate.
1895 *Hodson, T. Callan, Bengal Civil Service.
1881 *Hoey, William, Bengal C.S., care of Dr. Hoey, 35, Brookview Terrace, Cliftonville, Belfast.
1893 *Hogarth, David, Magdalen College, Oxford.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

210 1865 [*] Holroyd, Colonel W. R. M., Under Secretary to Government, Lahore; 23, Bathwick Hill, Bath.

1889 [*] Hopkins, Lionel Charles, Chinkiang, China Consular Service.

1892 [*] Houghton, Bernard, Deputy Commissioner, Sandoway, Burma.

1882 Hughes, George, I.C.S. (retired), East India United Service Club, St. James’ Square.


1892 [*] Husain, Mohammed Sutther, Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Kurnool, Madras.

1888 [*] Indrajit, Pandit Vashnavá Niruttan, M.D., Junagadh State, Kathiawar.

1893 [*] Innes, John R., Straits Service, Singapore.

1879 Irvine, W., Hollincroft, Castlenau, Barnes, S.W.

1888 [*] Jackson, Arthur Mason Tippetts, Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Custom House, Bombay.

220 1894 [*] Jacob, Col. G. A., Oakridge, Redhill.

1890 Jago, Mohun Lal, Student of Lincoln’s Inn, and of Cambridge, 48, Povey Square, Notting Hill, W.

1893 [*] Jago-Trelawney, Major-General, Coldrenick, Liskeard, Cornwall.

1885 [*] Jaitkishan Dass Bahadoor, Rajah, C.S.I., Muradabad, Rohilkhand.

1871 [*] James, S. Harvey, Bengal Civil Service, Simla.

1891 [*] Jameson, F., Saxonbury Lodge, Frant, Sussex.

1878 [*] Jardine, The Hon. Mr. Justice John, High Court, Bombay.

1881 [*] Jayakar, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Atmaram S. G., Muscat, Persia Gulf.

1883 [*] Jayamohan, Thakur Singh, Magistrate and Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, Central Provinces, India.

1892 Johnston, Charles, Bengal Civil Service (retired), 6, Kempplay Road, Hampstead.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

1881 §Kay, H. C., 11, Durham Villas, Kensington.
1895 *Kennedy, Miss, Fairacre, Concord, Mass.
1891 Kennedy, James, 15, Willow Road, Hampstead Heath, N.W.
1890 *Keralavarma, His Highness, Valeyukoil Tamburam Trivandrum, Travancore State, Madras.
1884 Hon. Kern, Professor H., Leiden.
1856 †Kerr, Mrs., 19, Warwick Road, Kensington.
1872 *Kielhorn, Dr. F., C.I.E., Professor of Sanskrit, Göttingen.
1884 Kimberley, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 35, Loundes Square.
240 1884 *King, Lucas White, B.A., LL.B., Deputy Commissioner, Derah Ismail Khan, Punjab, India.
1892 *King, Major J. S., Indian Staff Corps (retired), Franklinstrasse 38III, Dresden.
1884 †Kitto, Eustace John, Bengal Civil Service.
1894 Kluft, Rev. A., 156, Westbourne Grove, W.
1884 Knighton, W., LL.D., Tileworth, Silchester, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1884 *Lachman Sinha, Raja, Bulandshahr, N.W.P.
1893 Lake, Reginald J., St. John's House, Clerkenwell, E.C.
1895 *Landis, E. B., M.D., English Church Mission, Chemulpo, Corea.
1880 †Lanman, Charles R., Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard College, 9, Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
250 1884 †Landsdell, The Rev. H. H., D.D., Morden College, Blackheath, S.E.
1895 *Latif, Syed Mohammed, Khan Bahadur, District Judge, Jalandhar.
1874 Lawrence, F. W., Oakleigh, Beckenham.
1877 §Legge, The Rev. Dr., Professor of Chinese, 3, Keble Road, Oxford.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1861 †Leitner, G. W., Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L., Oriental University Institute, Woking.
1892 *Leitner, H., Oriental University Institute, Woking.
1883 *Le Mesurier, Cecil John Reginald, Matara, Ceylon.
1892 *Leon, J. Diaz de, M.D., Aguascalientes, Mexico.
1878 †Lepper, C. H.
1880 †Le Strange, Guy, 3, Via S. Francesco Poverino, Florence, Italy.

1885 †Lewis, Mrs. A. S., Castlebrae, Cambridge.
1883 *Lilley, R., 199, Broad Street, Bloomfield, New Jersey, U.S.A.
1883 Lindley, William, M.Inst.C.E., 10, Kidbrooke Terrace, Blackheath.
1870 *Loch, Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
1879 *Lockhart, J. H. Stewart, Hong Kong.
1882 †Lovelace, The Right Hon. the Earl, 9, St. George’s Place.
1895 †*Lowell, P., 53, State Street, Boston, U.S.
1895 *Lupton, W., I.C.S., Shâhjâhânpur, N.W.P.

270 1889 Lyon, H. Thomson, 57, Onslow Square, S.W.

1878 Macartney, Sir Halliday, M.D., K.C.M.G., Secretary to the Chinese Embassy, Richmond House, 49, Portland Place.
1880 *MacCullum, Major H. E., R.E.
1882 S*Macdonell, Prof. A. A., Ph.D., Corpus Christi, Deputy Professor of Sanskrit; 7, Fyfield Road, Oxford.
1887 *McDouall, W., Vice-Consul, Mahamerah, through Bushire, Persia.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1894 *Maclagan, E. D., Under Secretary Agricultural Department, Punjab Government.

1877 *Madden, F. W., Holt Lodge, 86, London Road, Brighton.

1893 *Madho, P. Beni, Jodhpur, Rajputana.

280 Ext. 1893 Mahar Yotta, His Excellency the Marquis.

1891 *Mann, Edmund C., 128, Park Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A.

1879 †Manning, Miss, 35, Blomfield Road, W.

1889 *Margoliouth, D., Professor of Arabic, 88, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

1888 Master, John Henry, Montrose House, Petersham.

1880 *Maxwell, The Hon. W. E., C.M.G., Commissioner Gold Coast.

1894 *May, A. J., Queen’s College, Hong Kong.

1894 Mead, G. R. S., 17, Avenue Road, N.W.


Hon. Meynard, Professor Barbier de, Membre de l’Institut, 18, Boulevard de Magenta, Paris.

290 1863 *Miles, Colonel S. B., Bombay Staff Corps.

1873 *Minchin, Major-General, Bengal Staff Corps.

1895 *Mitra, Rajesvara, Rai Sahib, Executive Engineer, P.W.D. Raipur, C.P.

1878 †Mocatta, F. D., 9, Connaught Place, Hyde Park, W.

1874 *Mockler, Lieut.-Col. E., Bombay Staff Corps, Political Agent, Muscat.

1882 †*Mohanlal Visnulal Pandia, Pundit, Member and Secretary of the State Council of Mewar, Udaipur.


1886 §Morgan, E. Delmar, 15, Roland Gardens, Kensington, S.W.

1877 §Morris, Henry, Eastcote House, St. John’s Park, Blackheath.

300 1881 Morrison, Walter, 77, Cromwell Road, S.W.; Malham Tarn, Bell Busk, Leeds.

1882 ††Morse, H. Ballou, Chinese Imperial Customs, Shanghai; 26, Old Queen Street, Westminster.
1892 *Morton, Rev. B. Mitford, Kingsthorpe, Northampton.
1890 *Moss, R. Waddy, Didsbury College, Manchester.
1877 §Muir, Sir W., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University, Edinburgh.
1885 *Mukand Lal, Udaipur.
1895 *Mukerji, Babu Najendranath, Professor of English History, Jaipur College.
1882 *Mukerji, Phanibhusan, Professor at Hughli College, Chinsurah, Bengal, India.
1893 *Mukerji, Raja Pyari Mohan, C.S.I., Uttarpura via Calcutta.
1888 *Mukerji, Satya Chandri, Pleader of the High Court, Mathura, N.W.P., India.
310 1887 *Mullaly, C. M., Madras Civil Service, Kistna District, Madras.
1895 *Müller, Dr. E., Professor of Sanskrit at the University, Berne, 30, Zieglerstrasse.
Hon. Müller, Professor F. Max, 7, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
Hon. Müller, Professor Friedrich, University, Vienna.

1887 *Narayan, Laksmi.
1891 *Nathan, P. Rama, Colombo, Ceylon.
320 1891 *Nevill, Hugh, Ceylon Civil Service.
1892 *Newberry, Percy E., Egypt.
1861 *Niemann, Prof. G. K., Delft, Holland.
Hon. Nöldeke, Professor, Strassburg.
1876 Northbrook, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., 4, Hamilton Place, Piccadilly, W.
1888 Oldham, Surgeon-Major Charles Frederick, Sutton Haugh, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
1885 *Oliver, Edward E., Secretary to Government, P.W.D., Lahore.
Hon. Oppert, Professor Jules, Rue de Sfax, 2, Paris.
330 1879 *Ormiston, The Rev. James, 3, Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol.

1893 *Parsonson, J. Marsden, 26, Moorgate Street.
1869 §Pearse, General George Godfrey, C.B., R.H.A., 4, Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, W.
1895 *Peatling, H., Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.
1882 †Peek, Cuthbert E., 22, Belgrave Square.
1882 †Peek, Sir H. W., Bart., M.P., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousden, Lyme.
1892 *Perreira, J. C. Walter, Colombo, Ceylon.
1887 *Perkins, Miss L. L. W., Concord, Boston, Mass.
1390 *Pfungst, Dr. Arthur, 2, Gärtnerweg, Frankfurt.
340 1895 Phillips, G., late China Consular Service, 8, Christ Church Avenue, Brondesbury, N.W.
1874 *† Phyra Rajanattayanuar, His Excellency, Private Secretary to the King of Siam.
1895 *Pillai, P. S., Professor of Philosophy, Trivandrum College, Harneypuram House, Trivandrum, Travancore.
1881 Pinches, Theophilus G., British Museum, W.C.
1874 Pincoitz, Frederic, 63, Bellenden Road, Peckham, S.E.
1895 Pitt, St. George Lane-Fox, 4, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
1883 Pitt-Rivers, Major-General, F.R.S., Rushmore, Salisbury.
1894 *Plimmer, Mrs., Wunderbau, Sydenham.
1893 §*Plunkett, Lieut.-Colonel G. T., R.E., 24, Burlington Place, Dublin.
350 1893 *Poussin, Louis de la Vallée, The University, Ghent.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1876 *Powell, B. H. Baden-, Ferlya Lodge, 29, Banbury Road, Oxford.
1888 *Pratt, The Hon. Spencer E., United States Minister to the Court of Persia, Teheran.
1882 †*Prisdang, His Excellency the Prince.
1862 Pusey, S. E. Bouverie-, Pusey House, Farringdon.

1895 *Quinn, M. T., Principal and Professor of English Language and Literature, Pacharyappa's College, Madras.

1874 †*Ramavami, Iyengar B., Bangalore, Madras.
1887 *Rang Lal, Barrister-at-Law, Delhi.

1869 †Ransom, Edwin, 24, Ashburnham Road, Bedford.
1888 §*Rapson, E. J., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, British Museum, W.C.
1893 *Rattigan, Hon. Sir W. H., Lahore.
1895 *Raynham, Hugh, Garrison Gateway Cottage, Old Basing, Basingstoke.
1887 *Rea, A., Archaeological Survey Department, Madras.
1892 §*Reay, The Rt. Hon. the Lord, G.C.S.I., LL.D., President, Carolsie, Earlton, Berwickshire; 6, Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair.
1886 *Rees, John David, C.I.E., Madras Civil Service, Private Secretary to the Governor.
1889 Reuter, Baron George de, 18, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
1879 *Rice, Lewis, Director of Public Instruction, Bangalore.
370 1893 †Kidding, Rev. W., St. Swithin's House, Chapelgate, Retford.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>†Ridding, Miss C. Mary, 6, Southwold Road, Clapton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Ripon, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., F.R.S., Chelsea Embankment, S.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>*Rodgers, C. J., Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Amritsar, Punjab, India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Rogers, Alex., 38, Clanricarde Gardens, W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Rollo, The Right Hon. the Lord, Duncrub Castle, Perthshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>*Rose, E., Commissioner, Gorakhpur, N.W.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Ross, E. D., 18, Upper Westbourne Terrace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>*Ross, Colonel Sir E. C., C.S.I., Bombay Staff Corps, 8, Beaufort Road, Clifton, Bristol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>§Rost, Dr. Reinhold, C.I.E., Ph.D., 1, Elsworthy Terrace, Primrose Hill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Hon. Roth, Professor R., Tubingen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>†Rouse, W. H. D., F.R.G.S., 4, Bilton Road, Rugby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>†Roy, Robert, Earlsdale, Ilfracombe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>*Rusden, G. W., Cotmandene, South Yarra, Melbourne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>*Rustomji, C., Jumnpur, care of G. Ardaseer, Esq., Olney House, Richmond, Surrey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>†Rylands, T. Glazebrooke, Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Hon. Sachau, Professor Eduard, President of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Salimané, Habib Anthony, Professor of Arabic at King’s College and Lecturer at University College; 126, Belsize Road, N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>*Sanjana, Dastur Darab Peshotan, High Priest of the Parsees, 114, Chandanawadi, Bombay.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1892  *Sankaranārāyana, P., Tripunitora Ernakulam, Cochin, Sirkar.
1895  Sassoon, Sir Albert D., C.S.I., 1, Eastern Terrace, Brighton.
1895  Sassoon, Reuben D., 1, Belgrave Square, S.W.
1893  *Sastri, Pandit Hari Prasad, Bengal Librarian, Writer’s Buildings, Calcutta.
1880  *Satow, Sir Ernest M., K.C.M.G., Ph.D., H.B.M. Minister, Tokio.

400 1874  §§Sayce, The Rev. A. H., Vice-President, Professor of Assyriology, Queen’s College, Oxford.
1875  *Schindler, General A. H., Teherān, Persia.
Hon.  Schrader, Professor, Berlin.
1893  Scott, E. J. Long, Keeper of the MSS. and Egerton Librarian, British Museum.
1885  *Scott, James George, C.I.E., Bangkok, Siam.
1886  *Scott, Sir John, K.C.M.G., Cairo.
1867  *Selim, Faris Effendi, Constantinople.
1887  *Sell, The Rev. E., Church Missionary Society, Madras.
1893  *Sen, Guru Prasad, Bankipur, Bengal.
Hon.  Senart, Émile, 18, Rue François 1er, Paris.

410 1887  *Senathia Raja, E. G. W., Colombo, Ceylon.
1892  *Sessions, F., Monkleyton, Alexandra Road, Gloucester.
1877  §§Sewell, R., Madras C.S., 6, Palace Mansions, Buckingham Gate.
1892  *Shāh, Nurāllāh, Gayā, E. India.
1895  *Shawe, Rev. F. B., 22, College Grove Road, Wakefield.
1895  *Sheffield, Rev. G. W., M.E. Mission, Singapore.
1884  §§Sāyamaji Krishna Varma, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Ajmere, India.
1890  *Sibree, Ernest, Bussage House, near Stroud.
1883  Simcox, Miss Edith, Ellesborough House, Tring, Herts.
1887  Simpson, W., 19, Church Road, Willesden.
1893  *Singh, The Raja Visvanath Bahadur, Chhatapur, Bundelkhand, C.I.
1895 **Sinha, Kunwar Keshal Pal, Raio Kotla, P.O. Naroki, Agra District.

1883 **Smith, Vincent A., Bengal Civil Service, Gorakhpur, N.W.P.

1889 **Sri Mhetinjaya Nissenha Bahaka Garu, Zemindar of Sangsamalsala, Parvatipur.

1886 **Stack, George, Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Presidency College, Calcutta.

1858 **Stanley of Alderley, The Right Hon. the Lord, 15, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.


1887 **Stein, M. A., Ph.D., The Principal, Oriental College, and Registrar, Panjab University, Lahore.

430 1894 **Stevenson, Robert C., Assistant Commissioner, Kyaukpyu, Arakan, Burma.

1892 **St. John, R. F. St. Andrew, Lecturer in Burmese, Oxford, Duncleifs, Ealing Common.

1848 **Strachey, William, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.

1893 **Strong, S. A., Reader in Assyriology, Cambridge, 7, St. John’s Road, Putney Hill.

1891 **Sturky, Ed. T., High View, Caversham, Reading.

Hon. 1892 **Sumangala Maha Niyaka Unnanes.

1893 **Svasti Sobhana, H.R.H. Prince, Bangkok, Siam.

1895 **Sykes, Percy M., H.B.M. Consul, Kerman, Persia.

1875 **Tagore Sourendro Mohun, Rajah Bahadur, Mus.D., Calcutta.

1896 **Tahl Ram, Gungaram, Zemindar, Dera Ismail Khan, Panjab.

440 1893 **Taw Skin Ko, 2, Latter Street, Rangoon.

1883 **Tawney, C. H., The Librarian, India Office.

1894 **Taylor, Arnold C., Uppingham, Rutland.


1892 **Tcheraz, Minas, Professor of Armenian, King’s College, London; 33, De Vere Gardens, S.W.

1879 **Temple, Major R. C., C.I.E., Commissioner of the Andamans.
1881 †Theobald, W., Budleigh Salterton, Devon.
1880 *†Thorburn, S. S., Bengal Civil Service, Panjab.
1881 §Thornton, T. H., C.S.I., D.C.L., 23, Bramham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
Hon. Tiele, Professor, University, Leiden.
450 1859 *†Tien, The Rev. Anton, Ph.D., 23, Park Place, Gravesend.
1892 *Tolman, Professor H. C., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.
1895 †*Travancore, H. H. Rama Varma, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Travancore.
1879 *Trotter, Coutts, Athenæum Club; 17, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
1884 †Tufnell, H., Esq., The Grove, Wimbledon Park.
1891 *Tupper, C. L., Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, Lahore.

1882 *Udairpur, His Highness Fateh Singhji Bahadur, Maharâna of, G.C.S.I.

460 Hon. 1892 Vassiliev, Professor V. P., The University, St. Petersburg.
1883 Verney, F. W., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1827 †Vyvyan, K. H. S., Irenan, St. Colomb, Cornwall.

1873 §Walhouse, M. J., 28, Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

1886 †*Warren, H. C., 12, Quincey Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.

1883 Watters, T., late China Consular Service; Cleveland Mansions, Cleveland Road, Ealing.


1885 West, E. W., 4, Craufurd Terrace, Maidenhead.

470 1892 §West, Sir Raymond, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Chesterfield, College Road, Norwood.

1873 *Westmacott, E. Vesey, B.A., Commissioner of Excise, Bengal Presidency, India.

1882 Whinfield, E. H., St. Margaret's, Beulah Hill.

1893 *Whitethorne, F. Cope, 8, Cleveland Row, St. James'.

1868 †Williams, The Rev. Thomas, Rewari, Panjab.

1876 †Wollaston, A. N., C.I.E., India Office; Glen Hill, Walmer.

1894 *Wright, H. Nelson, Collector, Dehra Dun, N.W.P.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

1866 Professor T. Aufrrecht, Heidelberg.
1894 Mons. A. Barth, Paris.
Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, C.I.E., Puna, Bombay.

5 1873 Professor Otto von Böhtlingk, St. Petersburg.
1885 Professor J. G. Bühler, C.I.E., Vienna.
1893 Professor Henri Cordier, Paris.
1895 Professor O. Donner, Helsingfors.
The Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., Shanghai.

10 1890 Professor V. Fausböll, Copenhagen.
1866 Don Pascual de Gayángos, Madrid.
1885 Professor De Goeje, Leiden.
1893 Professor Ignaz Goldziher, Buda Pest.
1890 Conte Comm. Angelo De Gubernatis, Italy.

15 Professor H. Kern, Leiden.
1873 Professor Barbier de Meynard, Paris.
Professor F. Max Müller, Oxford.
1895 Professor Friedrich Müller, Vienna.

20 1890 Prof. T. Nöldeke, Strassburg.
1866 Professor Jules Oppert, Paris.
Dr. Reinhold Rost, C.I.E., Ph.D., London.
Professor R. Roth, Tubingen.
Professor Eduard Sachau, Berlin.

25 1892 Professor Schrader, Berlin.
1892 M. Émile Senart, Paris.
1895 Professor Tiele, Leiden.
1892 Sumangala Mahā Nāyaka Unnānsē, Colombo, Ceylon.
1892 Professor Vasilief, St. Pétersbourg.

30 1866 Professor A. Weber, Berlin.

Note.—The number of Honorary Members is limited by Rule 9 to thirty. Those in italics are deceased, and the vacancies thus occasioned will be reported to the annual meeting in May.

Extraordinary Member.

H.E. The Marquis Mahā Yotha.
LIST OF LIBRARIES AND SOCIETIES

SUBSCRIBING TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Astor Library, New York.
Athenæum Club, Pall Mall.
Benares, Queen's College, India.
Berlin Royal Library.
Birmingham Central Free Library.
Brighton Public Library.
British & Foreign Bible Society, 46, Queen Victoria Street.
Cincinnati Public Library.
Columbia College Library, New York.
10 Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.
Copenhagen University Library.
East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square.
Geological Society of London.
Göttingen University Library.
Halle University Library.
Harvard College.
Jena University Library.
20 Johns Hopkins University.
Kiel University Library.
Liverpool Free Public Library.
London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
London Library, 14, St. James's Square.
Lucknow Museum.
Manchester Free Reference Library, King St., Manchester.
Marburg University Library.
Melbourne Public Library.
30 Montefiore College, Ramsgate.
LIST OF LIBRARIES AND SOCIETIES.

Münich University Library.
Naples University Library.
Newcastle-on-Tyne Free Public Library.
Newcastle-on-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society.
Peabody Institute, U.S.A.
Pennsylvania University Library.
Philadelphie, Library Company.

40 San Francisco Free Public Library.
Strasburg University Library.
Sydney Free Library.
Tübingen University Library.
United Service Club, 116, Pall Mall.
Washington Catholic University Library.

46 Zurich Stadt Bibliothek.

Note.—There are many other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending him their names to be added to the above list.
## SUMMARY OF MEMBERS.

|                      | TOTAL | Honorary and Extraordinary Members | Non-resident Compounders | Resident Members | 1891  | 1892  | 1893  | 1894  | 1895  | 1896  | Deaths | Retirements | Elected since |
|----------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
|                      | 450   | 16                                | 90                       | 62               | 47    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 459   |                                    | 30                       | 61               | 48    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 476   |                                    | 30                       | 64               | 49    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 493   |                                    | 30                       | 66               | 49    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 492   |                                    | 30                       | 58               | 51    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 474   |                                    | 30                       | 55               | 54    | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 49    |                                    | 30                       | 12               | 1      | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      |       |                                    | 13                       | 11               | 1      | 110   | 105   | 104   | 101   | 95    | 37     | 212        | +3            | 38              |
|                      | 523   |                                    |                          |                   |       |       |       |       |       |       |         |               |                 |                 |

**Jan. 1st, 1896:**

- 388
- 242

*Stephan Austin and Sons, Printers, Hertford.*
"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.